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The Final Defeat of Mihirakula

Two apparently conflicting authorities on this point are the cause of much dissension as regards the person who finally defeated the third Huṇa king of India. Yet I think that this conflict is only apparent ; and I intend to show this in the present paper.

The two conflicting authorities

The first of these authorities is the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman of Malwa. This lithic record states that to the two feet of this king "respect was paid, with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of his head, by even that King Mihirakula, whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of his arm in the act of compelling obeisance."[1] In these words a defeat of Mihirakula inflicted by Yaśodharman is clearly referred to ; for the obeisance offered to the latter by the Huṇa king is obtained forcibly, since his forehead was bent low down by the strength of Yaśodharman's arm.

But there is another account of Mihirakula's defeat given by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, according to which

1 Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 148, l. 6.

the victorious monarch was not Yaśodharman but a certain king of Magadha named Bālāditya-rāja who has rightly been identified with Narasiṃha-Gupta.[1] It is worth while to quote this long passage, because the internal examination of the same will help us towards our final solution. Hiuen Tsiang's words are as follows :—

"Bālāditya-rāja, king of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha and tenderly nourished his people. When he heard of the cruel persecution and atrocities of Mihirakula, he strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute. Then Mihirakula raised an army to punish his rebellion. Bālāditya-rāja, knowing his renown, said to his ministers : I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them ; by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass.

"Having said this, he departed from his palace and wandered through the mountains and deserts. Being very much beloved in his kingdom, his followers amounted to many myriads, who fled with him and hid themselves in the islands of the sea.

"Mihirakula-rāja, committing the army to his younger brother, himself embarked on the sea to go to attack Bālāditya. The king guarding the narrow passes, whilst the light cavalry were out to provoke the enemy to fight, sounded the golden drum, and his soldiers suddenly rose on every side and took Mihirakula alive as captive, and brought him into the presence (of Bālāditya).

"The king Mihirakula, being overcome with shame at his defeat, covered his face with his robe. Bālāditya, sitting on his throne with his ministers round him, ordered one of them to tell the king to uncover himself as he wished to speak with him.

"Mihirakula answered : The subject and the master have

1 Allan, *Gupta Coins*, pp. LV-LVI.

changed places; that enemies should look on one another is useless; and what advantage is there in seeing my face during conversation?

"Having given the order three times with no success, the king then ordered his crimes to be published, and said: The field of religious merit connected with the three precious objects of reverence is a public blessing; but this you have overturned and destroyed like a wild beast. Your religious merit is over, and unprotected by fortune you are my prisoner. Your crimes admit of no extenuation and you must die.

"At this time the mother of Bālāditya was of wide celebrity on account of her vigorous intellect and her skill in casting horoscopes. Hearing that they were going to kill Mihirakula, she addressed Bālāditya-rāja and said: I have understood that Mihirakula is of remarkable beauty and vast wisdom. I should like to see him once.

"Bālāditya-rāja ordered them to bring in Mihirakula to the presence of his mother in her palace. Then she said: Alas! Mihirakula, be not ashamed! Wordly things are impermanent, success and discomfiture follow one another according to circumstances. I regard myself as your mother and you as my son; remove the covering from your face and speak to me.

"Mihirakula said: A little while ago I was prince of a victorious country, now I am a prisoner condemned to death. I have lost my kingly estate and I am unable to offer my religious services; I am ashamed in the presence of my ancestors and of my people. In very truth I am ashamed before all, whether before heaven or earth. I find no deliverance. Therefore I hide my face with my mantle. The mother of the king said: Prosperity or the opposite depends on the occasion; gain and loss come in turn. If you give way to events, you are lost but if you rise above circumstances, though you fall, you may rise again. Believe me; the result of deeds depends on the occasion. Lift the

covering from your face and speak with me. I may perhaps save your life.

"Mihirakula, thanking her, said: I have inherited a kingdom without having the necessary talent for government, and so I have abused the royal power in inflicting punishment; for this reason I have lost my kingdom. But though I am in chains, yet I desire life if only for a day. Let me then thank you with uncovered face for your offer of safety. Whereupon he removed his mantle and showed his face. The king's mother said: My son is well-favoured; he will die after his years are accomplished. Then she said to Bālāditya: In agreement with former regulations, it is right to forgive crime and to love to give life. Although Mihirakula has long accumulated sinful actions, yet his remnant of merit is not altogether exhausted. If you kill this man, for twelve years you will see him with his pale face before you. I gather from his air that he will be the king of a small country; let him rule over some small kingdom in the north.

"Then Bālāditya-rāja, obeying his dear mother's command, had pity on the prince bereft of his kingdom; gave him in marriage to a young maiden and treated him with extreme courtesy. Then he assembled the troops he had left and added a guard to escort him from the island.

"Mihirakula-rāja's brother having gone back, established himself in the kingdom. Mihirakula having lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts; and going northwards to Kashmir, he sought there an asylum."[1]

Cause of the controversy

Between the composition of these two accounts one century elapsed. The inscription of Yaśodharman is contemporary with Mihirakula, while the account of Hiuen Tsiang was written a little more than a hundred years later.

1 Beal, *Records of the Western World*, I, pp. 168-171.

Now modern historians seem to suppose that both documents refer to the final defeat of the Huṇa chief. Hence some of them reject the account of the Chinese pilgrim.[1] Others with Mr. Smith suppose an alliance between Yaśodharman and Narasiṃha Gupta, so that the battles referred to by the inscription and by the Chinese traveller are one and the same battle.[2] Fleet admits the authority of both the documents, and says that Mihirakula could be defeated in the East by Narasiṃha-Gupta and in the West by Yaśodharaman.[3] Allan and Mookerji agree with Fleet's theory. According to them, the Huṇa king was first defeated by Bālāditya and then by Yaśodharman, so that his final defeat took place in Malwa.[4]

It is hoped that the following pages will throw some more light upon this debated subject.

Hiuen Tsiang's account cannot be rejected

An account written one century later would have to be rejected if it were evidently contradictory to a contemporary account. But the Chinese pilgrim's narrative does not contradict any statement of the inscription of Yaśodharman. True, Bālāditya-rāja is there depicted as inflicting the final defeat upon the hordes of Mihirakula. But the Mandasor lithic record does not say anything of the decisive expulsion of the Huṇa king from India. "It is hardly possible" says Allan, "that Yaśodharman and Narasiṃha-Gupta on separate occasions each routed, took Mihirakula prisoner and released him."[5] This is certainly true of Narasiṃha-Gupta ; but it is not so clear as far as Yaśodharman is concerned. The

1 Hoernle, *The Identity of Yaśodharman Vikramāditya, JRAS.*, 1909, pp. 97-8 ; Modi, *Early History of the Huṇs, JBBRAS.*, XXIV, pp. 594-5.

2 Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 337 ; Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 175 ; Pathak, *On the Date of Kālidāsa, JBBRAS.*, XIX, pp. 35-43.

3 Fleet, *The Coins and History of Toramana, IA.*, XVIII, p. 228.

4 Allan, o.c., p. LIX ; Mookerji, *Harṣa*, p. 59. 5 Allan, l.c.

phrase that Mihirakula's forehead was "bent low down by the strength of Yaśodharman's arm in the act of compelling obeisance" need not mean that Mihirakula was made prisoner by Yaśodharman. This poetical description may only point to the defeat of the Huṇa chief, who was forced thereby to pay homage and perhaps even tribute to his victor.

On the other hand the account of Hiuen Tsiang gives so many details, that we cannot suppose that they were all invented. I agree with Allan that "it is difficult to know how much truth there is in the Chinese pilgrim's highly embellished story."[1] But this certainly we know that the main fact at least of this story is true, and this fact is the defeat of Mihirakula. We can affirm, moreover, that some of the circumstances of this defeat are also recorded in Hiuen Tsiang's account. Such is, for instance, the fact that Bālāditya-rāja fortified his frontiers and withdrew the payment of tribute to Mihirakula after hearing of the cruelties of the latter against Buddhism.

Moreover the account of Hiuen Tsiang is confirmed by two other authorities. The Chinese pilgrim says that "Bālāditya-rāja, king of Magadha, profoundly honoured the law of Buddha." Now Bālāditya's Buddhism is also referred to by Paramārtha in his life of Vasubandhu. He mentions king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā and his crown-prince Bālāditya as fervent patrons of this Buddhist monk.[2] Finally Hiuen Tsiang refers to Mihirakula's usurpation of the throne of Kashmir after his defeat by the Magadha king; and Mihirakula is spoken of at length as one of the kings of Kashmir by the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[3]

It is true that Hiuen Tsiang upset the chronology of Mihirakula's reign, by placing it some centuries before his time.[4]

1 Allan o.c., p. LVI.

2 Cf. Pathak, *Kumāragupta, the patron of Vasubandhu, JBBRAS.*, XXIII, p. 185.

3 *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (Stein's trans.) I, pp. 43-8. 4 Beal, o.c., p. 167.

Yet this is not a serious objection compelling us to reject the Chinese account. Many facts which come to us through tradition only are evidently wrong in chronology. For the events of the past may be easily aggrandized when passing through the popular mind ; but figures transmitted by oral tradition are always liable to be changed and are generally exaggerated.

The alliance of Yaśodharman and Narasiṃha-Gupta is not proved

Smith's statement as regards this alliance is absolutely gratuitous. Neither of the authorities gives any hint. Moreover, both accounts suppose that their respective sovereign was the only or at least the chief enemy of Mihirakula. Had such an alliance taken place, the two sovereigns could neither of them be the only enemy nor the chief enemy of the Huṇa King.[1]

Mihirakula was defeated in two different battles

This is a natural consequence of the two preceding sections, that Mihirakula was defeated in two different battles ; first in the east by Narasiṃha-Gupta and then in the west by Yāśodharman. Such is the opinion of Fleet, which has however been opposed by modern writers.

The first defeat took place in Malwa, the second in Magadha

I cannot accept the opinion of Mr. Allan and Prof. Mookerji who suppose that the final decisive defeat of Mihirakula was inflicted by Yāśodharman. Their statement is without any authoritative support. The Mandasor inscription does not give the slightest clue as to the time of the battle, still

1 It is false that "the Gupta inscriptions ascribe the fall of the Huṇs to the *combined* forces of Yaśodharman in the west and Bālāditya in the east," as we read in Visvanath's *International Law in Ancient India*, p. 59.

less does it prove that the Malwa defeat was later than that of Magadha.

On the other hand, the account of Hiuen Tsiang says clearly that after the battle "Mihirakula, having lost his royal estate, concealed himself in the isles and deserts; and going northwards to Kashmir, he sought there an asylum" consequently :—

1 After the defeat of Magadha, Mihirakula did not go back to his old kingdom; hence he could not be defeated there by Yaśodhraman, and therefore we must place the defeat inflicted by him earlier than the defeat of the east.

2 Mihirakula was for a time wandering about in concealment and poverty– another circumstance that proves his final defeat.

3 Mihirakula finally took refuge in Kashmir. "The king of Kashmir," continues Hiuen Tsiang, "received him with honour; and moved with pity for his loss, gave him a small territory and a town to govern. After some years he (Mihirakula) stirred up the people of the town to rebellion, had killed the king of Kashmir and placed himself on the throne."[1] Evidently Mihirakula when retreating to Kashmir lost all his possessions in India, since the Kashmir king was moved with pity for his loss.

Probable order of events

Mihirakula, after having succeeded his father Toramāna (probably in 502), enlarged the frontiers of his kingdom, as was the ordinary policy of eastern monarchs in those days. On arriving at Malwa he met with Yaśodharman, whose head according to the Mandasor inscription, had "never been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save the god Sthāṇu."[2] Naturally a conflict ensued between the armies of both chiefs, in which that of Mihirakula was thoroughly routed, and probably driven back northwards.

1 Beal, o.c., I, p. 171. 2 Fleet, o.c., p. 148, l. 6.

This disaster for the Huṇa king encouraged his tributary chiefs to break off allegiance with him. One of these chiefs was Narasiṃha-Gupta, who was already deeply moved against Mihirakula on account of his cruelties against the Buddhists. That was the proper occasion for withdrawing the payment of tribute. Mihirakula, enfeebled by the defeat inflicted by the Malwa Raja, was naturally expected not to oppose the designs of Narasiṃha-Gupta. Hence the latter "strictly guarded the frontiers of his kingdom and refused to pay tribute." But "Mihirakula raised an army to punish his rebellion." What a length of time elapsed between the Malwa defeat and this second war of Mihirakula against Magadha we are not able to say; but it could easily be from one to three years.

The fact is that Narasiṃha-Gupta seems not to have feared this sudden attack of the Huṇa chief, as his later conduct shows. Fortune nevertheless was in his favour, and Mihirakula suffered a tremendous defeat in some narrow passes while going to meet Narasiṃha in the island of his refuge. We do not know what island this was where the final defeat of Mihirakula took place. It might have been any island at the mouths of the Ganges in the district of 24-Parganas.

An objection

There is an obvious objection against our explanation of facts, which has been expressed by Mr. Allan in the following words :—"There is no numismatic or other evidence to show that Bālāditya did anything to restore the glory of the Guptas or regain their lost dominions. We have no inscriptions of Bālāditya, and there is nothing in his coinage to suggest that he was in any way a much greater figure than his successor."[1]

This is true. But I believe I am right in affirming

1 Allan, o.c., p. LVI.

that Narasiṃha-Gupta, in spite of having decisively defeated Mihirakula's hordes, failed to restore the glory of the Gupta family. He was not the man for such a glorious achievement. He was certainly a religious man, as his devotion to Vasubandhu discloses. He used to foster learning, for he is mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang as one of the patrons of the Nālandā University.[1] But he was not a warrior, much less a hero. In spite of the fortifications built to defend the boundaries of his kingdom, when he heard of the approaching of Mihirakula Narasiṃha assembled his ministers and told them :—"I hear that these thieves are coming, and I cannot fight with them ; by the permission of my ministers I will conceal my poor person among the bushes of the morass." A king who conceals himself when the independence of his kingdom is at stake is not the sort of man to renew the past glory of a dynasty. Even the final defeat of Mihirakula was not due to the valour and heroism of Narasiṃha-Gupta ; for the latter remained "guarding the narrow passes, whilst the light cavalry were out to provoke the enemy to fight."

Besides, the conditions of Narasiṃha-Gupta's kingdom were not favourable to such a restoration. Not only had it been shaken by the foreign power of the Huṇas, but it was also weakened by internal dissensions. Already for several years the great Gupta empire had disappeared for ever. Narasiṃha was king of only a portion of that empire ; and some of his neighbours were perhaps more powerful than himself. One of these was Yaśodharman, who, according to the Mandasor inscription, "spurning the confinement of his own house enjoys these countries...which were not enjoyed even by the lords of the Guptas···and which the command of the Huṇas··· failed to penetrate."[2] The Gupta family, placed on the slope of decay, could not be held back from a fatal fall. Soon, after a period of 30 years, the Maukharis, a new ruling family,

1 Beal, o.c., II, pp. 168-9. 2 Fleet, o.c., pp. 147-8, l.-4.

will sit on the throne of Magadha ; and the Guptas will disappear from the pages of history.

Narasiṃha-Gupta could not renew the glorious past of his ancestors ; but his name will always remain encircled with a nimbus of glory for having destroyed the Huṇa empire in India, expelling Mihirakula to its north-western frontier.

Later Huṇas in India

The dynasty founded by Mihirakula in Kashmir lasted several years after his death according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[1] But these are not the later Huṇas referred to in the heading of this section. I refer to the successors of Mihirakula in Āryāvarta.

According to Hiuen Tsiang, Mihirakula's brother, after the defeat of the tyrant by Narasiṃha-Gupta, having gone back, established himself in the kingdom." Nothing else is known about him. He most likely ruled as a petty Raja in a province of central or western India. He and his successors continued to fight with the later Guptas and with the representatives of the new power then residing in the north of India, the Maukharis. In fact the Aphsad stone inscription of Ādityasena records a battle fought between the Huṇas and the Maukharis, the date of which cannot be easily ascertained. It mentions a Maukhari king who "had thrown aloft in battle the troops of the Huṇas in order to trample them to death."[2] It seems that this victorious Maukhari was Īśānavarman, who himself was afterwards defeated by Dāmodara-Gupta.[3] Whether this was the final battle that put an end to the Huṇa power in India or not, we are not able to say. The fact is that the Huṇas mentioned in later times seem to be the Huṇas residing in Kashmir, since they are located in the north of India not far from the Himālayas.

1 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, I, pp. 49-50. 2 Fleet, o.c., p. 206.

3 Cf. Arvamuthan, *The Kaveri, the Maukharis and the Sangam Age*, p. 90.

Prabhākaravardhana, Harṣa's father, who is given in the *Harṣacarita* the title of a lion to the Huṇa deer,[1] is said in the same work to have sent his eldest son Rājyavardhana "towards the north to attack the Huṇas."[2] During this expedition this prince is described as spending several days "on the skirt of the Himālaya."[3] He was sent a second time against them about 604-5; and is described by Bāṇa as covered with many wounds "received in battle while conquering the Huṇas."[4]

After that we find no further mention of the Huṇas in Āryāvarta. Shams-ul-Ulema Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi supposes that the Mers of Rajputana "are the descendants of these ancient Huns who invaded India in the fifth century."[5]

H. Heras

1 Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita*, p. 101. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 123.
3 *Ibid.* 4 *Ibid.*, p. 165.
5 Modi, *Presidential Address, Fourth Oriental Conference*, p. 10

Some old Bengali printed Books and Periodicals in the British Museum†

III

The works of Bhabānīcaraṇ Bandyopādhyāy

In my last article in *I. H. Q.*, vol. II, March, 1926, while giving a description of the files of Samācār-candrikā in the British Museum, I had an occasion to refer (p. 55) to two works of its editor Bhabānīcaraṇ, viz. *Kalikātā Kamalālay* (কলিকাতা কমলালয়) and *Āścaryya Upākhyān* (আশ্চর্য্য উপাখ্যান).[1] Recently I came across copies of these two rare works in the Bengali section of the Imperial Library of Calcutta.

The title-page of the first work is unfortunately missing in this copy which is fairly worm-eaten, and the date of its publication therefore remains uncertain. We learn, however, from another copy of the work in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta, that the work was printed at the Samācār-candrikā Press in 1823 (B.S. 1230).

After the table of contents (শ্রীশ্রীহরি: ॥—/ অথ নির্ঘণ্টঃ/) the work is introduced by an interesting preface (ভূমিকা) which gives us briefly the scope and object of the work thus :

পল্লিগ্রাম নিবাসী ও অন্যান্য নগরবাসী লোক এই কলিকাতায় আসিয়া এখানকার আচার বিচার ব্যবহার রীতি ও বাক্‌কৌশলাদি অবগত হইতে আশু অসমর্থ হয়েন তৎপ্রযুক্ত শঙ্কাযুক্ত হইয়া এতন্নগরবাসি লোকেরদিগের নিকট গমনাগমন করেন এবং সভ্য ভব্য হইয়াও তাঁহারদিগের নিকটে অসভ্য ও অভব্য ন্যায় বসিয়া থাকেন কারণ যখন নগরবাসী বহুজন একত্র হইয়া প্রশ্নোত্তরভাবে পরস্পর কথোপকথন করেন তৎকালে পল্লিগ্রামনিবাসি ব্যক্তি কোন সদুত্তর করিলেও নগরস্থ মহাশয়েরা তাহা গ্রহণ না করিয়া কহেন তুমি পল্লিগ্রামনিবাসী অর্থাৎ পাড়াগেঁয়ে মানুষ অত্যল্প দিবস কলিকাতায় আসিয়াছ এখান[২]কার রীতিজ্ঞ নহ, তোমার এ কথায় প্রয়োজন নাঞি এ উত্তরে নিরুত্তর হইয়া ঐ ব্যক্তি দুঃখিত হয়েন অতএব এই কলিকাতা মহানগরের স্থূলবৃত্তান্ত বিবরণ করিয়া কলিকাতা কমলালয় নামক গ্রন্থ করণে প্রবর্ত্ত হইলাম এতদ্-

† Continued from Vol. II p. 67.

1 Misprinted as আচার্য্য উপাখ্যান।

গ্রন্থ পাঠে বা শ্রবণে অনায়াসে এখানকার ব্যবহার ও রীতি ও বাক্‌চাতুরী ইত্যাদি আশু জ্ঞাত হইতে পারিবেন, অধিকন্তু কলিকাতা কমলালয় হইতে বৃত্তান্তরূপ অনেক রত্নলাভ হইতে পারিবেক ইহাতে এক সন্দেহ আছে যে দোষদর্শী মূর্খরূপ কুম্ভীর নিন্দকরূপী সর্প ইহারা এ কমলালয় হইতে রত্নলাভের ব্যাঘাত করিবার নিমিত্ত স্বীয় স্বভাব দ্বারা অনেক যত্ন পাইবেক অর্থাৎ এতদ্‌গ্রন্থ গ্রহণে বা পাঠে অনেক বাধা জন্মাইবেক তাহাতে বুঝি বিজ্ঞেরা এতদ্‌গ্রন্থ গ্রহণ না করেন কিন্তু এই স্থির করিয়াছি যে বিজ্ঞেরদিগের বিজ্ঞতারূপ ঔষধি দ্বারা তাহারা ভর্ৎসিত ও তাড়িত হইয়া অবশ্যই নিবারিত হইবেক অত[ও]এব কলিকাতা কমলালয় সমাদৃত হইয়া সতেরদিগের সর্ব্বদা বৃত্তান্ত ও বাক্‌কৌশলাদি রূপ রত্ন প্রদান করিবেন।

এই গ্রন্থে চারি তরঙ্গ হইবেক আমার প্রার্থনা যদি গ্রন্থমধ্যে বর্ণভ্রম ও আসক্তিদোষ থাকে তবে সাধুমহাশয়েরা স্বীয় সাধুস্বভাবপ্রযুক্ত তাহা গ্রহণ না করিয়া তাৎপর্য্য গ্রহণ করিলে আমার শ্রমসার্থক্য হইবেক। * * * *

The present volume contains only one তরঙ্গ in pp. i+viii+91, and the colophon at the end of the book reads ইতি শ্রীভবানীচরণ শর্ম্মকৃত কলিকাতা কমলালয়ে প্রথমঃ তরঙ্গঃ সমাপ্তঃ॥ It is doubtful whether the book was ever completed in four তরঙ্গs as the author contemplated and set forth in his preface.

Although the book professes to be a manual or *vade mecum* of etiquette for country people who come for the first time to Calcutta and find themselves bewildered by its strange manners, customs and speech, it gives us yet many vivid glimpses into city-life in Bengal during the second decade of the nineteenth century. The strange title of the book is thus explained at the beginning: কলিকাতার সাগরের সহিত সাদৃশ্য আছে তৎপ্রযুক্ত কলিকাতা কমলালয় নাম স্থির হইল, কমলা লক্ষ্মী তাঁহার আলয় এই অর্থ দ্বারা কমলালয় শব্দে যেমন সমুদ্রের উপস্থিতি হইতেছে তেমন কলিকাতার উপস্থিতিও হইতে পারে অতএব কলিকাতা কমলালয় শব্দে যোগার্থ রহিল (p. 5). Then follows a brief account of this "ocean," yclept Calcutta (pp. 5-6). The book is written in the form of a dialogue between a নগরবাসী and পল্লিগ্রামবাসী (called বিদেশী here), the latter being an enquirer into the ways of the city people, and the alternative title প্রশ্ন উত্তর দ্বারা কলিকাতার রীতিবর্ণন justly indicates the scope as well as the form of the work. At the outset, the vices of city-life are touched upon, as well as the non-orthodox ways which some people have taken up and which is not approved by its orthodox author. This is

followed by an interesting account of the daily life of the different ranks of people living in the city (p. 16). Those who are Dewan (দেওয়ান) or Mucchadi (মুচ্ছদি), that is বিষয়িভদ্রলোক, get up early in the morning and after washing their faces, they spend the early part of the day in anointing their body with oil (তৈল মর্দ্দন), bathing (স্নানক্রিয়া), পূজা, হোম, দান, বলি প্রভৃতি কর্ম্ম, ভোজন, কিঞ্চিৎ বিশ্রাম, after which they, in the language of the author, অপূর্ব্ব পোষাক জামা জোড়া ইত্যাদি পরিধান করিয়া পাল্‌কী বা অপূর্ব্ব শকটারোহণে কর্ম্মস্থানে গমন করেন। After the day's work in office, they come home, change and wash গঙ্গোদকস্পর্শে পবিত্র হইয়া সায়ংসন্ধ্যাবন্দনাদি সমাপন করিয়া জলযোগান্তর পুনর্ব্বার বৈঠক হয়, when people come to visit them, or they go out visiting. The daily life of the middle-class people is almost the same, but the author adds কেবল দান বৈঠকি আলাপের অল্পতা এবং পরিশ্রমের বাহুল্য। Regarding poorer people, the author remarks: ঐ ধারা কেবল আহার ও দানাদি কর্ম্মের লাঘব আছে আর শ্রম-বিষয়ে প্রাবল্য কারণ কেহ মুহুরী, কেহ মেট বা বাজার সরকার ইত্যাদি কর্ম্ম করিয়া থাকেন বিস্তর পথ হাঁটিতে হয় পরে প্রায় প্রতিদিন রাত্রে গিয়া দেওয়ানজীর নিকট আজ্ঞা যে আজ্ঞা মহাশয় মহাশয় করিতে হয় না করিলেও নয় পোড়া উদরের জ্বালা (p. 17). Those who are more fortunate lead a more indolent life, take a siesta in the afternoon, get up at 4 P.M., when কেহবা আপন বিষয় দৃষ্টি করেন কেহ বা পুরাণাদি শ্রবণ করিয়া থাকেন। Here follows long ত্রিপদী verses which sing the praises of পুরাণ শ্রবণ। The বিদেশী expresses surprise but the নগরবাসী reassures him that these people are religious although, religiosity in his opinion consists of gifts to Brahmans and Pandits: সোনারূপার দুই চারি দানসাগর, অধ্যাপক ও পণ্ডিত বিদায়, ১০০।৮০ ঘড়া গাড়ু থালা বাটি বিতরণ ইত্যাদি। But the বিদেশী alludes to the reckless habits of certain anglicised gentlemen of the city: অত্যন্ত অপূর্ব্ব শিষ্ট শান্ত মহাশয়েরা অসৌচ (*sic*) সময়ে শুদ্ধাচারার্থে কেবল ব্রাণ্ডিমাত্র পান করেন অন্য সময়ে আহার বাজারের পাক করা মাংস মিঠাই ও মুছলমানকৃত পাওরুটী এবং নানাপ্রকার সরাপ ইত্যাদি দ্রব্যসকল ভোজন করেন পরিচ্ছদ অর্থাৎ পোষাক ধুতি প্রভৃতি বস্ত্র পরিত্যাগ করিয়া ইজার জামাজোড়া ইত্যাদি পরেন কালাচর্ম্মের পাদুকা ফিতে-বান্ধা গোড়তোলা মাথানেঁড়া বোঁচা সকল পায়ে দেন। But the নগরবাসী assures him that these are not the manners of a gentleman.

We then have a discussion of the peculiar speech of the city people who mix their Bengali with words and idioms derived from Persian and English. The author gives a fairly long list of such foreign words used, together with their indigenous Bengali equivalents, in parallel columns (pp. 25-35). The নগরবাসী justifies this peculiar speech on the plea that অর্থকরী বিদ্যোপার্জ্জনের আবশ্যকতা আছে, but he would not defend the use of a foreign word where there is a Bengali equivalent for it merely for the sake of fashion or pedantry, and he gives examples of such words (pp. 36-39).

The author, of course, extols the old fashioned Bengali life which consisted in ব্রাহ্মণ পণ্ডিত প্রতিপালন and observing the old social manners and customs and condemns the selfish life of those modernised Babus who spend everything on themselves. In this connection, the author dilates upon the question of education, establishment of schools by the School Book Society and refers to the usefulness of printing books by subscription : বালকদিগের পড়িবার নিমিত্ত উত্তম উত্তম গ্রন্থ বাঙ্গালা ভাষায় প্রস্তুত করিবার কারণ স্কুল বুক সোসাইটী অর্থাৎ পাঠশালার পুস্তক প্রস্তুত করণ কারণ এক সমাজ স্থাপন করিয়াছেন তদ্দ্বারা নানাবিধ গ্রন্থ প্রস্তুত করিয়া ঐ বালকদিগকে প্রদান করিয়া থাকেন এবং বালকদিগের কি প্রকার শিক্ষা হইতেছে তাহার পরীক্ষা করিয়া থাকেন অপর শ্রীযুত ডেভিড হের নামক এক সাহেব নিজ অর্থ ব্যয় করিয়া পূর্ব্বোক্ত রীত্যনুসারে এক পাঠশালা করিয়া দিয়াছেন এবং আপনিও মনোযোগপূর্ব্বক তাহার অনুসন্ধান করেন (p. 80). There is also an allusion to the establishment of the Hindu College : কলিকাতার সুপ্রীম কোর্ট আদালতের প্রধান জজ শ্রীযুত স্যার ইড্ওয়ার্ড ইএষ্ট সাহেব হিন্দুবালকদিগের নিমিত্ত হিন্দু কালেজ নামক এক বিদ্যালয় স্থাপিত করণের সময়ে অনেক ধনিলোককে আহ্বান করিয়াছিলেন তাহাতে শ্রীল শ্রীযুত মহারাজা তেজচন্দ্র বাহাদুর এবং শ্রীযুত বাবু চন্দ্রকুমার ঠাকুর প্রভৃতি অনেকের মনোযোগ দ্বারা ঐ কালেজ স্থাপিত হইয়াছে সেই কালেজে অনেক বালক নানা বিদ্যা উপার্জ্জন করিয়াছে এবং করিতেছে ঐ কালেজের আর বিশেষ বৃত্তান্ত যদি জানিবার বাঞ্ছা হয় তবে কালেজের রিগুলেসন অর্থাৎ বিদ্যালয়ের ধারা সমাচারচন্দ্রিকায় প্রকাশ আছে তাহা পাঠ করিলেই জানিতে পারিবা। (p. 82)

Bhabānīcaran Bandyopādhyāy was, no doubt, the most influential member of the so-called orthodox party, who upheld the

traditions of the orthodox society irrespective of their merits or defects; but it must be said that in his present publication, he keeps a fairly open and balanced mind. He is generous enough to admit the usefulness of English education which was then gradually gaining ground in the country but which in the opinion of the narrow orthodoxy of the time was sapping the very foundations of the ancient faith and encouraging the pernicious habits of the young bloods of the time. On the other hand, Bhabānīcaraṇ satirises some of the weaknesses of the so-called orthodox party and does not miss an opportunity of making fun of them. Speaking of the Pūjā festival he says: দেখ এস্থলে যে সকল লোক দুর্গোৎসব করেন তাহাকে ঝাড় উৎসব, বাতি উৎসব, কবি উৎসব, বাই উৎসব, কিংবা স্ত্রীর গহনা উৎসব ও বস্ত্রোৎসব বলিলেও বলা যায়। (p. 11).[1] He gives an inimitable description of দলাদলি and alludes to four or five such দলs in the orthodox society. As the institution is gradually vanishing from modern society, we reproduce below the author's description of a ceremony in which the দলপতি presides and his remarks on the duties of such দলপতি (pp. 49-52):

আপন দলের মধ্যে কোন ব্যক্তির বাটীতে কোন বৃহৎ কর্ম্ম অর্থাৎ পুরাণ আরাম্ভ (*sic*) সমাপনদিবসে এবং পিতৃমাতৃশ্রাদ্ধাদি কর্ম্ম উপস্থিত হইলে ঐ ব্যক্তি দলপতির নিকটে আসিয়া আপন বিষয় অবগত করান এবং আপন বিভবানুসারে ব্যয় করিবার ক্ষমতাও জানান তিনি সেই ব্যয়োপযুক্ত লোক নিমন্ত্রণ করিবার ফর্দ্দ (*sic*) করিয়া দেন আপন দলের নৈক্যভাবাপন্ন কুলীনব্রাহ্মণ এত, ভঙ্গ কুলীন এত, অধ্যাপক এত, সেই ফর্দ্দপ্রমাণ নিমন্ত্রণ হয় পরে সিধা ও পত্র দেওয়ান তৎপরে কর্ম্মদিবসে নির্ণয়সময়ে নিমন্ত্রিতব্যক্তিসকলে দলপতির অনুমতি লইয়া কর্ম্মকর্ত্তার বাটীতে আগমন করেন দলপতি প্রায় সর্ব্বত্রই কিঞ্চিৎকাল বিলম্ব করিয়া গমন করিয়া থাকেন সকল লোক তাঁহার প্রতীক্ষা করিয়া সভায় বসিয়া কালযাপন করেন অধ্যাপকেরা সভাস্থ হইয়া পরস্পর নানাশাস্ত্রের বিচার করিতেছেন কুলজ্ঞ কুলীন মহাশয় সকল এবং কুলাচার্য্য সকল কুলজীর ব্যাখ্যা করিতেছেন গোষ্ঠীপতিকে বেষ্টিত করিয়া কুলীনসকল বসিয়াছেন ভট্টেরা কর্ম্মকর্ত্তার বংশাবলী ও পূর্ব্বপুরুষের এবং তাঁহার গুণ কীর্ত্তন করিতেছে ঐ সভাবাটীর দ্বারে দ্বারপালেরা হস্তপদাদি দ্বারা নিমন্ত্রিত ভিন্ন অন্য লোকের গমনাগমন বারণ করিতেছে এমত সময়ে অতি আত্মীয়বন্ধুবান্ধব সমভিব্যাহারে

1 But elsewhere (p. 84) he gives an account of their patronage of music.

ভূপতিতুল্যমর্য্যাদ দলপতি আসিয়া উপস্থিত হইলেন তৎকালে সভাস্থ সকলে গাত্রোত্থান-পূর্ব্বক আসিতে আজ্ঞা হয় ২ ইত্যাদি পূজ্যতাবোধক সম্বোধন বাক্যোচ্চারণপুরঃসর অভ্যর্থনা করেন তৎপরে দলপতি তন্মধ্যবর্ত্তি স্থানে পৃথক আসনে উপবিষ্ট হয়েন কিঞ্চিৎকাল বিলম্বে জিজ্ঞাসা করেন অমুক ২ আসিয়াছেন ইত্যাদি, পরে কর্ম্মকর্ত্তা দলপতির নিকট আসিয়া গললগ্নীকৃতবাসা হইয়া নিবেদন করেন বেলা বা রাত্রি অধিক হইয়াছে অনুমতি হইলে সভাস্থ মহাশয়দিগ্যে মাল্যচন্দন অর্পন (*sic*) করা যায় দলপতি অনুমতি করেন গোষ্ঠীপতি অমুকের নিকট যাও, তাঁহার অনুমতি হয় পরে পরিচারক ব্রাহ্মণেরা চন্দনের বাটী পুষ্পমাল্য আনিয়া কহে অগ্রে চন্দন কাহাকে দেওয়া যাইবেক সে সময় প্রায় অনেক স্থানে বিরোধ হইয়া থাকে যেহেতু চন্দনের পাত্র গোষ্ঠীপতি হয়েন সে সভায় দুই তিনজন থাকিলেই সুতরাং বিরোধ হয় পরে দলপতি বিরোধভঞ্জন করিয়া দেন অগ্রে গোষ্ঠীপতি চন্দন হইলে সভাস্থ ব্রাহ্মণের হয় তৎপরে দলপতির চন্দন হয় তৎপরে অগ্রপশ্চ (*sic*) বিবেচনা থাকে না একাদিক্রমেই মাল্য-চন্দন হইয়া থাকে পরে সকলেই আপন আপন স্থানে প্রস্থান করেন অনন্তর যাঁহার সহিত যাঁহার আহার ব্যবহার থাকে তাঁহারা আহার করিয়া থাকেন পরে দলপতি মহাশয় উপযুক্ত পাত্র বিবেচনা করিয়া বিদায়ের অঙ্কপাত করিয়া দেন কর্ম্মকর্ত্তা তদনুসারে সম্মানপূর্ব্বক সকলকে দানাদি প্রদান করেন ইহাতে দলপতির যে লভ্য হয় তাহা আমি আর অধিক কি কহিব আপনিই বিবেচনা করুন।

At the same time there are occasional attacks on the somewhat reckless and incontinent lives led by "English-educated" Bengali youths of this period, the so-called reforming Young Bengal who regarded everything old and time-honoured as despicable. It is true that the conduct of some of the fresh products of the Hindu College was not above reproach and deserved the biting satire of works like *Kalikātā Kamalālay* and *Naba-bābu-bilās* but it must be said to the credit of Bhabānīcaran that he does not represent the somewhat extreme and one-sided views of his party and his remarks are not marked by the abusive bitterness which often defaced the periodical publications of the time. Here is a piece of good-natured banter on one of the weaknesses of the modern Babu who loves to collect a large library of well-bound volumes without ever turning over the page of a single book :

যে বাবু সকল নানাজাতীয় ভাষার উত্তম ২ গ্রন্থ অর্থাৎ পার্সি ইংরাজি আরবি কেতাব ক্রয় করিয়া কেহ এক কেহ বা দুই গেলাসওয়ালা আলমারির মধ্যে সুন্দর শ্রেণীপূর্ব্বক এমত

সাজাইয়া রাখেন যে দোকানদারের বাপেও এমত সোনার হল করিয়া কেতাব সাজাইয়া রাখিতে পারেনা আর তাহাতে এমন যত্ন করেন একশত বৎসরেও কেহ বোধ করিতে পারেন না যে এই কেতাবে কাহার হস্তস্পর্শ হইয়াছে। অন্য অপরের হস্ত দেওয়া দূরে থাকুক জেলদগর ভিন্ন বাবুও স্বয়ং কখন হস্ত দেন নাই এবং কোন কালেও দিবেন এমত কথা শুনা যায় না.....বাবুরা বুঝি শুনিয়া থাকিবেন যে অধিক পুস্তক গৃহে রাখিলে সরস্বতী বদ্ধ থাকেন যেমন অধিক ধন আছে তাহার ব্যয় না করিলে লক্ষ্মী সুস্থির থাকেন ব্যয় করিলেই বিচলিত হয়েন ইহাও বুঝি তেমনি তেমনি কেতাব লইয়া আন্দোলন করিলে সরস্বতী বিরক্ত হয়েন তৎপ্রযুক্ত হস্তস্পর্শ তাহাতে করেন না।

The ostensible object of the work, however, is not satire but description, although Bhabānīcaraṇ had an undoubted gift of satirical writing. His descriptions of চাকরির উমেদার or of professional beggars (pp. 84-88) and মোসাহেব who hang upon the wealthy, exhibit the true picture of a certain type or class in every society, interesting to the student of the drama, novel or social history. That Bhabānīcaraṇ possessed fine powers of observation and satirical portraiture which, if developed, would have borne better fruits, and that he was more than a writer of ephemeral editorials is put beyond doubt by his *Kalikātā Kamalālay* ; and there can be no question that this work formed the starting point of several other works of the same type, like Pramathanāth Śarmā's *Nababābu-bilās*, culminating in the inimitable sketches of Teckcānd and Hutam. To the student of the history of Bengali literature, therefore, the work under review possesses a unique importance.

The other work of Bhabānīcaraṇ, viz., *Āścaryya Upākhyān* (আশ্চর্য্য উপাখ্যান), published in 1835, is entirely devoid of satirical pretentions. The title-page reads : শ্রীশ্রীদুর্গা ॥ / শরণং ॥ / আশ্চর্য্য উপাখ্যান / অর্থাৎ মুক্ত কালীশঙ্কর রায়ের বিবরণ।/ ক্ষমতাদিকীর্ত্তিকৃত্য ইহাতে বর্ণন॥ / কলিকাতা নগরে / সমাচারচন্দ্রিকা যন্ত্রে মুদ্রিত হইল।/ ১ চৈত্র ১২৪১ সাল।/ It is a slight pamphlet of 20 pages, written entirely in পয়ার verse, describing the life and works of Kālīśaṅkar Rāy of the Kāyastha Datta family (zamindars) of Narail, Jessore. It enumerates in detail the various virtuous acts of the said gentleman, how he established images of

Kāli and temples of Śiva in various villages, dug tanks and constructed a ঘাট (landing place) at বিন্ধ্যাচল and goes on to describe his death at Benares in old age and the magnificent Śrāddha ceremony which was held there after his death. His genealogy is given at pp. 7-8. The work is of little merit and is written in the old style with following *bhaṇitā* at the end (p. 20): শ্রীভবানীচরণ দ্বিজ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়। সুকৃতির পুণ্যকীর্ত্তি রচিল ভাষায়॥

Bhabānīcharaṇ also wrote a *Puruṣottama-candrikā* পুরুষোত্তম চন্দ্রিকা অর্থাৎ শ্রীক্ষেত্রধামের বিবরণ in the same strain, written in *payār* and occasional prose, and giving a topographical and historical account of the holy places in the Ganjam District, especially of শ্রীক্ষেত্র or Purī. It is not necessary to give an elaborate description of this work. A copy of this work is in the British Museum[1] as well as in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and bears *Śaka* 1766(= 1844 A. D.) as the date of its publication on the title-page. It contains pp. viii +77. A *Gayā-paddhati* was also probably written by him.

Another poetical work by Bhabānīcaraṇ, entitled *Dūtī-vilāsa* (দূতীবিলাস সুরসিক রসদায়ক পুস্তক, pp. viii+133), can be traced in the British Museum collection.[2] On the title-page it bears the date, viz., *Śaka* 1747=A. D. 1825, published at Calcutta, containing 12 illustrations. As the poem possesses little merit, and is disfigured by occasional grossness, it is not desirable to give here any detailed account of the work. We read in the বিবিধার্থ সংগ্রহ of 1858 (no. 60, পঞ্চম পর্ব্ব, *Śaka* 1780, p. 260): অতঃপর সুবিখ্যাত শ্রীভবানীচরণ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় কোন দোষী পরিবারের নিগঞ্জনার্থে দূতিবিলাস (*sic*) নামে একখানি কাব্য প্রস্তুত করেন। তাহাতে অন্যান্য বাঙ্গালী ব্যঙ্গ্য কাব্যের আদর্শে অনেক জঘন্য অশ্লীলতা আছে, অধিকন্তু তাহার কবিত্ব যৎসামান্যমাত্র।[3]

1 Blumhardt, *Catalogue of Bengali Printed Books in the British Museum*, p. 10. 2 Blumhardt, *loc. cit.*

3 Since writing the above account, we had an opportunity of examining fresh files of the Samācār-candrikā, edited by Bhabānīcaraṇ

The Work of Gaurīśaṅkar Bhaṭṭācārya Tarkavāgīśa

In our last article we gave an account of some of the periodicals edited by Gaurīśaṅkar (otherwise known as গুড়্ গুড়ে) Bhaṭṭācārya who had some reputation as an irresponsible journalist and formidable literary rival of Iśvarcandra Gupta. We mentioned also some of the works composed by Gaurīśaṅkar, of which we propose to give below some detailed account. The works composed by him, so far as I have been able to trace, are :

1 ভগবদ্গীতা ॥ মূল সংস্কৃত ও শ্রীধর স্বামির টীকা এবং.....সাধু ভাষায় মূলের অনুবাদ। (The Bhagavad-gītā with a Bengali translation of the text.) Calcutta 1242 B.S. (= A.D. 1835) pp i+112.

2 চণ্ডী। মূল ও..... শ্রীগৌরীশঙ্কর তর্কবাগীশ কৃত মূলানুবাদ। (Sanskrit text and commentary, and a Bengali translation of the text), pp. iii+vii+167. Calcutta, 1265 B.S. (=A.D. 1858.)

3 পাক-রাজেশ্বর। (on the art of cookery), Calcutta, *Śaka* 1765=(A.D. 1843).

4 জ্ঞানপ্রদীপ। in Two Parts (full title-page given below). Pt. I, Calcutta, 1247 B.S. (=A.D. 1840) ; Pt. II, Calcutta, 1259 B.S. (= A.D. 1853).

in the Calcutta Imperial Library : viz. for the Bengali years 1250, 1251 and 1252, corresponding to 1843-44, 1844-45 and 1845-46 (April to April). We have not been able to gather any such interesting information from these files as would justify a detailed account of them. Only three items may be culled here. (1) June 15, 1843—২রা আষাঢ় ১২৫০: We read about George Thompson who came out with Dwarkanath Tagore and became the founder of the Bengal British Indian Society, of which he became the President, with Peary Chand Mitra as Secretary and Ramgopal Ghose as Treasurer. We are told in this issue that he went to Delhi, and having been appointed Ambassador of the Emperor of Delhi was making preparations for his departure to England. (2) September 28, 1843—১৩ই আশ্বিন ১২৫০: We are told that the Seal's College, which was founded about six months ago, is holding its first six monthly examination. (3) August 8, 1844—২৫শে শ্রাবণ, ১২৫১ : "বাবু রামকমল সেন গত ২০শে শ্রাবণ শনিবার ইহলোক পরিত্যাগ পূর্ব্বক পরলোক গমন করিয়াছেন। তাঁহার বয়ঃক্রম ৬১ বৎসর হইয়াছিল।"

5 ভূগোলসার। (full title-page given below). Calcutta 1260 B. S. (=A. D. 1854).

All these works, with the exception of (3) and (5) are in the British Museum.[1] Of the works (3) and (5) there are copies in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and in the Imperial Library respectively. As the first and the second work are mere translations, while the third cannot claim in any sense to be a literary work, we shall confine ourselves to the last two works, although they are in reality meant to be school text-books.

The full-title-page of the *Jñāna-pradīp* (জ্ঞানপ্রদীপ) reads thus[2] : নমো জগদীশ্বরায় / জ্ঞানপ্রদীপ। / বালকদিগের শিক্ষার্থ বিবিধ নীতি বিষয়ক / প্রস্তাব ও দৃষ্টান্ত সকল / গৌড়ীয় ভাষায় / প্রথম খণ্ড / শ্রীযুত গৌরীশঙ্কর তর্কবাগীশ কর্ত্তৃক রচিত / এবং / সম্বাদ ভাস্কর যন্ত্রে মুদ্রিত হইল। / ...(torn off) ২০ আষাঢ় ১২৪৭ সাল।/ ...র্দ্ধ (?) মুদ্রা।/, pp. ii+80. নমো জগদীশ্বরায়। / জ্ঞানপ্রদীপ। / দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড। / শ্রীগৌরীশঙ্কর তর্কবাগীশ / কৃত / কলিকাতা শোভাবাজারীয় সম্বাদ ভাস্কর যন্ত্রে মুদ্রাঙ্কিত / হইল। / বাঙ্গালা ১২৫৯ সাল ১৬ মাঘ। / ইংরেজি ১৮৫৩ সাল ২৮ জানুয়ারী। / মূল্য ॥ অর্দ্ধ মুদ্রা।/ Printed by Shibe-Krist Mitter / pp. 78.

The work proceeds on the model of Indian fables like *Pañcatantra* and pretends to be the substance of the teachings of Mahāmahopādhyāy Hariharācārya who is requested by Mahārājādhirāj Kailāsadeva to impart instruction to his son Malayadeva. The didactic motive, as usual in these collections of fables, is deliberately and expressly developed after the manner of its Sanskrit models : but some of the stories seem to be entirely original. The author's introduction sets forth the scope of the work thus :

কৈলাসদেব নামে কোন রাজ্যপাল ছিলেন তিনি মলয়দেব নামক স্বপুত্রকে নীতিশিক্ষা নিমিত্ত মহামহোপাধ্যায় হরিহরাচার্য্যের নিকট সমর্পণ করেন অনন্তর হরিহরাচার্য্য উক্ত রাজকুমারকে জ্ঞানপ্রদীপে লিখিত বিষয়সকল শিক্ষাদান করিয়াছিলেন, গ্রন্থকর্ত্তা ইহা স্বীকার

1 Blumhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

2 The British Museum copy contains only Pt. I of this work. The description here given is based on the (Calcutta) Imperial Library copy which contains both the parts.

করিয়া জ্ঞানপ্রদীপ প্রস্তুত করিলেন, রচনাকারক অঙ্গীকার করেন অন্যান্য মান্য লোকেরা যে সকল পুস্তক প্রস্তুত করিয়াছেন জ্ঞানপ্রদীপাপেক্ষা তাহা উত্তম হইয়াছে এবং রচনা বিষয়ে অবশ্য তাঁহার ভ্রম হইয়া থাকিবে কিন্তু সাহস এই যে নির্ম্মলস্বভাব লোকেরা স্বভাবগুণে তাঁহাকে সাহস প্রদান করিবেন, বালকদিগের বঙ্গভাষা শিক্ষার্থ এই পুস্তক প্রস্তুত হইল এবং অন্যান্য নীতিবিষয় লিখিত এইরূপ চারিখণ্ড হইবে, গ্রন্থকর্ত্তা এইক্ষণে সর্ব্বসাধারণের নিকট সাহায্য প্রার্থনা করেন তাহা প্রাপ্ত হইলে আনন্দিত হইয়া অবশিষ্ট চারিখণ্ড অবিলম্বে একাদিক্রমে প্রকাশ করিতে পারেন। ইতি—তারিখ ২০ আষাঢ় সন ১২৪৭ সাল।

An idea of the themes, which are illustrated by the stories in the work, may be obtained by the following brief résumé of the contents of Pt. I (from the নির্ঘণ্টপত্র) : বিদ্যাবিষয়ক। মিথ্যাগুণের দৃষ্টান্ত। মিথ্যাকথনে দোষ। অঙ্গীকারপালনে নিত্যতা। শিশুকালে বালকসকলকে জ্ঞানিলোকের নিকট রাখিবার আবশ্যকতা। প্রিয়বাক্য কথনের আবশ্যকতা। অপ্রিয়বাক্যের নিন্দা। নির্দ্দোষ বাক্য কথনের প্রয়োজন। প্রণয়রক্ষার আবশ্যকতা। সকল বিষয়ের আরম্ভের পূর্ব্বে বিবেচনা। যুক্তি শাস্ত্র উভয়সিদ্ধ আচার ব্যবহার কর্ত্তব্য। অবাধ্যকে দমন করিতে বিবেচনা। উপকার করণের আবশ্যকতা।

We shall close our account of this work by giving two short specimens of its Bengali, the one illustrating the author's plain style, the other his ornate mode of writing.

কতকদূর গমনকরত অমরেশ্বর মহীপাল পরমেশ্বর স্মরণ পূর্ব্বক ক্ষণমাত্রে প্রেমসিন্ধুরাজার দেশে গমনার্থ আকাঙ্ক্ষা করিলেন তাহাতে ক্ষণকালে ছয়মাসের পথ ব্যবহিত প্রেমসিন্ধু নৃপতির অধিকারে শ্রীহট্টে উপস্থিত হইয়া দেখেন তথায় নানাপ্রকার দ্রব্যাদি ক্রয় বিক্রয় হইতেছে এবং এক ব্রাহ্মণ বহুতর দ্রব্যাদি ক্রয় করিয়া ভৃত্যের আগমন অপেক্ষা করিতেছেন অমরেশ্বর নৃপতি ভৃত্যের অভিপ্রায় জানিয়া তৎকালীন অতি কুরূপ নীচজাতীয় ক্ষিপ্তের ন্যায় রূপধারণ পূর্ব্বক ব্রাহ্মণের নিকট গেলেন তাহাতে ব্রাহ্মণ জিজ্ঞাসা করিলেন, ওরে, তুই কোন জাতি অনাচরণীয় ত নইস, রাজা উত্তর করিলেন, ঠাকুর মহাশয়, মুই কৈবত্ত, লোকে মোকে পাগল বলে এই কারণ বিদেশে আইনু, আপনি কেন সুধাইতেছেন, ব্রাহ্মণ কহিলেন তুই পাগল তাহা পারিব (*sic*) সম্প্রতি আমার এই মোট্টা নিয়া সঙ্গে যাইতে পারিবি, আমি রাজপুরোহিত কল্য আমার পুত্রের অন্নপ্রাশন বিলক্ষণ আহার পাইবি। (Pt. I, p. 33).

নীতিশাস্ত্রজ্ঞেরা কহেন আত্মহিতৈষি রাজা দণ্ডনীত্যনুযায়ি রাজধর্ম্মপুরস্কারপূর্ব্বক তদ্বিরুদ্ধাচারকে তিরস্কার করিবেন তাহা হইলেই চপলাবত্তরলগামিনী রাজলক্ষ্মী রাজাকে আশ্রয় করিয়া চিরকাল থাকেন নতুবা যোষিদ্‌গণ-গণ্ডস্থল-মন্থনদণ্ড-দন্ত-প্রিয় নৃপতিসকল কামকুতূহলে কালক্ষেপ করিলে অবিলম্বে রাজ্যভ্রষ্ট হয়েন। (Pt. I, p. 14).

Gaurīśaṅkar's *Bhūgol-sār* need not detain us long. It

a short elementary school book of 50 pages, compiled from various English works on Geography. Its title-page reads: ভূগোলসার। / পৃথিবীর আকার ও বিবরণাদি নিরূপক / নানা গ্রন্থ হইতে সংক্ষেপ / সংগ্রহ। / শ্রীগৌরীশঙ্কর ভট্টাচার্য্য কৃত / কলিকাতা শোভাবাজার ভাস্কর যন্ত্রে / মুদ্রাঙ্কিত হইল / সন ১২৬০ সাল ২৫শে কার্ত্তিক। / Printed by Shib-Krist Mitter. / Beginning with general definitions, it goes on to deal with the geographical features of Asia, incidentally of হিন্দুস্থান (pp. 16-20), and follows it up with accounts of Europe (pp. 20-34), Africa (pp. 34-41), America (pp. 41-50), devoting only one page (p. 50) to Polynesia. The author's remarks on হিন্দুস্থান is quoted here as a specimen: পূর্ব্বে হিন্দুবংশীয় ভরত নামক মহারাজ এই দেশে রাজত্ব করিয়াছিলেন এই কারণ রাজ্যাধিকার সময়ে ভরতরাজার তত্তদ্দেশ ভারতবর্ষ নামে বিখ্যাত হয়। পরে তৈমুরাধিরাজের উত্তরাধিকারিদিগের প্রভুত্ব সময়ে ইউরোপ দেশীয়েরা ইহাকে মোগলরাজ্য কহিতেন। বাস্তবিক দিল্লীস্থ জবন সম্রাটদিগের অধিকৃত স্থানকে হিন্দুস্থান বলেন।

(*To be continued*)

Sushil Kumar De

Some Lights on Ancient World History from the Purāṇas

There are many problems of ancient history which the modern historians are obliged to note, but which still await a proper solution. Thus, while it is realised that ancient Persian civilization and that of the Indo-Aryans had a common root, that thereafter came a time when for some reason or other they divided, and divided with a certain degree of mutual opposition and conflict, what the reason of that conflict was few can say. The ancient home of the whole Aryan race has been shifting round the world from Central Asia to Asia Minor, Scandinavia, Artic regions, Caucasus and somewhere in the south-western regions of Central Europe. Even now a group of scholars places the first Aryan habitation in India itself. There is the other problem of the identity of the Summerians. That there were Summerians in the earliest portion of the now-known history is certain. A civilization, that of the ancient Dravidians, similar to theirs is said to have existed in India also before the Aryans came in, but who these Summerians were, how and whence they came into India, no one can say. On the other side of the world also the problem of the Maya civilization is dividing scholars into two camps, one holding that Mayas came from India and the other affirming their independent development.

Value of Purāṇas

The accounts in the Purāṇas and the Hindu Epics throw very interesting lights on these and many other problems of ancient history. The pity is that sufficient attention has not been paid to these books which appear to contain such valuable materials. It is true that the Purāṇas as found now are not of very old standing as books, but they were certainly written at a time when these controversies had not arisen. Evidently the Purāṇas record traditions about times much

anterior to the time of their compilation. Indeed there is a distinct tradition in the Purāṇas that while the Vedic literature was in the charge of the Brāhmaṇas the task of developing the Purāṇas was given to the *Sūtas* or bards who sang about secular history. That the present Purāṇas are not secular but have a religious form points to some earlier Prākṛt Purāṇas which have been lost. It is admitted that the earliest of the existing Purāṇas was not written earlier than the Buddhist period. The probable reason of the Purāṇas being given a religious form was to produce a literature interesting to the masses to combat the growing power of Buddhism. The greater respect paid to the Vedas and Vedic literature probably kept them safe from such treatment. But even in this form some of the most authentic Purāṇas have got separate chapters for historical accounts. The Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇas may be cited as examples. It is true that even in these accounts legendary form has crept in places, but it is surely possible to separate the raff from the substance by proper criticism and comparison. Indeed there has been too much prejudice against these books and it is high time to subject these records of some of the most ancient traditions of world history to the searchlight of careful scholarship. No doubt some scholars have begun to give them their attention—and it is a good sign but they deserve much more yet. The special value of the Purāṇas lies in the fact that they are records not merely of historical traditions of the Aryans but supply valuable materials about the history of other nations and civilizations of antiquity.

The great deluge : its geological confirmation

The first great landmark in the Puranic history is that of the Great Flood. That there was such a flood is now admitted on all hands. There was a time, the scholars say, when the present Rajputana, the Gangetic plain and Bengal were all big seas separating the Punjab and Himalayas from the Deccan plateau on the map of India. At that time the

Deccan plateau was connected with Africa on the one hand and Australia on the other by a huge Indianic continent which now lies submerged under water. There is a new theory now claiming attention, that of the "drifting" of the continents. But howsoever it might have been, it is admitted that about fifty thousand years ago the map of the world was different from that of today. Then there came about a change. This change was completed, perhaps in thousands of years. Mr. H. G. Wells places the period of this change between 35000 and 25000 years back. But it was probably accelerated by some huge cataclysm which created new seas and new lands. The tradition of this convulsion embodied in some form or other exists practically in all lands. In the Semitic accounts it is called the Noah's Flood and in the Purāṇas it is the Manu's Flood. The similarity in the name as well as in the main account is striking. The antiquity and authenticity of the thing is further ensured by its description in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Thus it is not merely a Puranic legend but has the hall-mark of Vedic literature. But what is even more wonderful is the detail which finds confirmation in the accounts of the geologists. Thus the scholars agree that after this convulsion some new land appeared which developed into Gangetic plain. Exactly the same thing is said here. In the Rāmāyaṇa we find that Vaivasvata Manu founded the city of Ayodhyā. Before the deluge he was a mere king. After it he became a Manu, and as such founded a new city in a new land. This new land was the one which emerged from the convulsion. It was written thousands of years before modern geology asserted such a change to have occurred. Dr. Abinash Chandra Das has argued in his *Ṛg-Vedic India* that Vedic texts show that once the Punjab was surrounded by seas. In the Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas we find a confirmation of this view, even the indication of an effect of the deluge exactly according to the conclusions of geological research. This is a fact of capital importance. It indicates the trustworthiness of the Puranic traditions, and also a

definite point in time from which it is possible to find the sequence of the chief events in ancient history.

The previous six Manvantaras

But the Puranic history does not begin from this point. From this it gives a wonderfully connected account of the Indian dynasties. But even before this it gives an account of six Manvantaras going before the Deluge. A Manvantara is the period of influence of one Manu or the law-giver of the "Manuṣyas" or men. The present period is that of the Vaivasvata Manu. It began from the Deluge and is continuing. Prior to that there were the periods of the six Manus Svāyambhuva, Svārociṣa, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata and Cākṣuṣa. The account of these periods is neither so complete nor so connected as that of the present Vaivasvata period. But whatever is given is invaluable to build the most ancient history of the world. Different dates are given to the deluge by different writers, but whatever the date, the extant historical accounts of practically all ancient nations begin sometime after the deluge. The beauty of the Puranic account is that the deluge and a long period before it is given as a period of history, and the deluge is a mere historical episode though of the greatest importance.

The Kaśyapas or Kaspios

The pre-deluge nations about whom the Purāṇas speak are the Devas, the Daityas, the Dānavas, the Nāgas, the Garuḍas and the Manuṣyas. There are two traditions about their origin. Brahman is the Lord Creator. From two of his sons, Svāyambhuva Manu and Kaśyapa, these nations take their rise. Manu is the ancestor of the Manuṣyas or the Aryans, while Kaśyapa is the progenitor of the other races through his several wives. Whether Kaśyapa was or was not the first ancestor of the other races, this is certain that he was different from Manu. There is a tendency to consider the Puranic Devas either Aryans themselves

or as gods, but both views are manifestly wrong. The Puranic Devas are not forces of nature like those of the Vedas, nor are they mythical beings, but are human beings with human characteristics. They have got their countries, vehicles, domestic animals, weapons of offence and defence, families, kings, government. They hold intercourse with the Manuṣyas on equal footing, often take help from the Manuṣyas or Aryans in their battles. They have got human shapes, speech, character and above all parentage. Sometimes there are intermarriages between the Manuṣyas or Aryans and the Devas. Similar is the case with the Daityas. Thus the Devas and Daityas and similarly the others are races of men distinct from the descendants of Manu the first Aryan law-giver.

The Daityas lived somewhere about the South, South-west and East of Caspian Sea. This was the country of the Kaspii or Kaspios (Nundolal Dey's article, Rasātala, Indian Historical Quarterly, March, 1926). To the South-east of the Caspian Sea was the ancient town of Hyrcania, the capital of a country of the same name. The first great king of the Daityas is said to be Hiraṇyakaśipu and Hyrcania was probably the capital town founded by this great king of the Kaspii race. Garuḍas are placed by Mr. Dey in Turkestan as their land was divided from Hyrcania by the river Sarnius (modern Atrik) which is said to be a corruption of Suparṇa another name of Garuḍa. This tallies with the Puranic statement about the abode of Viṣṇu, the Lord of Vaikuṇṭha. Another Sanskrit name for Vaikuṇṭha is Triviṣṭapa, which looks like modern Tibet. Garuḍa was the vehicle of Viṣṇu which probably indicates an alliance between the two nations.

The Devas and Nāgas

Viṣṇu is said to be the younger brother of Indra (Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara, 32) which would point to Indra's country also lying somewhere near Tibet. The peculiar characteris-

tics of these Devas as described in the Purāṇas tend to confirm this guess. These Devas it is said used to come to India through the skies in their Vimānas. Whenever Aryan kings went to help them they went up the mountains. In the Mahābhārata when Arjuna goes to get the wonderful weapons of the Devas he goes up the Himālayas to go into their country. Similarly in Rāmāyaṇa when Rāvaṇa goes to fight with Indra he crosses the Kailasa peak of the Himālayas. The Devas were noted for their dazzling beauty, their material splendour and their wonderful weapons. Another curious fact added to the charm of mystery. The Devas were very much against letting anybody come into their country. Their king had an unending anxiety about his throne and dominions so much so that he was loth to admit even savants of another country. These characteristics point to China and Burma as the likely countries. The Chinese call their country the Celestial Empire. They do not like strangers very much. Even now China and Tibet are not very well explored countries. Burma is Brahman in Sanskrit, and this is the name of one of the kings of Devas and an ally of the great Deva king Indra. His own country was separate from that of Indra. The mineral resources of Burma are well known while the resources of Tibet and China are not yet developed. The other people Nāgas are said to be Scythians by Mr. Dey, living somewhere to the south of the Caspian Sea. At present their traces are found towards Assam where Nāga villages still exist, but in ancient times they were probably found about Central Himālayas and Kashmir also. Mahādeva appears to their chief deity with snakes round his neck and head. The abode of this Mahādeva is Kailasa, a high Himālayan peak. The snake king Śeṣa is the couch of Viṣṇu in Tibet above. If the original home of the Nāgas was in the South of Caspian Sea they must have been driven to this side at some early period on account of the traditional enmity of the more powerful Garuḍas.

Traditional enmity

The common ancestor Kaśyapa probably indicates the identity of race of these nations, otherwise there were deadly feuds amongst them. The Dānavas and Daityas were friends and both were on very unfriendly terms with the Devas and Garuḍas. The Garuḍas were mortal enemies of Nāgas who were always afraid of them. The Nāgas were friends of the Devas and appear to be the meekest of all these Kāśyapi races, while the Daityas and Dānavas of the Kaspii race appear to be the most ferocious. It is to be noticed that this same Kāśyapa is later pressed into service to become the progenitor of the pre-Dravidian races of Southern India when the Aryans came into contact with Southern India after the deluge in the time of the Rāmāyaṇa. This evidently is a wrong tradition, probably a later interpolation, for it includes Manuṣyas amongst the sons of Kaśyapa by a wife Manu which is manifestly absurd.

Aryan intercourse with Devas

Now when and how did the Aryans come to know of the Devas and Daityas? We have seen that before the deluge there were the six periods of the six Manus. There is a significant passage in Bhāgavata that Vaikuṇṭha (Triviṣṭapa = Tibet) was made in the Raivata or the fifth Manu period which probably means that Tibet became known to the Aryans in this period. It is true that there are some stories about these Devas in the previous Manvantaras, but they appear to have been gathered later on when the intercourse between the two peoples was more developed. Nārada Ṛṣi was probably the explorer. It is stated that once Nārada Ṛṣi in his wanderings in the Himalayan forests came to a very beautiful place, and sat down in meditation. Indra the king of Devas seeing this became afraid for his country, sent many beautiful nymphs and the god of love to beguile Nārada, but without success, and the god bowed low before Nārada. Then Nārada met Śiva, the Nāga god with snakes

on the Kailāsa and thereafter Viṣṇu in his Kṣīra-sāgara. This Kṣīra-sāgara also is an interesting point. It means "a sea of thick milk." Mr. H. G. Wells indicates that about fifty thousand years ago, long before the deluge, there was a huge ice field in parts of and above Tibet. An unending expanse of ice would look very much like a "sea of thick milk." The story interpreted in plain language would mean that the Aryan sage and explorer Nārada wandering in the Himālayas chances to strike upon a way across, and Indra sends various temptations to induce him to turn back but is unsuccessful. Later on he finds that Nārada has no evil purpose and is a very learned man. He appears to be so much taken by the learning of this sage that Nārada becomes the first Aryan missionary and is allowed to preach the spiritual message of the Aryans to the materialistic Devas. This is shown by another very significant fact that Nārada is the first Devarṣi or the Ṛṣi (sage) of the Devas. Thereafter Nārada lives in the country of the Devas. Though he often comes to India, his headquarter remains in the Devas' country.

It should be noted in this connection that Nārada as well as Indra and such other names are not names of single individuals but are borne by many individuals as they represent titles. That is why they occur in widely different periods. Each sage had his Āśrama or place of abode, where he taught pupils, and each successor in this work at that Āśrama was called by the same traditional name. It is possible that these Āśramas were probably the institutions which later suggested the Buddhist monasteries. The number of pupils in these Āśramas often swelled to thousands. Thus Ṛṣi Durvāssas had one thousand pupils. Even in Buddha's time such institutions were in existence.

But to take up our tale, Mr. Howell tells us that even now the Dalai Lamas of Tibet repeat a Vedic Mantra and go round their house like the Vedic pradakṣiṇa. Once the intercourse between the Devas and the Aryans was established

it grew up rapidly and in the next Manu period called the Cākṣuṣa Manvantara happened things of the greatest importance.

Narasiṃha and the Ur Inscription

In the early part of that period appeared the great Daitya king Hiraṇyakaśipu. He was not merely a materialist, but a great egotist and even an atheist. He is said to have conquered the whole known world above the Himālayas, and to have forbidden the worship of the Creator affirming the existence of such a god as mere imagination, and to have ordered his own worship as the real lord of the world. In any case he appears to have defeated the Devas badly, and the Devas probably came to their friends the Aryans for help. From India went a great king Narasiṃha. He surprised Hiraṇyakaśipu in his palace and killed him then and there, and delivered the Devas from his yoke. That Narasiṃha was an Aryan is indicated by a passage in the Rāmāyaṇa. There when king Sugrīva tells his soldiers the different places where to search for Sītā he names a place where the Naravyaghra Kṣattriyas live. Now Narasiṃha and Naravyāghra both mean the same thing "tiger-man" or "tiger amongst men." Further 'Nara' is another word for 'Manuṣya.' These things point to his being an Aryan king of the Naravyāghra tribe.

That this Narasiṃha did go to Hyrcania now appears to be confirmed in a most wonderful way. About one hundred miles up the course of the Euphrates river from the Persian Gulf on the west side have been discovered the ruins of the ancient city of Ur, where Major Wooley has carried out extensive excavations since the world-war. Not far from this, near the modern Tell-el-obeid, a sort of a suburb of Ur, an inscription believed to be the oldest yet discovered has been found. Its date is placed about 4500 B. C. It has been translated by the scholars of the University of Pennsylvania, U. S. A. It is said to mean that the "King A-an-ni-padda the then ruler

of Ur dedicated that temple to the goddess Nin-har-sag" (Scientific American, Jany., 1926, p. 33). Both the names appear to have an Indian colour and the similarity between Nar-singh and Nin-har-sag is striking. The difficulty that Nin-har-sag is said to be a goddess has no doubt yet to be explained by later researches. Anyway the Purānic account says that Narasiṃha killed Hiraṇyakaśipu, delivered the Devas from thraldom, established theism, and gave the kingdom to Prahlāda the son of Hiraṇyakaśipu. Thereafter the relations between the Daityas and Aryans are said to have become so amicable that an Aryan sage Śukrācārya was taken from India to become the spiritual preceptor of the Daitya kings. Thus Śukrācārya was the second Aryan missionary who aryanised the Daityas. Naturally with Narasiṃha and Śukrācārya, streams of Aryans must have gone to Persia especially when the relations between the two countries had become amicable.

Perso-Aryan Schism

Prahlāda gave up his kingdom on account of his religious propensities and his son Bali became king. Bali was the most famous and the greatest Daitya king. He was very virtuous and learned. All the Daityas and Dānavas bowed before him. He performed sacrifices according to the Vedas under the guidance of Śukrācārya. Asura was adopted as a name of the gods and the Vedas mention Asura as one of the names of the gods. This was a period of peace and development. The Devas, Daityas, Garuḍas, Nāgas, Aryans were all at peace. A joint maritime expedition was arranged by the Daityas, Devas and Nāgas with the help of Kacchapas. One does not know where these Kacchapas lived. The similarity of name with Kaśyapas and Kaspii or Kaspios is great. Anyway the ships were built near the mountain Mandrācal where timber could be found in abundance. Probably it was somewhere on the southern slopes

of the Himālayas on the shores of the then existing Gangetic sea. Many ships were built and the expedition lasted several years during which many valuable things were obtained. When the time for division came the Devas kept all the best things for themselves, gave a few to the Nāgas, and ignored the Daityas. The Daityas under Bali fought for their right but they were in the country of the Devas far away from home and unprepared for the fight and so were defeated, and escaped to their country with difficulty. There Bali prepared for another trial of fortune and attacked the Devas with a large army. The Devas were badly defeated and lost their country to Bali. The Devas again appear to have appealed to the Aryans, but the Aryans were on friendly terms with the Daityas also, and so instead of a military expedition a great sage Vāmana appears to have gone to plead with the Daitya king for the freedom of the Devas. When he arrived at the Daitya capital, king Bali was engaged in a Vedic sacrifice. A discourse followed and the king Bali was so pleased with the erudition of Vāmana that he promised to grant any boon that Vāmana might ask. Bali made the promise against the advice of his preceptor Śukrācārya, who saw through the design of Vāmana. But Bali refused to retract his word. The fated happened. Vāmana asked the whole of his empire and Bali cheerfully gave it. Now occurred a most painful thing, Bali had become a subject of Vāmana by his own gift and so Vāmana ordered him to be bound up and deported to the country of the Nāgas to make things safe for the Devas. This was too much. The Devas themselves pleaded for Bali, the Daityas protested, the Persian Aryans led by Śukrācārya protested, but sage Vāmana was inexorable. He is said to have even punished Śukrācārya by depriving him of his one eye (or probably his post as the teacher of kings while he still remained a teacher of the Perso-Aryans). The real fault was of the Devas, but Bali was penalised for his goodness. This appears to have caused that schism, which history notes, between the Indo-Aryans and the Perso-Aryans who

were naturally sympathetic towards the Daityas amongst whom they had so long been living.

King Bali and God Bel, Bali or Baal

But Vāmana did not treat Bali harshly. He himself lived with Bali in the Nāga country, gave him the higher esoteric teaching of spiritualism till Bali was recognised as a Devarṣi or a sage of the Devas like Nārada. Besides Nārada and Bali there are few other Devarṣis in Indian literature. Vāmana himself did not rule Hyrcania but gave the kingdom to the descendants of Bali.

In this connection it is very interesting to note that Bel is the national god of Babylonia and Baal of the Phoenicians (Renouf's Outlines of General History). About the Maya civilization of America also Dr. Thomas Gann, while carrying on excavations on the site of the city Chichen Itza the capital city of the Mayas, found shrines dedicated to god Bali. (Scientific American, February, 1926, pp. 84, 85). That king Bali was great, good and godlike is borne out by Hindu literature and one would not wonder if he should, centuries after, be transformed into a god. The Assyrians or the empire of Asur, the Babylonians or the empire of the devotees of Baal or Bali appear to have been the later editions of Daityo-Aryans of Persia.

The Mayas of America

About Mayas also there is a controversy whether their civilization went from India or developed independently in America. It ranges round the Copan sculptures of Honduras. Professor G. E. Smith considers the sculptures to represent elephants and explains in detail the channel through which the Mayan civilization came to America from India (Scientific American, January, 1926, p. 11). But if Baal is the same as Bali then Mayan civilization ought to be more akin to the Assyrian and Babylonian civilizations. Its tombs as shown in Chichen Itza appear to have a pyramidal shape.

The pyramidal temple towers of Babylonia are well-known. Its script also is known to be hieroglyphic which would point towards some affinity with Babylonia and Egypt. The early Babylonian script also is said to have been hieroglyphic. There is another significant clue from the Purāṇas. One Maya Dānava is said to live in Pātāla or the nether-world. The word Maya again is not the name of a single individual but denotes a number of Dānava kings of Pātāla. These Mayas had continued intercourse with India. They were great builders. They built cities and palaces for Rāvaṇa in the time of Śrī Rāmacandra of Rāmāyaṇa, and then centuries later they built a palace for king Yudhiṣṭhira. Indeed it would appear that this second Maya was a descendant of the great Maya Dānava, and he came to live in India from America, for he begged to be spared when Arjuna burnt the forest of Khāṇḍavaprastha where the Maya Dānava was living. The former Maya married his daughter Mandodarī to Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā. If this is to be believed then it is possible that the Mayas might have originally gone from Persia to America through China and Cambodia, a channel very nearly the one suggested by Prof. Smith, but centuries later parties of them returned to India and some of them might have gone further west to Egypt.

The Egyptian Branch

About Egypt it is a very noteworthy fact that the first mortal king of Egypt is Menes and the next king his son is Attithos whose son is Kenekenes. They appear after the deluge, the pre-deluge history being unknown. In India the first king after the deluge is Vaivasvata Manu who is succeeded by his son Ikṣvāku whose son is Kuikch (Manual of Ancient History by Rawlinson). The similarity is again striking. If Mayas came to India after the deluge in the times of Rāvaṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira and then went west to Egypt they could certainly have taken the traditions of Manu and Ikṣvāku, these Mayas carried Daityo-Aryan culture to

America and Egypt, and this culture must have been varied by local tribes in different places. It is also possible that the Egyptian culture went directly from Assyria and Babylonia without the intervention of the Mayas. The traditions also point to this direction (Bible). It is said that the ancient script of Babylonia was hieroglyphic which later changed to cuneiform characters, but it should be remembered that the emigrants must have been aware, though very imperfectly, of the traditions of Manu, Ikṣvāku, Kuikch, etc. This condition would be satisfied by a Maya colonisation as they passed through India long after the deluge. In this connection it is also interesting to note that to the time of the first Egyptian dyansty belongs the great statute of Sphinx with the body of a lion and the head of a man, representing the Sun-god. The Indian Manu, Ikṣvāku and their descendants also are said to be of the Solar dynasty, and the shape of the Sun-god Sphinx probably combines the traditions of Narasiṃha "the tiger man" who first began the Aryanisation of the Daityas and the Solar derivation of the Ikṣvāku family. In Egypt again we find that the other name of the Sun-god is Boalpeora, thus king Bali of the Purāṇas, when deified, appears to have become a god of all the nations of Daitya origin : the Babylonians, Mayas, Egyptians, Phœnicians. Indeed it is said that Baal worship came to distinguish all those Semitic religions which did not have a Jewish origin. The Mayas, the Babylonians, the Egyptians were great builders with a characteristic pyramidal form. Another common characteristic of these nations appears to be serpent worship and human sacrifice. Excavations in the Maya capital Chichen Itza are bringing out remains of girl-victims, the Egyptian sculptures indicating the rite of human sacrifice are well-known, and so is the human sacrifice of Babylonia. In Purāṇas also the Asuras are credited with slight regard for human life. Another nation of the same Kaśyapa or Kaspii parentage, the Nāgas have to this day the custom of human sacrifice in the Nāga villages in Assam

in British India, and the British Indian Government is trying to abolish this horrible rite. Indeed it is probable that the idea of animal and human sacrifice in Aryan culture, was taken from the contact of these cultures in certain Vedic hymns. Scholars point out that the Śunaḥśepa Sūkta of the Ṛg-veda does not at all mention any sacrifice of human being, but when the same hymn comes to be amplified in the Brāhmaṇa a story of human sacrifice is spun round it and the same story is repeated in the Rāmāyaṇa with material alterations, showing the imaginative character of the story. In any case, the fact, that in the Ṛg-vedic hymn there is not the slightest suggestion of the sacrifice, tends to indicate that there was a time when the Ṛg-vedic culture was foreign to it.

Dravidians and Sumerians

Another common characteristic appears to have been the hieroglyphic script in ancient times of all the Kaspii from the Devas to the Egyptians and Mayas, but the Devas do not appear to have shared the other custom of human sacrifice. We have read before of the great fight between the Daityas and the Devas in the country of the Devas themselves when the latter cheated the former of their spoils of the maritime expeditions. In this fight the Daityas were defeated and escaped to their country with difficulty. The Mayas were driven to the south-east and America, while king Bali came back to his country to prepare for another war. Another event of world-wide importance took place at the same time. There were three Daityas, Mālin, Sumālin, and Mālyavat. They were brothers. Mālin was killed in the battle, and Sumālin and Mālyavat were forced to flee from the country and are said to have gone to Ceylon or Laṅkā but were driven from that place also and are said to have gone to Pātāla or nether-world. It appears that Pātāla then meant not one country but several countries just as now the New World and Old World signify groups of

countries. The Mayas and the Sumālins both went to Pātāla but they went to widely different countries. The next that we hear of these Sumālins in the Purāṇic history is after the deluge when one Sumālin Daitya comes from Pātāla and married his daughter to the sage Vṛṣaparvan who begets on her the great Rāvaṇa and his brothers. Rāvaṇa with the help of Sumālin conquers Laṅkā or Ceylon and makes it the centre of the Rākṣasa power. Previous to Rāvaṇa's conquests Laṅkā was inhabited by the Yakṣas. Who these Yakṣas were we shall see later on, but it is interesting to note here that the prefix Rā is the name of the Sun-god of the Egyptians and probably has some original Daitya origin. It is possible that the new invador amalgamated with the original Yakṣas and distinguished the new nation as Rakṣas or those Yakṣas who believed in god Ra. This is the probable reason, because Rāvaṇa was the grandson of Sumālin who was admittedly a Daitya. The word Rākṣasa later came to have a sinister meaning amongst the Aryans because these new people emerging after the flood were the great opponents of the Aryan culture. The Rākṣasas believed in a host of deities. To them the nature-worship of the Aryans was a sacrilege and they always made it a point to interrupt the Yajñas or the sacrifices of the Aryans. While the Aryans sacrificed with scented objects, Soma and Fire, the Rākṣasas sacrificed animal and human beings. They would spoil the Aryan rites by throwing blood, bones and other such objects. Before appearing as Rākṣasas the Sumālins lived in Pātāla for a long time, and it appears that there their old Daityo-Aryan culture was modified by local influence. Still they were great builders, great fighters, very learned and were said to know even magic. Rāvaṇa is said to be a scholar of the Vedas. These Sumāli Rākṣasas are identified by scholars with the ancient Dravidians. One great reason for this is that the present language of the Dravidians is Tamil. In India Tamil is found in Mysore, along the Eastern and Western coast of

the Peninsula. In Ceylon Tamil is said to be in a very pure form still. The Pātāla of the Sumālins was probably the Indianic continent now submerged. There is a tradition among the Tamil people that they originally came from the south. This tradition harmonises with the emergence of the Sumālins from the south after the deluge which was probably the cause of their migration. From the south these Sumāli Rākṣasas spread to the north along the coasts and even reached the Gangetic plain where they were found in the days of Śrī Rāmacandra, the hero of the Epic Rāmāyaṇa. In Sindh and Baluchistan also they appear to have spread where they left their traces. Recent excavations in these provinces have brought to light inscriptions and clay pottery similar to those of the Sumerian finds. The Indian traditions definitely record the expansion of these Sumalins or Sumelians from the south to the north, and it is probable that going further to the north-west they became the Sumerians of early history as at present known. They spread over the Gangetic plain and other provinces as is shown from the mingling of blood apparent in the bulk of the present day Indians.

Azerbijan and Āryabījam

The story of the deluge as given in the Purāṇas is interesting as it throws an interesting light on the other problem of world history. The broad outlines of the account of this deluge deducible from the different Purāṇas indicate that the deluge took place at the end of the Cākṣuṣa Manvantara when king Satyavrata was informed by one Matsya that a huge deluge was going to come. Matsya means fish and the poet has described the informant as a real fish, but in reality it was a human being of the Matsya tribe just as Nāgas were. Even in the time of the Mahābhārata there was the Matsya king Virāṭa in whose service the Pāṇḍavas remained for sometime. The Matsya messenger told the Aryan king about the coming deluge and informed him that he had brought boats which

"were built by the Devas with great labour" (Matsya Purāṇa). It appears that some great uprising in the Himālayas was imminent, and the Devas anticipating sent a messenger to their friends the Aryans to apprise them of the danger and to advise them to move at least their important persons and things to a safer place. It is significant that they were to proceed by boats and not over the mountains. Probably even then the Devas did not like the Aryans to come into their country in large numbers or the centre of disturbance being somewhere in the Himālayas it might have been considered unsafe to go that way. Whatever the reason, the Aryan king took with him the seven Ṛṣis or sages, books, vegetables, animals, etc. and sailed for a new land guided by the Matsya.

The modern Azerbijan or Sanskrit Āryabījam "the seed of Aryans" is considered by some to be the ancient home of Aryans. What is more likely is that probably that is the country where the seed of Aryan culture and civilization, and people found refuge at the time of the Deluge. The former Aryan emigrants to Persia and Hyrcania were already thereabout. Although the treatment of king Bali had divided them into two camps, still there were old connections and relations of blood and culture which must have induced them to give the Indo-Aryans shelter at that time of danger. Moreover the power of the Devas was in the ascendant. Thirdly, it is possible that Azerbijan was at the time the country of the Matsyas, for there is a story that then the Vedas were stolen by a Daitya Hayagrīva; the Matsya king killed him in battle and recovered the Vedas. This he did probably because the Aryans were his guests. However, it was the name Azerbijan which suggests very much that the seed of Aryan culture was protected there at that time of danger. When the danger was over the Aryan king returned, founded a new city in the newly obtained land, became the law-giver of the present period as Vaivasvata Manu. From him the lines of kings have been given in a connected way

in the Purāṇas. Now the age of this great flood is, according to modern geological research, somewhere between 35000 to 25000 B.C. Whether this be true or whether further research will extend or shorten this period, it can be said that before this Manu's or Noah's flood there had been three contemporary civilizations of the Devas, Daityas and Dānavas, and Aryans, and that Aryans Aryanised the others.

Negro civilization

There was a fourth civilization which though existing at the time was not known to the Aryans. This was the Negro civilization existing in the Indianic continent which included the modern Deccan Plateau and was connected with Africa. These people appear to have become known to Aryans when the Deccan plateau was joined with Northern India after the flood. This also does not appear to have been done all at once. At first probably some land in the modern Gangetic plain emerged and later developed into what it is now, while the Rajputana sea became very shallow and then ultimately dried up. About this there is a tradition,—Ṛṣi Agastya drank up the sea and ordered the Vindhya mountains to keep low till he should return from his journey to the south. In non-poetic language it would mean that when the Rajputana sea practically dried up, its waters having passed on to the present Arabian Sea, the sage Agastya crossed to Deccan over the Vindhyas. In course of time he was followed by other Aryan sages who did the work of Aryanising the inhabitants of the Deccan. There is no account of any conflict between these inhabitants and the Aryans; they were rather the friends of Aryans in the struggle against the Sumāli Rākṣasas who arrived in Ceylon and Southern India from the south when the southern Indian continent was submerged by the deluge. Probably the original inhabitants of Laṅkā also were Daityas as Yakṣa was a Daitya chief of king Bali. But traces of Negroes as the early inhabitants are still found in both Ceylon and

Southern India (Indian Historical Quarterly, March 1926,—A Short History of Ceylon). Yakṣas went with Kuvera into Ceylon and were in turn conquered by Sumāli king Rāvaṇa who founded the Rākṣasa culture as said above.

In the Rāmāyaṇa about 17 nations of these people are counted in Southern India. They were all named after some animal, and the poet has described their actions as if they were animals, but in reality they were human beings with those animals as their totemic signs. They talk and act like men. They have kingdoms and constitutions. The king of Kiṣkindhā had divided his administration into eight departments with a minister at the head of each. In the battle with Rāvaṇa while at places they are described poetically as fighting with their nails and teeth to suit their being called monkeys, yet at other places they are expressly said to possess weapons. The great achievement of Rāmacandra in the Epic is not so much the killing of Rāvaṇa as the bringing within the Aryan fold all the nations of the south, not so much by fighting against them, as by attracting them with the purity of his life. He made the Sumālis also better civilized and fit to give rise later on to the great Sumerian civilization. By the time of the second epic Māhābhārata this work was completed. All these nations appear to have adopted not only Aryan culture but also Aryan names and Aryan ancestry. But even then there are found some cases of those who though Aryanised still retained their distinct nationality such as the subjects of Jāmbavat who married his daughter to Śrī Kṛṣṇa (Jāmbavat is described as a bear). If he had been a real bear he could not have married his daughter to the human hero Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

The Post-deluge movements

It is noteworthy that in this account the Deluge forms a landmark separating two eras having different significance

in the history of the world. In the pre-deluge period the Aryans of the Punjab came into contact with the Devas and Daityas, and Aryanised both, and established Aryan colonies in Persia. This period also saw the great Daitya-deva war which ultimately disintegrated the Daityas and sent them in all directions in the west and to the submerged Indianic continent in the south carrying with them the Daitya-aryan culture. In different climes they developed the Maya and Sumāli civilizations. Then after the Deluge came a new world-movement of emigration. The Mayas and Sumālis appear in India, Sumerians begin a new history in western Asia,and the Egyptians in Egypt. The Devas with their traditional seclusion remained confined to their celestial empire. But the third great nation of antiquity the Aryans were not unaffected by this movement. In the North and North-west they had already Aryanised the Devas and the Daityas. The change brought by the Deluge in the configuration of land was the joining of the Punjab the old Aryan home to the Deccan plateau, and a new movement of Aryan expansion to the south began. All 'ancient' histories begin centuries after the Deluge, but they find civilizations ready made which must have had a history behind them. That is the previous history which has been attempted to draw out above on the basis of ancient Hindu literature, and it appears to explain the world movements which prepared the stage for the post-deluge period. This period is important as it brought the Aryans into contact with the Negroes of Southern India. Before this great Deluge there was, the geologists think, a large continent joining what is now Southern India with Africa on the one side and Australia on the other, while Southern India is said to have been separated from the Punjab by Rajputana and Gangetic plain seas and hence the presence of the Negro element in Southern India.

Antiquity of Aryan civilization

The great objection to this account would be made that it presents the Punjab as the original home of the Aryans and aces Aryans earlier than even the Sumerians. That the ryan civilization was anterior to the Sumerian can now be arcely doubted. Some well-known European scholars also an to this view (Scientific American, Jan., 1926—Inscription Ur). Indeed the very word Sumerian appears to have Aryan origin. The fact that the first kings of the various tions of antiquity have names very similar to Manu again dicates prior existence of some common tradition. Thus e Lydian Manis, Phrygian Manis, Cretan Minos, the rman Mannus all appear to be counterparts of the Indian anu of the post-deluge period as indicated above. This an account which is gradually finding confirmation in scription such as the most recent one' of Ur and the tory of other nations. The peculiarity of Aryan civilization s its spirituality, philosophy and religion and this they gave the other contemporary civilizations of Devas, Daityas and egroes of Southern India, and the Daityas were instrument- in spreading the Aryan culture far and wide through eir extensive migrations and seafaring habits. These other tions, while they took religion and philosophy from the yans, gave them their material arts. In this connection the yans appear to have been indebted most to the Devas, who pear to have taught the manufacture and use of wonderful apons, and such other things. Thus though the Aryans re anterior to Sumerians and Egyptians, there were other eat civilizations even then.

As to the home of the Aryans if the geological view of Rajputana sea and the flood so beautifully confirmed is rect the Punjab is necessarily the home of the Aryans. If Purāṇic traditions can anticipate these geological researches re is no reason to doubt its other account of the Devas Daityas, specially when that account explains many obs-

cure points in the accounts of other nations. When the Punjab was surrounded on the North-west by high mountains with virile nations having high civilization, and on the South by seas, the Aryans could have developed their culture independently, and originally alone. The Dasyus of the Ṛg-veda are not pre-Aryan Dravidians, but as is suggested by Dr. Abinash Chandra Das, those tribes of the Aryans themselves who could not develop with equal rapidity with the progressing ones. The Dravidians came ages later. Amongst the Dravidians also there are tribes in different stages of development even now ; some of their descendants in India are savage tribes while others are civilised. The same thing could be possible of the Aryans. This is yet an unbroken ground hiding numerous treasures. I respectfully present this account to scholars for their valued criticism which will be very helpful in future labours. If it be successful to draw their attention to this most interesting field of research, my labours will be amply rewarded.

JWALA PRASAD SINGHAL

Ancient South Indian Gold Coinage

When we examine the system of coinage of ancient India we find that the South Indian system presents a peculiar feature. From the coins that have been discovered as treasure trove we find that the South Indian coins are entirely different from those of the North, and gold coins of the smallest denomination appeared to have been in issue to a large extent. Gold coins weighing 5 to 6 grains, and $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ grains and having some sort of design on both sides in some cases and on one side only in others were issued. They are so small that it is very difficult to handle them. Generally coins were used in order to get the necessaries of life, to obtain things that we had not on hand, for fines levied by kings, for free gifts, for dakṣiṇās in religious ceremonies and such other purposes. If these small coins had been intended for purchasing household articles, etc. the people of the time would have found it very difficult to preserve and handle them. They would have chosen bigger coins in baser metals, such as, silver or copper. When we read the law codes composed by Manu and Yājñavalkya we learn that the fines imposed by kings were paid by Kārṣāpaṇas which were coins in copper. So these small coins must have been issued for a different purpose. We shall now find what was their object in issuing such small coins.

In all Aryan household, religious ceremonies played a very important part and no ceremony could be conducted without the payment of dakṣiṇās to the officiating priests. It was also enjoined that such dakṣiṇās should be given in gold as silver was considered inauspicious. In all Vedic ceremonies dakṣiṇās were given by means of gold pellets known by the name of *Svarṇa*. When coinage was introduced these *Svarṇas* were replaced by coins. There is a passage in the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* (I. 5. 1) from which we gather that it was very inauspicious to give silver as dakṣiṇā.

The story runs thus: "There was a battle between the Devas and the Asuras. The Devas became victorious and deposited with Agni (God of Fire) for safety the treasures and precious stones which they got from Asuras. They did so in the hope of using them when they were in need. But Agni wanted to appropriate the whole lot for himself and so ran away with them. The Devas came to know of this, began to pursue, caught hold of him and beat him severely. Agni wept when he could not bear the beatings of the Devas. The tears that fell from his eyes became silver. As silver was the outcome of tears it was considered inauspicious to give it as dakṣiṇā on auspicious occasions. If anyone were to give silver as dakṣiṇā in any sacrifice his house will be visited by an inauspicious event within a period of one year."

As Vedas forbid giving away silver it became a matter of necessity to give away gold in all religious ceremonies. Thus religion played a great part in determining the coinage of the country. The kings of old had in their ministers very profound Sanskrit scholars. Instances may be cited of Hemādri and Vidyāraṇya. The former was the minister of the Yādava kings of Devagiri and the latter of the Vijayanagara kings. They were all profound scholars and they very likely influenced the kings to issue gold coins for the benefit of the people. Kings had mints and there was a separate establishment for minting coins. In order that gold might be accessible both to the rich and the poor, coins of small denominations of $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ fanams were minted and made available to people to enable them to use them in religious ceremonials.

We had four gold pellets called 'Sakkaraipanams' which were given as dakṣiṇās on Śrāddha occasions but these pellets were taken back from the guests by compensating them by the contemplated amount. Unfortunately these have been lost now.

These coins that have been discovered are described below:

1 *Ganga Fanams*—This was issued by the kings of Kalinga-nagara.

Obverse. Caparisoned bull standing, facing the left with a crescent of the moon above.

Reverse. Same 14.

W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 3.

One-eighth fanams.

Obverse. Same.

Reverse. Same.

W. 0. 75 ; S. 0. 2.

2 *Matsya Fanams*—These were issued by the chiefs of that name who were ruling the country comprising the district of Vizagapatam.

Obverse. Two fishes.

Reverse. Same. 12.

W. 5. 5 ; S. 0. 35.

Matsya Quarter fanams.

Obverse. Two fishes.

Reverse. Same 5.

W. 1. 25 ; S. 0. 25.

3 *Old Fanams*—Found as treasure trove in Trichinopoly and Tinnevelly districts.

Obverse. Figure like the letter U with a dot inside and with the Sun and the Moon on either side. Some peculiar design made up of lines and dots. The whole may be taken to represent a crude form of Kālī.

Reverse. 12 dots arranged in 3 rows of 4 each and straight lines ; one straight line at right angles to the other. The Sun and the Moon on either side.

W. 5. 5 ; S. 0. 4.

4 *Viraraya Fanams*—There are 16 varieties of these and they were found as treasure trove in the districts of Coimbatore, North Kanara, Kistna, Chingelput, Cuddappah, Tanjore, Godavari, Madura, North Arcot, South Arcot, Malabar, Salem, Nellore, and Coorg.

Obverse. The letter U with some other symbols.

Reverse. 12 dots with some other figure.

W. 5. 6 ; S. 0. 3 to 0. 4.

5 *Garuḍa Fanams*—

Obverse. A flying Garuḍa.

Reverse. A figure resembling the Vaiṣṇavite castemark.

W. 5. 6 ; S. 0. 3 to 0. 4.

6 *Namam Fanams.*

Obverse. Vaiṣṇavite castemark.

Reverse. In some cases it is blank ; in some a legend not read.

W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 2 to 0. 3.

7 *Chola Fanams*—Issued by Kulottuṅga Chola I.

Obverse. "*Śung*" in Tamil script and Regnal year.

Reverse. Tiger, bow, and other indistinct marks.

W. 5. 5 ; S. 0. 4.

8 *Reddi Fanams.*

Obverse. Bull couchant with the Sun and the Moon above with a few dots.

Reverse. Elephant goad, coiled whip, and the Sun and the Moon.

W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 25.

Do. *Quarter fanams.*

Obverse. do.

Reverse. do.

W. 2. 5 ; S. 0. 2.

9 *South Indian Fanams.*

Obverse. Devanagari legend "*Pata*", "*Pradhana.*"

Reverse. Blank.

W. 2. 25 ; S. 0. 2.

10 Do.

Obverse. Viṣṇu standing.

Reverse. Man and a lamp.

W. 5. 5 ; S. 0. 27.

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South Indian Quarter fanams.

Obverse. Peculiar figure made up of lines.

Reverse. A circle and an angle made up of lines and dots.

W. 1. 5 ; S. 0. 2.

11 *Anantaraman Fanams*—Issued by the kings of Travancore.

Obverse. A floral design.

Reverse. 12 dots representing the signs of the zodiac with some lines.

W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 3.

12 *Anantaraman Half Fanams.*

Obverse. do.

Reverse. do.

W. 2. 5 ; S. 0. 22.

13 *Dagger Fanams.*

Obverse. Dagger.

Reverse. Heart-shaped device, 12 dots, the Sun and the Moon.

W. 5 to 5. 25 ; S. 0. 25 to 0. 4.

14 *Sivaji Fanams*—Issued by Śivāji.

Obverse. "CHATRA" / "PATI" } In Devanāgarī.

Reverse. "VI" / "RAJA" } In Devanāgarī

W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 2.

15 *Ramaraya Fanams*—Issued by Rāma Rājā the second son of Śivāji.

Obverse. Rude figure of the king.

Reverse. "RAMA" / "RAU" } In Devanāgarī.

W. 5. 25 ; S. 0. 25 to 0. 3.

From all these it is clear that the kings of old issued coins even in the lowest denomination. While the fanams weighed 5 grains which would then have cost 4 annas,

¼th and ⅛th of these would have cost one anna and half an anna respectively.

Even the Moghul emperors, Aurangzeb, Jahander Shah, Farrukhsiyar, Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II and Shah Alam II struck Varāhas and Half Varāhas and Half Fanams in the mints established at GUTTI, IMTIYAZ-GARH, TADPATRI,[1] and CUDDAPPAH. These issues are peculiar to South India and were not struck for use in Northern India. These should evidently have been struck to satisfy the needs of the South Indian people.

Half Fanams.

Obverse. Name of the Emperor.

Reverse. The name of the Mint, town and year (A.H.)

W. 2. 5 ; S. 0. 2.

R. SRINIVASA RAGHAVA AYYANGAR

Method of plastering walls for painting
(Sudhālepavidhānam)

This is an old booklet connected with "Fresco Painting" which was so much in vogue in India from the Buddhist period. The booklet contains only 46 ślokas in anuṣṭubh metre. I got the manuscript from Tazaman Sankararow Tantri. There was a Malayālam commentary also appended to the work. The work treats of the preparation of materials for, and the method of fresco-painting on, the walls of temples, Gopurams, palaces and other permanent structures of public interest and utility. It can be divided into three parts, the first describing the method of plastering the

1 A paper on this new mint will appear in the Numismatic Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

walls before painting, the second showing the way how to prepare the several colours for painting, and the third explaining the process of painting the walls. The booklet will be of interest to those who wish to revive the old art which is about to disappear. A free English rendering of the substance is also appended to the text for wider publication.

Now I shall describe the method of plastering the walls (Sudhā-lepa), on which pictures are to be painted. Cuṇṇam (Sudhā) is the powder obtained by burning conch, mother of pearl or shell. Take the powder and drench it with a solution of molasses and a decoction of $\frac{1}{4}$th the quantity of small peas (mudga). Add quarter part sand with unripe plantain-fruits, boiled and beaten well into pulp. Put this mixture into wooden dug-outs, wherein it should be kept for two months, mixing the same daily. At the end of two months, take the mixture in small quantities and, placing the same on a granite-slab, sprinkle solution of molasses on it and grind it into paste soft as butter.

In the meantime, level the wall well and smoothen its surface. Take a piece of cocoanut and with one end cut square and well beaten into a brush. Dip the beaten end of the brush into the solution of molasses and rub the solution on the wall. Leave the wall, after the application of the solution, undisturbed for 12 hours and then plaster the same with the mortar prepared as above.

Level the plaster by means of trowel of convenient size made of copper, pewter, iron or wood. Care should be taken that the surface does nowhere protrude or fall in. When levelling is over, the surface should be rubbed with cold water by means of the trunk-brush. Whitewash the surface when it gets dry. But no whitewashing is required for painting on a wooden surface. Such surface needs only be levelled and smoothened before applying colours.

Here I shall describe the method of colour-painting and the manufacture and blending of the various colours. White, yellow, red, black and blue are the primary colours, while

the rest are all mixtures of two or more of them. The white paint to be used for whitewashing the walls just before painting is manufactured in the following manner. First of all, powder as finely as possible conch, mother of pearl, shell, or chalk. Put this fine powder in a mortar of wood not liable to discolour or of granite according to convenience. Mix and pound it well into paste, treating the same with the milk of the tender cocoanut. Dissolve the paste in warm water and when well-dissolved, filter and allow the solution to precipitate the white paint. Whitewash the wall with this paint before the pictures are painted on them.

To make the outlines of the pictures of different objects, a pencil of the following materials should be maufactured. The pencil is called *kiṭṭalekhanī* and is manufactured by mixing powdered tiles and powdered cowdung (the former in a lesser and the latter in a greater proportion) with a quantity of Tulasī leaves and grinding the whole well into a soft paste, then take small quantities of the paste and roll them into thin round sticks, $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. Draw roughly on the whitewashed surface the several objects as deva, upadeva, man, beast, bird, tree, creeper, mountain, ocean, etc. fixing there images, as seen or heard or read from books, well in your mind. Wherever wrong lines fall, efface the same by rubbing the lines with unbleached cloth, and rewrite afterwards. Outlines being finished, take a piece of *Pullarān* and begin to draw the picture with it.

The preparation of this *Pullāran* is as follows :—Collect from mountains or riverbeds *pītadhātu* (yellow mineral), wash the same in cold water and when dry powder the same finely. Pour some water into the powder and grind it into paste. Take the paste and mix the same in plenty of water using a large vessel for the purpose. When the mixture has stood for some time, the mud and other matter will precipitate and can be thrown off while the surface water can be retained. Pour this water again into another vessel and allow it to stand for sometime and throw back any more

precipitate which the solution may hold. Repeat the process several times till you get a clear solution. Rub this solution on to an earthen pot (bhinnamṛdbhāṇḍa) and dry the pot in the sun. Collect *raktadhātu* (red mineral) also in the same way and treat the same in the above manner. When clear, rub that also on to another earthen pot and dry the pot in the sun. Then take a lamp (Gingili oil lamp) supplied with oil and clean wick, and light it under an inverted new earthern pot, taking care to see that the pot has no crevices. The soot formed on the inner surface of the pot should then be collected, placed in an earthen or other vessel and well mixed. Add a quantity of pure water with the soot and make it into paste. This paste should be kept in the sun and dried. All these three colours should then be mixed in pure water, and adding *Nimbatoya* to it, the whole should be well beaten and mixed.

Brushes for drawing pictures are either broad, medium or pointed, as the case may be. They are $4\frac{1}{2}$, 4 or $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The width or thickness at the face should be 6 *yavas*, but at the back end it should be only $\frac{1}{8}$th of the above. The form of the brush may be octagonal or round. The face should be bound by a copper band. The broad brush is prepared with the hair about the ears of a calf-buffalo, the medium with the hair on the belly of a sheep, and the pointed with the hair at the tail of a squirrel. Fit in these hairs at the copper band of the brush and fix them there by the aid of lac or yarn-thread. Each colour should have three such brushes. There should be three brushes each under broad, medium and pointed quality. They can be named broad-broad, broad-medium, broad-pointed and so on for two kinds also. That will make nine brushes in all for each colour.

Apply *pītadhātu* with medium brush and draw the picture effacing all unnecessary marks by unbleached cloth, but taking care that the lines of the kiṭṭalékhanī is left there in tact. Apply the other colours with the broad brush. All protrusions and depressions as also the roundness of

objects should be shown by means of less or more colour. Make the painting beautiful by regular lights and shades. Wherever the yellow, black or red colour is lightly applied, mark their extremities by pointed brushes steeped in lamp-black. Where finger-nails or other white objects are to be shown, just scrap the paint in that portion by means of a sharp knife or other instrument, and thus paint the walls wherever necessary.

Hariḥ

1 Atha vakṣye sudhālepavidhiṃ bhittāu viśeṣataḥ /
Dagdhvā śaṅkhādikaṃ kāṣṭhai ścūrṇitaṃ yat sudhā hi sā //

2 Sudhācūrṇacaturthāṃśamudgakvāthajalaiḥ saha /
Guḍatoyena saṃsiñcet taccūrṇaṃ bālukānvitam //

3 Bālukānām pramāṇaṃ hi sudhāturyāṃśamān(l)ataḥ /
Kṛśānupakvakadalīphalapiṣṭañ ca yojayet //

4 Droṇyāṃ kṣiptvātha sammardya gate māsadvaye [punaḥ] /
P(v)eṣayed dṛṣadi kṣiptvā dṛṣadā guḍavāriṇā //

5 Navanītam ivāyāti yāvat tāvat supeṣayet /
Atha kuḍyādikaṃ samyak saṃśoddhya samatāṃ nayet //

6 Nālikeratvacām agraiḥ susūkṣmaṃ śithilīkṛtaiḥ /
Saktvā guḍajalair yāte dinārdhe taṃ vilepayet //

7 Lohena dāruṇā vādau darvīn nirmāya buddhitaḥ /
Tadākāraviśālādi sarvam ācintya bhedataḥ //

8 Taddarvīpṛṣṭhabhāgena nimnonnatavivarjitam /
Liptvā piṣṭasudhāṃ samyak śuddhatoyena lepayet //

9 Nālikeratvacālipya śuddhatoyena śoṣayet /
Śuṣke tasmin varṇalepaḥ kāryaś citrārtham eva hi //

10 Phalakādau takṣaṇena snigdhe varṇaṃ vilepayet /
Sudhālepo na kartavyaś citrārtham phalakādiṣu //

11 Atha vakṣyāmi saṃkṣepāt sarveṣāṃ varṇalepanam /
Saṃskṛtiñ ca viśeṣeṇa teṣāṃ yogaṃ tathaiva ca //

12 Sitavarṇam pītavarṇam raktavarṇañ ca kajjalam /
Etāni śuddhavarṇāni śyāmavarṇañ ca vai punaḥ //

13 Kuḍyādau dhavalaṃ varṇam pūrvam eva samālikhet /
Śaṅkhaśuktyādikaṃ vātha sitam mṛdvātha cūrṇayet //

14 Śākoṭakatvacā vātha ketakīhastato 'pi vā /
Yathā snigdhataraṃ yāti tathā [mṛtyādi] lepayet //
15 Sudhācūrṇāni nikṣipya garte caulūkhale 'thavā /
Piṣṭvā punaḥ punaḥ samyak musalena mahāmatiḥ //
16 Kerabālathalodena siktvā sampeṣayet punaḥ /
Tam [vim] uṣṇatoyena samyagāloḍya gaulayet //
17 Punaḥ pūrvoktamārgeṇa kuḍye saṃlepayet kramāt /
Evaṃ dhavalite bhittau phalake vā likhet tadā //
18 Purāṇaloṣṭacūrṇena śuṣkagomayacūrṇakān /
Tulasīdalasammiśraṃ yojayet peṣaṇītale //
19 Piṣṭvā tena vidhāyāśu śoṣayet kiṭṭalekhinīm /
Vartyākārāṃ tathāyāme dvitryambhoddvyaṅgulātmikām //
20 Devān vā manujān vā[pi]mṛgān vihaṃgamān[tathā] /
Latāvṛkṣādikān vātha nāgān vā sāgarān api //
21 Śrotrābhyāṃ vātha netrābhyāṃ manasā vātha niścitān /
Ālikhet kiṭṭalekhinyā samyak smṛtvā punaḥ punaḥ //
22 Yatra lekhā gatā vāmaṃ tatra tān navavāsasā /
Sammārjya samyag ālikhya tattadākāram unnayet //
23 Atha dhātūn pītavarṇān girinadyādisambhavān /
Ādāya śuddhatoyena saṃkṣālyādau vicūrṇayet //
24 Mandaṃ kiñcic chilāpṛṣṭhe peṣayitvā viloḍya ca /
Śuddhatoyair mahāpātre muhūrtam paricālayet //
25 Tadūrddhvāṃśaṃ sāratoyam adhaḥ paṅkavivarjitam /
Pātrāntare vinikṣipya punaḥ kuryād amuṃ vidhim ||
26 Evam punaḥ punaḥ kṛtvā yāvan nirmalatā bhavet /
Tatsāram bhinnamṛdbhāṇḍe mandam ālipya śoṣayet //
27 Evam eva samānīya raktadhātūn api kramāt /
Nirmalatve samutpanne śoṣayed bhinnamṛdghaṭe //
28 Atha tailaṃ samāsicya varddhamānecchavartikām //
Vinyasya prajvale dīpe ghaṭam ādāya mṛṇmayam //
29 Śuṣkagomayacūrṇena [sammṛjyādamasya] vai /
Taddīpopari nicchidraṃ sammukhaṃ vinyaset punaḥ //
30 Taddīpaśikhayā jātakajjalaṃ tadghaṭodare /
Ālagnaṃ samyag ādāya mṛdghaṭādau vilepayet //
31 Śuddhatoyena saṃyuktaṃ soṣayet punar ātape /
Etat trayam punar yuktyā nimbatoyena mardayet //

32 Raktadhāturasam pītadhāturasañ ca vai punaḥ /
Alōḍya pātre nikṣipya nītvā dinadalam punaḥ //
33 Tadūrddhvāṃśam mahāpātre mandam āsicya śoṣayet /
Mṛdghaṭe śuddhaye dhīmān punarapy ekadācaret //
34 Yāmamātraṃ śyāmadhātuṃ śuddhatoyena peṣayet /
Punaḥ kapitthaniryāsatoyaiḥ sammardya śoṣayet //
35 Lekhanī trividhā jñeyā sthūlā sūkṣmā ca madhyamā /
Taddaṇḍamṛtyumātraṃ vā viṣkambhaṃ ṣaḍyavaṃ
smṛtam //
36 Mukkhe pṛṣṭhe tadaṣṭāṃśaṃ aṣṭāsraṃ vātha vartulam /
Kṛtvāgre vinyasec chaṅkuṃ gulbena yavamātrakam /
37 Sthūlāyāṃ vatsakarṇottham ajodarabhavaṃ vare /
Cikroḍapucchaṃ sūkṣmāyām romāṇy ādāya yatnataḥ //
38 Tantunā lākṣayā vātha daṇḍāgrakṛtaśaṅkuṣu /
Baddhvā tu lekhanīṃ samyak prativarṇaṃ tridhā
tridhā //
39 Ākṛtyā ca tridhā sthūlā sūkṣmā madhyā punas tathā /
Pratyekaṃ nava sā caivam prativarṇaṃ tu lekhanī /
40 Atha madhyamalekhinyā pītadhāturasena tu /
Kiṭṭarekhābahirbhāge likhitvā vyaktam ambaraiḥ //
41 Mārjjayet kiṭṭarekhāntām punas taṃ vyaktam ālikhet //
Raktadhāturasenātha sarvaṃ suvyaktam ālikhet //
42 Punar varṇāni vinyasya lekhinyā sthūlayā tathā /
Niṣkalaṅkam punas tatra nimnonnataviśeṣakān //
43 Śyāmojjvalatvabhedena kuryāt sarvam manoharam /
Tathā pāruṣyamārdavān .....
44 Vinyāsakramabhedena kuryāt sarvam manoharam //
Yatrojjvale pītavarṇe śyāmas tatrāpi lohitaḥ /
45 Prānte kajjalavarṇena sūkṣmayā saṃlikhet sudhīh //
Kṣhureṇa tīkṣṇadhāreṇa tatkarmmapaṭur añjasā /
46 Sammṛjen nikharādīni citram evaṃ samācaret //
Śubham astu //

V. V. SHARMA

Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

(Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner with additional notes)

[The *History of Buddhism in India* written by the learned Tibetan Lama Tāranātha (fl. latter quarter of the 16th and early part of the 17th century A.C.) deservedly occupies a high place in the history of the expansion of Indian Buddhism. Notwithstanding its admitted defects consisting mainly in a fanciful setting of history and geography and an extraordinary proneness to faith in miracles, it is a vast storehouse of Buddhist legends and traditions. It passes under review the whole epoch from the time of king Ajātaśatru to that of the Sena kings of Bengal, and numerous are the allusions it makes to the great figures and centres of the Buddhist faith. Its value has been recognised by the frequent references made to it by Western scholars ever since it was first made accessible in a European language.

It is now more than half a century since the Russian and the German versions of Tāranātha's work made their appearance almost simultaneously in print. The enormous advance made in every branch of Buddhist studies during the interval is too patent a fact to require mention. We have therefore thought it desirable to present to the readers of the Indian Historical Quarterly an English translation of the *History of Buddhism in India* from the German and to supplement it with our notes where necessary.

To the Russian Academy of Sciences we owe our sincere acknowledgments for its kindness in permitting us to make the present translation. Our thanks are also due to Prof. Theodore Stcherbatsky for his help in this connection.—Tr.]

SCHIEFNER'S FOREWORD

In the first volume of his work upon Buddhism, Prof. Wassiljew has repeatedly noticed the *History of Buddhism in India* written by Tāranātha, and he has given specially on pp. 47f. a short summary of this work. These notices made it desirable that the whole work should be published. Therefore in the year 1868 I edited the Tibetan text on

the basis of four manuscripts which were at my disposal and as I remarked in the foreword to the text edited by me, I derived great benefit from the Russian translation placed at my disposal by Prof. Wassiljew which was to appear simultaneously with the present German version. Already on the 9th April, 1866 Prof. Wassiljew had presented this translation to the Academy, but different other works which he had to edit for the benefit of his audience in the local University and specially his Chinese Dictionary, retarded its printing so that it could be brought to an end only during the last eight months. Through this circumstance it was possible for me to add as an appendix to the present German translation—of which the printing was finished before the end of a year—most of the notes which Prof. Wassiljew contributed out of the rich store of his knowledge of the Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist literature in the course of printing of his own translation.

Tāranātha gives at the end of his work the 34th year of his life as the time when his work was finished; it is the "earth-monkey-year"[1] corresponding to the year 1608 according to the Christian reckoning; the year of his birth was therefore the "wood-pig-year" (1573). Both these dates are found mentioned in the chronological table of the work *Kalpasuvṛkṣa*. Since the notice of his birth is limited shortly to "Jo-nang Tāranātha Keen-snjingh," the following remarks may be made for the elucidation of Prof. Wassiljew's Preface. To the different schools which were thrown into the back-ground with the appearance of the Yellow Caps (or Yellow Church[2]

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1 The Tibetans have evolved their chronological system from those of India and China. They have adopted the Indian method of calculation by sixty-year cycle and twelve-year cycle, denoting the year of the twelve-year cycle by the Zodiacal beast of the year. From the Chinese system they have borrowed the five elements, wood, fire, earth, iron and water. For denoting a particular year they tag on to the elements of the Chinese system a Zodiacal beast of the Indian system. See Waddell's *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, App. I, pp. 449-450.—Tr.

[In the present version our own notes are always distinguished as above].

2 The monks of this church wore *Yellow* coloured hats and girdles in order to distinguish themselves from the monks of the older conservative church, who used *Red* caps and girdles (while the Bons used *Black* caps).—Tr.

—Gelugpa) founded by Tsoṅ-kha-pa[1] belonged likewise to the school of Jo-nang ; it derived its name from the place Jomonang where stood a monastery in which a certain Dolbupa, having separated himself from the Saskyas[2], found his refuge. In his work called the *Ocean of the True Sense of the Mountain-teaching* he based the teaching of this school upon a particular form (essentially another form) of nothingness. Although Tsoṅ-kha-pa along with one of his immediate disciples and the disciple of that disciple had heard of the Kālacakra and the Pāramitā, the teaching of the special form of nothingness was rejected by the Yellow Caps. After the time of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, Kun-dga-grol-mtschog* and specially his re-incarnation Tāranātha propagated the Jonang teaching.[3] There was founded the monastery *r*Tag-*b*stan-phun-tshogs-gling, images were set up and wooden blocks were incised for the printing of most of the Jo-nang works. When the ruler of Rin Spung, called Karm-*b*stan-*s*kjong-*d*vang-po, came forward as the protector of this teaching, its popularity greatly increased. But when his power came to an end, the fifth Dalai Lama, after the death of Tāranātha, annexed the Jo-nang monastery to the school of Yellow Caps, and the wooden blocks were sealed up so that at

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* Born 1493, died 1566.

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1 Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1368-1419) was a reformer of Tibetan Buddhism. He adopted as far as possible the monastic discipline of Hīnayāna Buddhism and thoroughly revised the Tibetan Buddhist liturgy. For details of his life see Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, iii, pp. 358-9 ; *J.A.S.B.*, 1882, pp. 53-7, 127 ; Huth, *Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, ii, pp. 175ff ; *E.R.E.*, vii, p. 787.—Tr.

2 The Sas-kyas were one of the most powerful sects of Tibet. Their monastery known also as the Sas-kya monastery was founded by a royal prince of that name at a distance of about 50 miles to the north of Mt. Everest. Kublai Khan after his conversion to Buddhism by the abbot of this monastery conferred upon him (usually known as Śaskya Paṇḍita) the temporal rulership of W. Tibet. The abbots of this monastery wielded great influence, both political and religious, over the whole of Tibet from 1270 to 1340. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, iii, p. 354 ; *E. R. E.*, vii, s.v., *Lamaism*.—Tr.

3 Jo-nang is a sub-sect of the Sas-kyas, another being Ngor-pa. *E.R.E.*, vii, p. 788.—Tr.

present of the Jonang school only two works of Tāranātha are known, viz. the *Sādhana* and the *History of Buddhism*.*

To the above information, which Prof. Wassiljew has drawn from the history of Tibetan schools, he adds from the same work the following passage: "In Khalkha Prince (Khan) Usutai founded the monastery Erdeni Jowo, after he had met the third Dalai Lama. The son of his grandson Tushijetu Khan was the re-incarnation *r*Je-*b*tsun-dam-pa *b*lo-*b*sang-*b*stan-pai-*r*gyal-*m*tshan, the glory of Khalkha, who received great honour from the Manchu emperor (Kanghi); he founded the monastery Ri-vo-*d*ge- *r*gjas-*g*ling and the series of his incarnations continued still further."

Now as far as the history of Buddhism written by Tāranātha is concerned, it appears from the plan of the work as well as from the casual remarks of the author that we have to deal with a mere compilation. Besides the Indian works which he himself mentions, he also makes use of indigenous works. When the separate volumes of the Tanjur with its numerous historical notices are properly investigated, it will be easy to trace back to their sources the numerous stereotyped passages which are found about individual occurrences in the work of Tāranātha as well as of other later writers. Probably one may succeed also in reconstructing a number of Indian and other names in their true forms or at least in finding out the origin of the present corrupted forms. In the Index I have printed in brackets the names and Indian words occurring in Tāranātha's Tibetan text in order to distinguish them from words authenticated from some other source or gained through retranslation. As the latter cannot always be relied on, I have marked the doubtful cases with an asterisk. Sanskrit offers different probable forms for the Tibetan words, as for instance,

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* The Sumbum of *g*Long-*r*dol-*b*lama (see Wassiljew, Historical & Philosophical Bulletin, vol. XI, *Mélanges Asiatique*, II, p. 354), which is really called Ngag-*d*vang *b*lo-*b*sang comprises briefly both works. We observe also in the same place the full name Kun-*d*ga'-*s*ning-po (=Ānandagarbha), and where the series of re-incarnations since the time of Śākyamuni are told, Malla Mahābala opens the series in which Jo-nang Tāranātha or Kun-*d*ga'-*s*njing-po is the 16th. In the Tanjur we find the name Tāranātha as well as *K*un-*d*ga'-*s*njing-po. In vol. lu of the Sūtra he is mentioned several times as translator, according to Jonang, as well as with the epithet.

I have retranslated Devendrabuddhi, while in Tanjur it is Surendrabodhi* ; in the place of Buddhadiś, a form which occurs in Wassiljew's *Buddhism* (p. 204), the form Buddhapakṣa which also occurs in the same work (p. 56) is perhaps the right one, it is probably an epithet derived from the *Manjuśrīmūlatantra*, so also are the names Dharmika, Yogin, etc.

For 'Kāla' the synonym 'Kṛṣṇa' can well be put, the Chinese prefer for it the word 'Mecaka' which name I have restored as Kṛṣṇacārin† and which name is found in the later Tibetan works in the form Kālacarya ; on the other hand Tāranātha's Kṛṣṇarāja appears to have arisen from a misunderstanding of the word Kaliṅga. It is difficult to decide whether the Jayabhadra or the Jinabhadra has the greater probability. Instead of Viśrutadeva, the later Tibetans use Vikhyātadeva (Thob jig, vol. III, p. 244). If after all I have written in the translation 'Bhaṅgala,' I have retained the form which occurs in all Tibetan works. To be frank there are many strange forms, e.g. 'Vikramalaśīla' instead of 'Vikramaśila,' 'Bharadhvaja', instead of 'Bharadvāja', and so on.

As we cannot always depend upon the different forms of single names, I have in the translation, wherever practicable, put them in a better form than what the manuscripts offer. The chronological account is also in an evil condition. Very gladly I would have complied with the wishes of those who had desired a synchronistic table as a supplement to the translation, if such a one could have been produced with ease. A greater evil is that in the chronological account prophecies in the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* have been mostly admitted as the end and basis of chronology.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings Tāranātha's work, although it is not suited to be a sure guide for the history of Buddhistic regions in India, furnishes the occasion for further researches through its numerous, though often short, notes on some celebrities of Buddhism and their mass of legends. Perhaps one may succeed in collecting the works of Bhaṭagati, Indradatta and Kṣemendrabhadra mentioned by Tāranātha or at least in gathering accurate information about them. Even if this should not come to pass, occasion may be found

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* A similar fluctuation is found between the names Nāgabuddhi and Nāgabodhi, Indrabhūti and Indrabodhi.

† Also Kālacārin at p. 278.

for elucidating what is as yet little known and for finding out what is unknown about the rich Buddhist literature that is contained in the Kanjur as well as the Tanjur and the different works to which the notes to this translation refer. May young energy be found possessing the requisite means and perseverance to follow up this task.

St. Petersburg, 27 May (8 June), 1869.

A. SCHIEFNER

INTRODUCTION

TREASURE OF WISHES OF THE NECESSARY NAMED DISTINCT EXPLANATIONS OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THE MINE OF HAPPINESS, THE GEM OF EXCELLENT TEACHING WAS PROPAGATED IN ĀRYADEŚA.[1]

Om, salvation to living creatures! distinct explanations of the manner in which the mine of happiness, the gem of excellent teaching adorned with resplendent fortune, was propagated in Āryadeśa, and the treasure of wishes of the necessary things was known.[2] Adoration be to the Buddha along with his sons and disciples![*] I bow down to the chief hermit, the head-cloud[†] that came from the domain of beings to the domain of gods, that is adorned with the marks and signs of the rainbow and sends down the soft nectar-rain of deeds. Here also those versed in the year-books and antique lore, when arranging the stories of Āryadeśa, recognise in the drying up of their skill the basis of their poverty just like the poor man in the presence of goods exhibited for sale. As I

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* The most distinguished followers of Buddha and the most renowned Lamas are thus called.

† Literally in Tibetan "before the king of hermits, the first of clouds," so that Munindra and Meghendra may be compared with each other.

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1 More accurately "The holy and precious religion, how it flourished in the Āryadeśa clearly explained, which is therefore called Ratnacintāmaṇi"—Tr.

2 Better, "The holy and precious religion decorated by the glory, ho it wflourished in Āryadeśa, clearly explained, which is called Ratnacintāmaṇi."—Tr.

have noticed along with some other scholars many serious mistakes in the explanation of sources of the teaching, I have prepared in brief this arrangement of stories capable of removing mistakes for the benefit of others.

Here are the contents of the principal facts. In the line of king Kṣemadarśin there are four, namely, Subāhu, Sudhanu, Mahendra, and Camasa; in the line of of Aśoka four: Vigatāśoka, Vīrasena, Nanda and Mahāpadma; from the line of Candra came forth Hari-, Akṣa-, Jaya-, Nema-, Phaṇi-, Bhaṃsa-, and Śāla- with the subjoined (affix) Candra. Thereafter Candragupta, Bindusāra and his nephew Śrīcandra are named. To (the names) Dharma, Karma, Vṛkṣa, Vigama, Kāma, Siṃha, Bāla, Vimala, Gopī and Lalita also, Candra is annexed at the end. If Bindusāra is not counted in the list, there are 19 with the name Candra. Of these Akṣacandra, Jayacandra, Dharmacandra, Karmacandra, Vigamacandra, Kāmacandra and Vimalacandra are known as the seven Candras, with the addition of Candragupta, Gopīcandra and Lalitacandra they are celebrated as the ten Candras. Descending from the Pāla line: Gopāla, Deva-, Rāsa-, Dharma-, Vana-, Mahī-, Mahā-, Śreṣṭha-, Bheya-, Neya-, Āmra-, Hasti-, Rāma-, Yakṣa-, all with the affix Pāla, are fourteen in the Pāla lineage. The kings Agnidatta, Kaniṣka, Lakṣāśva, Candanapāla, Śrīharṣa, Śīla, Udayana, Gauḍavardhana. Kanika and Turuṣka, the Śākamahāsammata, Buddhapakṣa, Gambhīrapakṣa, Cala, Caladhruva, Viṣṇu, Siṃha, Bharṣa, Pañcama-Siṃha, Prasanna, Prāditya, Mahāsena, Mahāśākyabala, these stand single. Masurakṣita, Caṇaka, Śāmupāla, Śāntipāla, stand singly in the Pāla line, Lava, Kāśa, Maṇita, Rāthika are the four Senas. In the South appeared in Kāñcī and the other different kingdoms Śukla, Candrakṣobha, Śālivāhana, Maheśa, Kṣemaṅkara, Manoratha, Bhogasubāla, Candrasena, Kṣemaṅkarasiṃha. Vyāghra, Budha, Buddhaśuca, Sanmukha, Sāgara, Vikrama, Ujjayana, Śreṣṭha, Mahendra, Devarāja, Viśva, Śiśu, Pratāpa. In the South appeared the following Brāhmaṇas, Balamitra, Nāgaketu, Vardhamāla, Gaggari, Kumārananda, Matikumāra, Bhadrānanda, Dānabhadra, Laṅkādeva, Bahubhuja, Madhayamati; these are the old Mahācāryas. As the followers of the victorious teachers are generally known the following seven persons, Madhyāntika counting as the eighth, Uttara, Yaśas, Poṣada, Kāśyapa, Śānavāsa, Mahāloma, Mahātyāga, Nandin, Dharmaśreṣṭha, Pārśvika, Aśvagupta, Nanda are the Arhants protecting the teaching. Uttara, Kāśyapa, Sammatīya, Mahīśāsaka, Dharmagupta, Suvarṣa,

Vātsīputrīya, Tāmraśāṭīya, Bahuśrutīya, Dharmottara, Avantaka, Jetavanīya, Sthavira, Dharmatrāta, Vasubandhu, Ghoṣaka, Śrīlābha, Buddhadeva, Kumaralābha, Vāmana, Kuṇāla, Śaṅkara, Saṅghavardhana, Sambhūti, are the disciples of the great Bhadantas.* Jaya, Sujaya, Kalyāṇa, Siddha, Adarpa, Rāghava, Yaśika, Pāṇini, Kuśala, Bhadra, Vararuci, Śūdra, Kulika, Mudgaragomin, Śaṅkara, Dharmika, Mahāvīrya, Suviṣṇu, Madhu, Supramadhu, the second Vararuci, Kāśijāta, Caṇaka and Vasunetra, Śaṅku, Bṛhaspati, Makṣika, Vasunāga, Bhadrapālita, Pūrṇa, Pūrṇabhadra, these are the great Brāhmaṇas honoured for the teaching.

The Āryas of Mahāyāna teaching are not mentioned in this list since they are generally well known but they will be mentioned in the course of this history. The six jewels of Jambudvīpa have a great celebrity. Sūra, Rāhula, Guṇaprabha, Dharmapāla are called the four great ones, Śāntideva and Candragomin are praised by the learned as the two miracle-performing Ācāryas. The designation of the two most excellent ones is unknown in India. The designation of the six Jewels and of the two most excellent ones is known through the Tibetan. Jñānapāda, Dīpaṅkarabhadra, Laṅkājayabhadra, Śrīdhara, Bhavabhadra, Bhavyakīrti, Līlāvajra, Durjayacandra, Samayavajra, Tathāgatarakṣita, Bodhibhadra, Kamalarakṣita,—these twelve are the Tantrācāryas of Vikramaśīla. Thereafter came the six Door-paṇḍits and different Ācāryas of the secret teaching.

Keeping the above well in mind one will easily understand the history set forth below through its entanglements.

While the genealogy of the kings before the entrance of our teacher, the fully enlightened Buddha, into the world can be obtained credibly according to circumstances from the Vinaya, the Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra and partly from the Lalitavistara and other works, the series of kings, ṛṣis, etc. who lived at the time of Satyayuga, Tretāyuga and the Kaliyuga are here not put into writing from the works of Tīrthikas, since these, although many in number, are partly mixed up with untruth and may not be simply believed, and as no connection with

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* According to Wassiljew the renowned persons of Buddhist hierarchy during the time of Mahāyāna were called Bhadantas; they stand among the Arhats but must be directors and founders of schools, propagators of the teaching and authors of works; cf. however Burnouf, Introduction à l'histoire du buddhisme Indien, p. 567.

the history of the excellent law exists and no requisites for the thoroughly pure design are evident. But if one asks for the works of their teachers, these are the Bhārata with more than 100000 ślokas, Rāmāyaṇa consisting of 100,000 ślokas, the 18 Purāṇas in more than 190,000 ślokas, the poetry Raghuvaṃśa in 86,000 ślokas, etc. Here are only explained the histories of the things which refer to the teaching of the Teacher.

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki mentions two Kośalas

The country of Kośala or modern Oudh is well-known to historians. In the Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa it has been described as *Uttara-Kośala*. In canto 6, the 71st śloka runs as follows :—

इक्ष्वाकुवंश: ककुदं नृपाणां ककुत्स्थ इत्याहितलक्षणोऽभूत् ।
काकुत्स्थशब्दं यत उन्नतेच्छा: श्लाघ्यं दधत्युत्तरकोशलेन्द्रा: ॥

Again in the 9th canto, śl. 1 we have

पितुरनन्तरमुत्तरकोशलान् समधिगम्य समाधिजितेन्द्रिय: ।
दशरथ: प्रशशास महारथो यमवतामवतां च धुरि स्थित: ॥

The very word Uttara Kośala suggests the existence of another Kośala towards the southern side of India. We do hear of a country or kingdom by the name of Dakṣiṇa Kośala or Mahā Kośala. This kingdom has been recorded simply as Kosala in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta amongst the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha. I quote below a line from the original text :—

कौसल्यकमहेन्द्रमाहाकान्तारकव्याघ्रराज-
कौरालकमैष्टराजपैष्टपुरकमहेन्द्रगिरिकदूरक·····

Samudra Gupta subdued the Kośala country of king *Mahendra*.[1]

From the above it is evident that the Mahā Kośala or Dakṣiṇa Kosala country was known as कोसल only without any particular attribute of 'Mahā' or 'Dakṣiṇa.' This is also supported by several copper-plate grants of the kings of Kosala.

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1 Nothing is known about this king. In a few coins of Kumāragupta (Allan, B.M.C., pp. 61-62, no. 190-9) श्रीमहेन्द्र is found inscribed on

The earliest grant is that of Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva, the supreme Lord of (the country of) Kosala. The charters of this king are in the box-headed characters and they were issued from Śrīpura, modern Sirpur, on the bank of the Mahānadī, 37 miles north east of Raipur, the Hd. qrs. of the Chhattisgarh Division in C.P.

Line 19 of the Baloda plates of Tīvaradeva reads :—

श्रीनन्नदेवस्य तनयः प्राप्तसकलकोसलाधिपत्यः

While the seal of the same king bears the following *śloka* :—

श्रीमत्तीवरदेवस्य कोसलाधिपतेरिदं
शासनं धर्मवृद्ध्यर्थं स्थिरलाचन्द्रतारकम् ॥

(Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, p. 294.)

[This seal is circular and has "a figure of Garuḍa, facing full-front, depicted with the head of a man and the body of a bird, with his wings expanded, with apparently human arms hanging down between the wings and the feet, and with a serpent with expanded hood, standing up in front of and over each shoulder ; on the proper right of this, a *cakra* or discus, the emblem of Viṣṇu and on the proper left, a *Śaṅkha* or conch-shell ; in the lower part a floral device." Below is the above quoted *legend* in two lines.]

The date of Tīvaradeva is roughly about A. D. 800, although according to some historians, the age of the box-headed characters falls between 5th and 6th. centuries A. D.

The first 10 *ślokas* of the Sarakho copper-plate inscription[1] of the Haihaya prince Ratnadeva II of Ratnapura, dated Cedi era 880, are found reproduced in the Amodā copper-plate charters, dated Cedi years 900 and 905 (Two Copper-plate Charters of the Haihaya king Pṛthvīdeva II of the Cedi years 900 and 905—I. H. Q., vol. I, no. 3). In the 10th sloka, king Ratnadeva II has been described as the "ornament of the *entire Kosala kingdom.*" The śloka is as follows :—

तदात्मजः सकलकोसलमण्डनश्रीः श्रीमान्समाहृतसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः ।
सर्वक्षितीश्वरशिरोविहितांघ्रिसेवः सेवाभृतां निधिरसौ भुवि रत्नदेवः ॥ १०

From the time of Samudragupta down to the 11th century A. D.

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one side, and on some coins of the same king जयत्यजेयो जित-महेन्द्रः (Ibid., pp. 73-74, no. 219-25) is inscribed. Do these refer to the कौसल्यक महेन्द्र ?

1 These plates are in possession of the Chatisgarh Ganarava—Pracārak Maṇḍalī, Bilaspur, C.P. Hitavad (Nagpur) April 1, 1926. p. 3.

the kingdom with its capitals श्रीपुर, तुम्माण and रत्नपुर was called कोसल. We have got enough inscriptional evidence to prove this.

In the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki we find that Daśaratha invites one Bhānumat who is stated as *the king of Kosala* to join his sacrifice. This Bhānumat was, I believe, the lord of Dakṣiṇa Kosala or Mahā Kosala.

अङ्गेश्वरं महेष्वासं रोमपादं सुसत्कृतम्। वयस्यं राजसिंहस्य सपुत्रं तमिहानय॥
तथा कोसलराजानं भानुमन्तं सुसत्कृतम्। मगधाधिपतिं शूरं सर्वशास्त्रविशारदम्॥
Rāmāyaṇa, I, 13, vs. 25, 26.

"You must also bring Daśaratha's friend Rompāda, the king of Aṅga. You yourself invite Bhānumat, the king of *Kosala* and the learned and valiant king of Magadha."

The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki mentions two *Kośalas*, the Uttara Kośala or Oudh[1] and the Dakṣina Kośala or modern Chattisgarh.

Now a few words about the use of the name Southern Kośala. The Kośala country of Tīvardèva is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as Southern Kosala[2] (Beal's Life of HiuenTsang, book IV, pp. 134-35).

During his visit a Kṣatriya king was reigning there. Hiuen Tsang does not give us the name of the king nor of the then capital of "Southern Kosala". We are therefore unable to say whether the capital was Śrīpura (modern Sirpur in the Raipur Dist., C. P.) or Bhādravatī (modern Bhāndak in the Chāndā Dist., C. P.). We are further told that in the 2nd century A. D, king *Sadvāha* (So-to-po-ho) the Lord of Southern Kosala, excavated for Nāgārjuna a rock-temple. This cave-dwelling was hewn in a mountain called "Po-lo-mo lo-ki-li" i. e.

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1 कुशलो नाम मुदितः स्फीतो जनपदो महान्।
निविष्टः सरयूतीरे प्रभूतधनधान्यवान्॥५॥
अयोध्यानाम नगरी तत्रासी लोकविश्रुता।
मनुना मानवेन्द्रेण या पुरी निर्मिता स्वयम्॥६॥
Rāmāyaṇna, I, 5, vs. 5, 6.

2 Hiuen Tsang says:—Going north-west from this (Kaliṅga) about 1800 li we came to Southern Kosala. The king is of the Kṣattriya caste. He deeply reverences the law of Buddha, and is well affected towards learning and the arts. There are 100 Saṅghārāmas here, and 10,000 priests, There are a great number of heretics who live intermixed with the population, and also Deva temples. Not far to the south is an old Saṅghārāma. By the side of it is a *stūpa* built by Asoka Rāj. In old days Tathāgata exhibited great spiritual changes in this place and over came the heretics.

Bhramaragiri, the mountain of the Black bee (Durga). Hiuen Tsang says :—Afterwards Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva dwelt here (old saṅghārāma by the side of which was a *stūpa* built by Aśoka). At that time the king of the country was named Sadvāha[1] (*So-to-po'-ho*) ; he highly esteemed Nāgārjuna, and abundantly supplied all his wants.

At this time Deva Bodhisattva came from the country of *Siṃhala* to seek to discuss on some (religious) questions. Coming to the door he requested permission to pass through. The gate-keeper announced him ; on this Nāgārjuna recognised the man and filled a dish with water and told a disciple to show it to him.

Deva seeing the water, without speaking, cast a needle into it. The disciple then brought it back.

Nāgārjuna having seen it was full of joy and said : "This water so bright and full is the symbol of my character (qualities). That man who has come and thrown a needle into it has done so to show that he can investigate these to the bottom. If such be the man, I can discuss with him on the dark and mysterious doctrines of religion, and he may hand down the light (lamp)." He immediately caused him to be brought in, and having seated him, they entered on mutual conversation, as pleasant and agreeable as the fish finds the water to be.

Then Nāgārjuna said, "I am now old and worn out ; does the pure shining orb of wisdom reside with you" (i. e. are you able to succeed me as a teacher) ?

Deva, rising and reverently bowing at the feet of Nāgārjuna, said, Although your servant is of small ability yet he will venture to hand down your loving instructions."

During the 7th. century A. D. the country of 'Southern Kosala' boasted of possessing learned Brāhmaṇas :—

In this country there was a Brāhmaṇa who was skilled in explaining

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1 Who this king was is not certain. He is said to have reigned over *Shing-tu*, which may simply mean India. He was surnamed *Shi-yen-to-kia* (Sindhuka ?). Was he a Pallava ? and was Alamana where Nāgārjuna knew him, the same as "Aramana' or the *Coromandel* Coast, between *Cola* and *Kaliṅga* ? Be that as it may, we know that Nāgārjuna was so closely acquainted with the king that he sent him a friendly letter exhorting him to morality of life and religious conduct. Beal's Life of H. T., Intro., pp. xx, xxi.

the treatise called '*In-ming*'; the Master of the Law remained here a month and some day, and read (with him) the *Tsah-liang-lun*.

Whether the country of *Sadvāha* is mentioned in the Buddhist literature of the time, simply as 'Kosala' or 'Southern or Mahā Kosala' is not properly known.

The Gunji Buddhist Inscription[1] gives us the name of a king named Kumāra Vāsanta. Gunji is in the *Sakti* Feudatory State which may be called the very heart of Chattisgarh. The record is assigned by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar to the first century A.D. It is not known whether this inscription contains the name of the country or kingdom over which king Kumāra Vāsanta ruled.

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA

1 Gunji is 14 miles from Sakti, the Head qrs. of a Feudatory state of the same name, on the B. N. Ry. Near this village is a spring known as "*Damau Dahrā*," and on a rock there this inscription in Brahmi characters has been incised. It consists of two parts, the first of which begins with salutation to Bhāgavata, and is dated the 15th day of the 4th fortnight of Hemanta in the 5th regnal year of a king named Śrī Kumāra Vāsanta,and contains the words Bhagavato *Usubhatithi*, the name of a *thera Godacha* and the name *Vāsiṭhiputa*.

The 2nd part of the inscription is dated on the second day of the 6th fortnight of *Grīṣma* in the 8th year of Kumāra Vāsanta's reign.

Cousen's Progress Report, 1904, p. 54 and 'Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar' by Rai Bahadur Hīrālāl, p. 168.

The Kalinga Edict

The First Separate Edict of Dhauli

(Also known as the Kaliṅga Provincials' Edict)

Of the two separate edicts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa, it was called No. I by Prinsep (*JASB.*, VII, 438), though Cunningham pointed out later on, after discussing the manner in which they had been engraved (*Cor. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 20), that it should properly be designated as the edict No. II. All scholars, including Cunningham himself, except Kern (who adopted the suggestion of Cunningham) and V. A. Smith, thought it desirable not to disturb the arrangement of Prinsep, and we, on our part, consider him perfectly justified in calling this edict No. I for other reasons that we shall point out towards the end of this discussion.

This inscription was first discovered by Kittoe in 1837, and was first published by Prinsep in 1838 (*JASB.*, VII, 437-445). It was re-edited by Burnouf (*Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, pp. 671ff.), by Cunningham in 1877 (*Cor. Ins. Ind.*, I), by Kern in 1880 [*JRAS.* (*N.S.*), XII, 379ff.] and also in *Jaarh. der Zuyd. Buddh.*, 101 ff.), by Bühler in 1887 (*ZDMG.*, 41, pp. 1ff., also in English in *Amaravati*, 114 ff.). It was revised by Senart (*Ins. de Piyadasi*, II, 105ff.). Of the most recent editions we have a transcript in Bhandarkar's *Inscriptions of Asoka*, part II, pp. 82-88, and translations and notes in his *Asoka*, pp. 323-25 ; translations and notes in glossary, in the two volumes of A. C. Woolner's *Asoka Inscriptions and Glossary*. Then comes the most important edition of the *Corpus* by Hultzsch.

In dealing with this edict we shall begin with that portion of it which contains the real teaching of the sermon. Asoka begins thus :—

Dekhata hi tuphe etaṃ suvihitā pi niti (Dh., I, 7-8 ; also Secs. I and J of Hultzsch's *Corpus*).

Hultzsch has concluded the sentence in *pi*, taking *niti* with the next sentence, but other scholars like Prinsep and Burnouf (Cunningham's *Corpus*, p. 127), Senart (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 84), Bühler (*ZDMG.*, 41, p. 3), Kern (while taking *niti* in the sense of *kiṃti*, began the next sentence with *iyaṃ*, [vide *JRAS.* (*N. S.*), XII, p. 386], A. C. Woolner (*Asoka*, Part I, p. 23), Bhandarkar (*Inscriptions of Asoka*,

Part II, p. 83, and *Asoka*, p. 323), V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, p. 195), have ended the sentence with *niti*. With *niti* closely following *suvihitā*, it is more proper to take the latter as an adjective of *niti* in the feminine gender than of *tuphe* in the plural number. At Jaugaḍa the corresponding sentence is read as *Dakhatha hi* (*tuphe*) *hissuvitā pi*. The two letters, which have been read as *tuphe*, are so indistinct in the impression supplied in Hultzsch's *Corpus*, and also in the cast of the edict in the Indian Museum, that we entertain doubt as to the correct reading of the word. Senart is for *niti*, and has concluded that this word has been carelessly omitted making the text somewhat unintelligible (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 88, n. 8, and p. 95, n. 32). But in order to "establish a complete harmony between the versions," we find that the word *tuphe* is not an absolute necessity in this sentence, for, with *dakhatha* taken in the imperative mood, the subject may remain understood without going against the rules of grammar. The most important word is *niti*, and we ought to see if it can be substituted in the place of *tuphe*. *Tuphe* coming after *hi* in the Dhauli text naturally suggests itself in this place, but we find that the text at Jaugaḍa is very condensed here, and though *etaṃ* may be omitted for the sake of contraction, it does not seem possible that the word *niti* should be left out making the sense incomplete thereby. We, therefore, suggest the substitution of *niti* in the place of *tuphe*, to make the sentence complete in every respect. In the impression and cast, we find only the traces of two upward strokes, but the three letters *ta*, *pha*, and *na* have all of them upward strokes, so *niti* here is not an absolute impossibility. Cunningham read *ca me* (*Corpus*, p. 90) in 1877, and was followed by Kern in 1880, who, while adopting the reading of *ca me* as before, suggested *tuphe* in the bracket, and in the Sanskrit rendering of the text he substituted *yūyaṃ* thereby manifesting his preference for *tuphe* [*JRAS.* (*N. S.*), XLI, pp. 386, 388). This was the first suggestion of *tuphe* in the text, which was afterwards adopted by Senart and other scholars. This being the history of the introduction of *tuphe*, we find that it was a guess work, and so may reasonably suspect its correctness. We, therefore, assume that whatever word might have been written here, it must have been either *niti* or some other synonym of that word, for nowhere at Jaugaḍa we have found the text in disagreement with that of Dhauli, at least in sense though not in the use of identical words. Moreover, if we take *niti* with the next sentence, there must be some word at Jaugaḍa in the corresponding

sentence to express the sense indicated by *niti* at Dhauli. But by comparing the two texts we cannot spare a single word for this purpose. *Bahuka* is not a substitute for *niti*, for these two words are wide apart in sense; besides, it has been used at Jaugaḍa at the beginning of the next sentence for the sake of agreement between the two texts, as we shall point out presently. We, thus, conclude that *niti* should go with *suvihitā* at Dhauli, and *tuphe* must be replaced by a word of identical sense at Jaugaḍa, as is unavoidably necessary for the sake of agreement.

Hultzsch has taken *suvihitā* in the sense of "well provided for" or "prosperous circumstances" (*Corpus*, p. 47, n. 6; p. 95, n. 11; p. 114, n. 4), and *niti* in the sense of *daṇḍa-nīti* as pointed out by Lüders (*SPAW.*, 1914, 859). We maintain that the general sense of the edict is against the adoption of these kinds.

"Administration of justice" and "prosperous circumstances" are too gross in this edict which aims only at moral purification. So, the sense of "well defined" (Senart), or "well established" (Smith), "well laid down" (Bhandarkar), for *suvihitā*, and "moral duties" (Senart), or "maxim of conduct" (Bhandarkar), for *niti*, appears to be the correct interpretations. The sentence, as modified in these ways, means—

At Dhauli—"See to this then, the maxim of conduct also is well laid down" (Bhandarkar).

At Jaugaḍa—"See to this maxim of conduct which is also well laid down."

What follows is the explanation of this *suvihitā niti*.

The next sentence :—

Iyaṃ eka-pulise pi athi ye baṃdhaṇaṃ vā palikilesaṃ vā pāpunāti. (Dh. Sep., I, 8).

Bahukaṭhi (*or athi*—Bühler) *ye eti eka-munise baṃdhanaṃ palikilesam pi* (*or hi*—Bühler) *pāpunāti.* (Jau. Sep., I, 4).

Now, these *baṃdhanaṃ* and *palikilesaṃ* have been invariably taken by all scholars in the sense of imprisonment, harsh treatment or torture, etc. It is now our first concern to see in what sense these words have been used here. In doing so, let us turn to the context in order to ascertain the real significance of the sermon contained in this edict. In previous sentences Asoka says that he desires the happiness and prosperity of all men both in this world and in the next, and he calls upon his officers to grasp this truth to its fullest extent. He, then, speaks about the *niti* or moral conduct

that must be observed for this purpose, and introduces the real sermon beginning with the sentence under review here. Under these circumstances we cannot take *niti* in the sense of "principle of government", and *baṃdhanaṃ* and *palikilesaṃ* must not be confused with "ordinary imprisonment or torture". The following considerations also support this view. We find that the sermon contained in this edict was intended for recitations on Tiṣya days and on other suitable occasions. We also find from the Pillar Edict V that these Tiṣya days, like many others named therein, were held by Asoka specially auspicious, and so the torture of animals of various kinds was prohibited on these days. Therefore, it can be assumed that the sermon that was intended for recitations on such occasions must have something spiritual (rather of morality) in it, for it is beyond conception that the subject of imprisonment and torture of criminals should form the basis of a sermon that was considered fit for recitations in solemn festivities. We are, moreover, confirmed in this our belief when we find that the edict deals with subjects like envy, cruelty and idleness, the vices that obstruct spiritual insight. We also cannot but consider the question of administrative wisdom here. The king may be very kindly disposed, and he may feel for every criminal, but it does not behove him to proclaim by edicts through officials and by enforcing recitations on solemn occasions that certain criminals should be differently dealt with. For, however pious the intention may be, such acts must encourage the evil-doers and bring about that relaxation of law which can on no account be conducive to good government. Officers may be secretly instructed to act kindly to criminals, but a general proclamation of this nature undermines the primary object of law. It is not at all possible that Asoka committed such a blunder. We shall see presently that we are right in taking this view and that the text of the edict itself contains explanations of *baṃdhanaṃ* and *palikilesaṃ* in perfectly clear terms. Suffice it to say at this stage that *baṃdhanaṃ* and *palikilesaṃ* have been used, not in the sense of imprisonment and torture of criminals, but figuratively in the sense of the bondage of the world and sufferings that result from evil passions and bad habits. This passage has been translated by Hultzsch in the following manner:—

(1) It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment (Hultz., *Ins. of Asoka*, p. 96). Here Hlz. has begun this sentence with the last word *niti* of the previous one and made it a compound with *iyaṃ* forming

nitiyaṃ (*nityāṃ*) in the locative case. He also considers *bahuka* a substitute of this word in the Jaugaḍa version (*Ibid.*, p. 96, n. 1).

Now, though we have elsewhere in this edict *nitiyaṃ* at Dhauli (l. 12) for *niti iyaṃ* of Jaugaḍa (l. 6), yet we cannot agree to believe that in the sentence under review here *nitiyaṃ* is a correct reading. In all the impressions of this edict that we have consulted, and also in the cast of the edict in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, we find clear traces of four letters, and the traces of the third vowel are distinctly visible.

Hence the correct reading should be *niti iyaṃ*, but not *nitiyaṃ*. But we have pointed out that in this edict *nitiyaṃ* of Dhauli has been split up into *niti iyaṃ* at Jaugaḍa. There can be no objection to this sort of change there. *Nīti* and its adjective *iyaṃ* when compounded form *nītīyaṃ*, and this in Asokan epigraphy may be written as *nitiyaṃ*. The very fact that *nitiyaṃ* can be split up into *niti* and *iyaṃ* shows that *iyaṃ* is an independent word, and so it cannot be regarded as a case-ending even in the form *nitiyaṃ* whose further contraction to *nityāṃ* is therefore inadmissible. So, in the sentence under review here, when we have *niti iyaṃ* clearly in the text, we cannot contract them to *nityāṃ* in order to come down to *nityāṃ* for forming a locative case. Hence the translation "in the administration of justice" offered by Hultzsch is not unquestionable. He perhaps worked on the suggestions advanced by Senart (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 90, n. 6). But we find there that the French savant was in utmost difficulty with the explanation of *nitiyaṃ*, and without suspecting for a moment that there may be a spiritual significance he very creditably attempted a solution of the problem by philological discussion and pointing out possible errors in epigraphy. But more of this hereafter.

Having thus separated *niti* and *iyam*, we believe that the sentence begins with *iyaṃ*. The translation we offer is this:—

There is such and such an individual (adopted from the rendering of Senart) who is bound in worldly ties, or who gets sufferings (due to bad passions and habits).

Now about the interpretation of the word *bahuka*. The peculiar construction of the sentence should be observed in this connection. *Iyam ekapulise pi athi ye* (i. e. there is such and such a person who etc.) is found in the Dhauli version. The wording here clearly signifies that a solitary person is not meant, but many of a class of individuals who suffer in this way. Now, look at the Jaugaḍa text. It has *bahuka athi ye eti eka-munise* etc.", which should be rendered as "There is a class of individuals like such and such a person who suffers etc."

Bahuka is thus an absolute necessity at Jaugaḍa in order to bring out the sense of the corresponding sentence at Dhauli. We rather think that by the use of *bahuka* at Jaugaḍa the sense of the corresponding sentence of Dhauli has been clearly brought forth. Readers will find that the Jaugaḍa sentences are in many cases explanatory of the Dhauli versions. Thus *bahuka* has been used for a class of persons, and hence the verb is *athi* in the singular. At Dhauli we have two finite verbs, *athi* and *pāpunāti*, but at Jaugaḍa we have three, *athi*, *eti*, and *pāpunāti*. It should also be observed that both *baṃdhanaṃ* and *palikilesaṃ* are objects of *pāpunāti* at Dhauli, and hence we have two conjunctions *vā* after each of the words. But at Jaugaḍa, *baṃdhanaṃ* is the object of *eti*, and *palikilesaṃ* is the object of *pāpunāti*, and hence only one conjunction *pi* (in the sense of 'also') has been used. The two texts are thus in complete agreement here and even elsewhere where different words sometimes have been used in these two texts. We find that they aim at the same signification without imparing the agreement in the least.

If we take *bahuka* as an adverb in the sense of frequently, then we must have the nominative of *athi* understood in this sentence, a construction which is far from satisfactory. But the situation improves if we take *bahuka* as a substantive in a collective sense. The word *bahuka* has been used as a substantive in the R. E. XII (Hlz., *Corpus*, p. 22, n. 2). Then again we take the word *ye*. At Dhauli it has *eka-pulise* for its antecedent. But without an antencedent at Jaugaḍa (if we take *bahuka* as an adverb), the significance of *ye* cannot be understood. So the construction fails.

Then we come to the next sentence:—

Akasmā tena baṃdhanaṃtika aṃne ca—hu jane daviye dukhīvati. (Dh. 9).

Akasmā tena baṃdhanaṃtika . . .
ca vage bahuke vedayati (Jau., 4-5)

We find that scholars are not in agreement in the translations that they have offered of this sentence.

Hultzsch has rendered it as follows:—

"In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally, while (many) other people continue to suffer".

Here we find that *baṃdhnanaṃtika* has been taken in the sense of 'ending imprisonment,' and *akasmā* in the sense of 'accidentally', but no satisfactory explanation was given about the use of the word *tena*, though the interpreter admits (p. 96, n. 4) that the proper form

would have been *tasa* in support of the translation offered by him. Though in Pāli, *tena* may sometimes be used for *tasa*, yet in a sentence like the one we are dealing with such use is ungrammatical.

Bühler has offered the following translation:—

"Then that trouble, which ends with imprisonment, falls upon him without any cause, and the other multitude is deeply sorry for him" (Amaravati, p. 129).

Here in *baṃdhanaṃtika* the scholar has adopted the sense of "resulting in imprisonment," an idea which is just the opposite of what has been adopted by Hultzsch and Senart.

Now, let us see what Senart has done. He rendered it as follows:—

"Be ye there to put an end to an imprisonment, if it hath been ordered for no sufficient cause. Again, there are many people who suffer" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, pp. 95-96).

We can mark the idea of ending imprisonment in this translation, but we cannot understand how can instrumental *tena* refer to an officer who is not even mentioned in the previous sentence. Besides, there are guesses in this translation.

V. A. Smith adopts the following translation:—

"When the result is his imprisonment without due cause, many other people are deeply grieved" (*Asoka*, p. 195).

Here *baṃdhanaṃtika* has been taken, as by Bühler, in the sense of 'resulting in imprisonment'. *Tena* has perhaps been rendered by "his", the exact word for *tasa*, which is unjustifiable.

Bhandarkar has mainly followed Smith. "There it causelessly leads to imprisonment or death. Many other people again are intensely tortured" (*Asoka*, p. 323). The sense of *tena* is not found in this translation, but the idea of death is a new introduction. The scholar has, however, admitted the difficulty of the passage (p. 325, n. 1).

We have now seen how scholars differ from one another. Let us now offer our own:—

"When this bond of wordly attachment is cut asunder by him all on a sudden, his relatives, who are many, are deeply grieved"—(on the basis of the mixed readings of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa). The meaning is quite clear. When a person manifests extreme religious zeal by forsaking his family and turning a recluse, his relatives suffer in consequence. Buddha himself was a sinner in this respect. Mahāvīra followed also the same path. The Ājīvikas are mentioned in the edicts, and they were a class of recluses of this nature. The Buddhist monks were recruited on the same principle, which at a time, was

followed with so much zeal that Dr. Kern observes—"Those who are wise abandon their children. A man who leaves his poor wife, the mother of his child, in order to become a monk, and obstinately refuses to take care of her and the child, is held up to the admiration of the world as having done something very grand" (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 69). The reference is to be found in the Therīgāthā, vs. 301-2. What Asoka means in this sentence under review is that he disapproves the conduct of such persons, for this reason that the action of one man brings sufferings to many.

An objector will perhaps say that Asoka was a Buddhist,[1] so it can not be said that he should dissuade persons to become monks in this way.

Here we have taken *akasmā* in its ordinary sense 'suddenly.' Then about *tena*. We have *eka-pulise* or *eka-munise* in the previous sentence. The text naturally shows that this *tena* must have *eka-pulise* for its antecedent. So, the ending of *baṃdhanaṃ* must have been done by this *eka-pulise*. To think of the officer of the state in this connection is unwarranted by the text as it stands, for we have *eka-munise* (such a person) at Jaugaḍa used as a synonym of *eka-pulise*, and hence we need not stick to the sense, 'officers of the king'. Then about *baṃdhanaṃtika*. We prefer the sense of 'ending *baṃdhanaṃ*.' Here that this *baṃdhanaṃ* is not imprisonment in the prison of the king is quite evident by the use of the word *tena* before it. A culprit putting an end to his imprisonment suddenly, is naturally suggestive of his escape from prison by stealth, but since this is not a happy idea, attempts have been made to twist the meaning for the sake of an acceptable rendering. "(An order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him" requires the introduction of many new elements mentioned in the translation, and when this is done accidentally, we must say that much has been made of a rare occurrence by noticing the incident in the edict in this manner. And when after saying that "many other people continue to suffer," the king is supposed to have said in the next sentence—"In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially," we must admit that we have reached a deadlock. Does it mean that the officers were instructed to release all the prisoners because one person happened to be released accidentally? The idea of impartial dealing in a case like this requires such a proposition,

1 We shall discuss later on whether Aśoka embraced Buddhism or not.

but that cannot be the intention of the king, unless he is desirous of putting an end to all sorts of imprisonments in his dominion. We refrain from dealing with other translations quoted above by simply remarking that if the idea of imprisonment is adopted, there will be no end of difficulties to express the sense of the text. We simply note here that this *baṃdhanaṃtika* is intimately connected with *palibodha* of a subsequent sentence. The sense will be quite clear when we come up to that text.

What is this *baṃdhanaṃ* then? In religious literature of India this word has been extensively used in the spiritual sense and very rarely in the sense of imprisonment in the prison of a king.[1] As the edicts are mostly on religious subjects, it is quite appropriate to take *baṃdhanaṃ* in the spiritual sense only.

We find that in the translation offered by Prinsep, he hinted at the idea of "bondage and misery of sin" (*JASB.*, 1838, p. 443), which, if properly developed by subsequent scholars, would have rendered the edict more intelligible by this time. But such a valuable suggestion was rejected, and difficulties began to multiply. We should also touch upon the word *vage* of the Jaugaḍa text. Any dictionary will show that *vage* and *jane* are synonymous terms, and that *vage* conveys the idea of a multitude of similar things (both animate and inanimate) having some sort of family likeness in certain characteristics. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to interpret the word here in the sense of persons bearing family relationship, for when a man leaves off his home and becomes a recluse, it is chiefly his own relatives who suffer from his act. *Vage* of Jaugaḍa is, therefore, explanatory of *jane* of Dhauli. The Dhauli version has—"*...hu jane daviye dukhiyati*" while at Jaugaḍa we have—"*vage bahuke vedayati.*" Here . . . . *hu jane* of Dhauli is the counterpart of *vage bahuke* of Jaugaḍa, and *vedayati* and *dukhiyati* are synonymous. So, the two texts are in complete agreement.

It may not be out of place here to note that his injunction against the leaving of home for religious life appears to have been directed against Buddhism, which is after all a monastic institution. The

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1 Ṛg.-Veda, 7-59-12, 8-67-18; Yayur V., 3-60, 29-15, 12-64; Athar. V., 10-5-44, 19-56-2; Sāṃkhya, 3-24, 6-15; Yoga, 2-24; Kaṭha U., 2-3, 6-15; Muṇḍ. Up., 2-2-8, 3-2-9; Saṃyutta N., I, pp. 8, 24, 35; Majjh. N., II, 44; Sutta N., vv. 532, 948; Dīgha N., I, 226, 245; Vin. Piṭ., I, 21. etc.

Church, as it was formed, worked on this principle and both the young and the old were admitted into the Saṃgha.

In the Hindu Śāstras, on the other hand, "retirement from the world is enjoined upon every Aryan when once his duties to society are fulfilled. It comes at the end of a man's career." After passing through the earlier three stages, one should become a *yati* towards the close of his life, this is the Dharma common to all Aryan, as prescribed in the Brāhmanical works. In the *Manu Saṃhitā*, of the four stages, the Gārhastha stage or the life of a householder is spoken of as the best stage (6-89). A good householder given up to liberality is even a boon to be asked of gods (*Ṛgveda*, 6-53-2). In the last verse (8-15-1) of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, the whole teaching of the book seems to have been summed up in the description of the ideal life that a man should live in this world. "One should learn the Vedas in the family of his teachers, and making presents to his Guru according to law, and doing his works fully, one should return home and enter into household life. In a sacred spot he should recite the holy scriptures and perform good deeds concentrating all his senses on the Supreme Self . . . . . He verily thus passing his life attains on death the world of Brahman and never returns therefrom." In the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (1-11) the Guru advises his disciple to enter into householder's life and beget chiidren, and says—"This is the injunction, this is the advice, this is the sense of the Vedas, this is the Scripture." The Hindu religion and society were founded entirely on this principle. Even in the description of the hermitage of the Ṛṣis, we find that they lived with wives and children, and the best of them, like Kaśyapa (the father of the gods and demons), Vasiṣṭha (the best of the sages), and almost all the gods had wives and children. Even the best of the devotees, like Prahlāda and Dhruva, entered into household life after attaining success with their one-minded devotion. Even those who retired to the fourth stage of *yati* had to go there with their wives. The subject has been elaborately discussed by Prof. Sukumar Dutt in Chap. II of his *Early Buddhist Monachism*.

When Asoka has made an injuuction on this point, it seems it was the tendency of the time to leave home for religious life. This must have been the effect of a new light that flashed before the eyes of the people accustomed to the orthodox view narrated above. As Buddhism was at that time growing to be a powerful religion which gave the Saṃgha an equal status with the founder of the sect and with Dharma, enjoining upon every Buddhist to pay obedience to all the three in

the same formula, and as we know this new doctrine was acclaimed by the rich and the poor, the Brahmin and the slaves, it is quite natural to suppose that the injunction of Asoka was principally directed against the Buddhists. For, though we hear of the Ājivīkas, and of persons like Buddha and Mahāvīra leaving home for religious life in the pre-Asokan period, such limited egress never put the society into convulsion that could necessitate such an injunction. Even in the West we find people joining the Young Men's Christian Association, the Oxford Mission, and the Church, but the society is strong and liberal enough to overlook such secession from family, in consideration of the benefits these organisations bring to the society, and also in view of the limited number of persons that follow this mode of life. Condition was somewhat of this nature in the pre-Buddhistic period, the society in general being formed on the principle of looking upon householder's life, as we have pointed out before, as the best of Āśramas. Then came Buddhism. It removed many disqualifications under which the people were placed in social and religious matters, with the result that they must have, in great numbers, flocked within the fold of the Buddhist Saṃgha. The sufferings of the relatives must have attracted the notice of the king, who then made this injunction for the protection of the society. It should also be observed that the teaching of Asoka is non-monastic, for, he never calls upon the people to forsake home. His Dharma was obedience to father, mother, teachers and elders, proper treatment of friends, relatives, slaves and servants, etc., mainly meant for the householders. Instead of being frightened at this idea, we rather find here materials for careful consideration.

The next sentence :—*Tata ichhitaviye tuphehi kiṃti majhaṃ paṭipādayemū ti.* In this sentence the word *majhaṃ* requires explanation. We find in the translation offered by Prinsep that he rightly derived this word from *madhyaṃ* and Kern also took it in the same way [*J.R.A.S.* (*N.S.*), XII, p. 388] but later on it was cosidered a "secondary base formed upon the analogy of the oblique case *majjha*," Senart, Bühler Hultzsch, Smith have adopted this theory, but in the recent publication of Bhandarkar (vide his *Aśoka*, pp. 323-4), he has gone back to the original idea of *madhyaṃ* and we are of opinion that he has done this correctly. He has rendered the passage thus—"Consequently you should desire, what? to follow the middle path." But we are doubtful whether he could grasp the true significance of this middle path. We have seen in the previous sentence that the

king says that great sufferings overtake the relatives of him who in extreme religious zeal forsakes his family. Now, in the sentence under review he advises his officers to point out the middle path. The idea of a middle path brings in the idea of a path which is intermediate between the two extremes. In the previous sentence we have one of the two extreme cases, i.e., the manifestation of extreme religious zeal. So, the question which naturally arises in the mind is—what is the other extreme about which the king speaks here? The answer is contained in the next few sentences of the edict, a brief summary of which given here will help our readers to follow the arguments advanced in the edict in this respect. After having found fault with the manifestation of extreme zeal on one hand, he says that it is also not proper that people will suffer from the effects of envy, cruelty and idleness, on the other. Try to subdue these evil tendencies, not by spasmodic efforts, but by gradual exertions. So, do not be over-zealous in religious matters, and at the same time you should not also fall an easy prey to evil tendencies, but take to the path of gradual development, or in other words steer clear of the two extremes and follow the middle course." This is the gist of what Asoka says in the next few sentences, as we shall presently see.

The next sentence runs thus :—

Imehi chu jātehi no saṃpaṭipajati-isāya āsulopena niṭhūliyena tulanāya anāvūtiya ālasiyena kilamathena.

Here the renderings of the first part of the sentence such as—"With certain (narrated below) natural dispositions success is impossible" (V.A. Smith's *Asoka*, p. 195), "No one can act in a seemly manner etc.," (Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, p. 324), "There are certain dispositions with which yet will not succeed" (Senart, *Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 96), and "One fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions" (Hlz.) are almost similar. The idea of success seems to be the true sense here, and we think that it has been used with reference to the thought contained in the previous sentence. "Do not be over-zealous in religious matters, for even if you be, you will not be able to attain success with the following dispositions (unless they are completely subdued)." This is the connecting link.

Now, we come to the interpretations of certain words the sense of which has been, it seems, misunderstood. *Isāya* means 'envy' as has been rightly interpreted. But what about *āsulopena*? It has been taken as a substantive to mean "practice of destroying life" (Prinsep),

"want of perseverance" (Bühler), "le retranchement de la vie" (Burnouf), "*āśurosha*" (Kern), "readiness to be discouraged" (Senart), "anger" (Hlz), "lack of perseverance" (Smith,) "want of perseveranee" (Bhandarkar). The word has heen derived by Senart in the following manner. "*Lopa* ordinarily means 'interruption,' 'giving up;' *āsulopa* can, therefore, be translated as 'precipitate giving up,' and, consequently 'readiness to be discouraged.' The explanations 'lack of perseverance,' 'want of perseverance', etc. are based upon this derivation. But what we say in this connection is that the word is not a substantive at all. It is an adjective qualifying the previous word *isāya*. We also stick to the derivation advanced by Senart, with this difference that the word means 'precipitate giving up' and nothing more, so it seems that that great scholar has gone a step too further by deducing therefrom the sense of 'readiness to be discouraged'. Now, let us see what is meant by precipitate giving up of envy. The first sūtra of the Sāṃkhya philosophy is this—"Permanent prevention of the threefold pains is the supreme purpose of life." And why is this permanent prevention spoken of? The commentator says—"If it be urged that cessation of these pains will take place of itself, seeing that pleasures and pains will last for only two moments, so the author adds *atyanta*; for cessaation of particular pains only is not intended, but also of all future experiences of painful kind." (Allahabad edition, p. 13). So, we see that the 'precipitate giving up of envy' cannot ensure spiritual advancement, for, unless that evil tendency is completely destroyed, it may re-appear in the next moment, though for the time being it may be kept under control by sudden exertions. This is the sense which is expressed by *isāya āsulopena*.

Again, *niṭhūliyena* has been rightly taken by scholars in the sense of harshness or cruelty, but the word *tulanāya* has been misunderstood. It has also been taken as a substantive meaning-cruelty (from *tūraṇayā*-Prinsep), rashness (Kern), hastiness (Bühler), impatience (from Skt. tvaraṇa—Senart), hurry (Hlz.), impatience (Smith), hastiness (Bhandarkar). We are, however, of opinion that the word has come neither from *tūraṇayā*, nor from *tvaraṇa* but from the parent word *tulanā* itself, and that in every case we need not search for phonetic deterioration of a word. It is here an adjective qualifying the previous word 'niṭhūliyena', and has been used in the ordinary sense of comparison (tulanā), so that 'niṭhūliyena tulanāya' means comparative cruelty. Now, what is meant by comparative cruelty? Take up the last verse of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*. It occurs there—

"No living creature should be injured except in sacrifices" (Ibid., 8-15-1). This is comparative abstention from cruelty. Then, Manu prohibits the slaughter of animals, and the eating of flesh except in sacrifices or on the occasions of giving food to the ancestors, or when it is necessary for the sake of life (*Manu Saṃhitā*, 5. 22, 27, 32, 39, etc.). This is also comparative cruelty. Even we find similar injunctions in the Buddhist literature. "The eating of fish and meat is allowed if it is pure in three respects, to wit, if one has not seen, nor heard, nor suspected that it has been procured for that purpose." (*MV.*, 6, 31, 14; *CV.*, VII, 3, 15; *MN.*, I., 368ff.). This sort of comparative cruelty, Asoka says, cannot also lead to spiritual improvement. For the attainment of success, it is absolutely necessary that one should abstain from all sorts of cruelty at all times, otherwise it is useless for one to leave home in a sudden fit of enthusiasm for spiritual advancement.

Then about *anāvūṭiya*. It has also been taken as a substantive in the sense of idleness or non-employment (from *anāvṛtyā*—Prinsep), unheedfulness (Kern), absence de profession (from *āvṛtti*—Burnouf), neglect of repeated offorts (Bühler), want of application (from *anāyukti*-Senart), want of practice (from Skt. *āvṛtti*—Hlz.), want of application (Smith and Bhandarkar). We are, however, of opinion that the word is an adjective qualifying both the words *ālasiyena* and *kilamathena* which are almost similar in significance. It has come from the Skt. word *anāvṛtti* meaning non-retreating. In this, we stick to the parent word *āvṛitti* already suggested by Burnouf and Hultzsch, but instead of taking it in the sense of profession or repetition, we take it in the sense of retreat or flight. Though *Āvṛtti* is a noun, *Anāvṛtti* has been made an adjective through Bahuvrīhi compound like the words *Amūlya, Anādi, Ananta*, etc. Almost all good dictionaries have observed these meanings of *Āvṛtti*. In both Monier Williams', and Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionaries retreat or flight is one of the meanings of *Āvṛtti*. In the *Śabdakalpadruma*, *Āvṛttaḥ* means also *nivṛttaḥ* and *palāyitaḥ*. In Apte's Dictionary 'Ā √vṛ' has been taken in the sense of "to keep off," with an illustration from the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (14-109), i.e., *Āvavre muśalī tarum* meaning *Muśalenāvṛtavān* in the sense of "kept off or checked." It should be observed that in the foregoing two cases permanent prevention is the object of the author, so the sense of "keeping off" here is quite in keeping with the significance of the sentence. That this *anāvūṭiya* "is naturally connected with *ālasiyena* and "the last term of the series belongs

to the same order of ideas" have also been observed by Senart, but the idea of an adjective in this word never suggested itself to him or to any other scholar. They have practically followed in the footsteps of Prinsep who was the first scholar to take *āsulopena, tulanāya.* and *anāvūtiya* as substantives. Other scholars followed, but all of them was trying to solve the problem by twisting the meanings of these words, always sticking to the idea of substantives in them, with the result that they advanced various interpretations which did not agree with one another. That this should be the natural consequence is undoubtedly true, for, the taking of *āsulopa* as a substantive in the sense of that which ends abruptly, may mean a lot of things. From "readiness to be discouraged" we may come to "lack of perseverance" as well as to the ideas of moral cowardice, or of lacking in firm conviction; and cannot 'precipitate giving up' refer to short memory or want of stamina? Thus, various are the interpretations that can be put on these words in this manner. It is doubtful that when we have definite words like *isāya, niṭhūliyena, ālasiyena* and *kilamathena* in this sentence, the other three should be used in the figurative sense to convey the ideas of certain dispositions? We have in the Pillar Edict III, *chaṃdiye* for fierceness, *niṭhūliye* for cruelty, *kodhe* for anger, *māne* for pride, *isyā* for envy. The two words *isyā* and *niṭhūliye* are those that we find here used in the Kaliṅga Edict. Does it now seem possible that *āsulopa* was used in the figurative sense to signify anger, *tulanā* for hurry, and *anāvūtiya* for want of practice?

Thus we find that only three natural dispositions are referred to here, instead of seven, as has been hitherto understood and they are envy, cruelty, and sloth or idleness. We shall see here below how Asoka has referred to all of them by two words *anāsulope* and *atulanā.* We shall also see that these three dispositions, but not more, were meant by the king, when we come to deal with the three adjectives that were used by Asoka to qualify the *Mahāmātra* whom he proposed to send every five years.

It may be argued that by taking *āsulopena* and *tulanāya* as adjective of *isāya* and *niṭhūliyena* respectively we have not followed strict grammatical rules. But in the language of the edicts it is not an entirely new departure. Senart observes—"Everywhere here the distinction between masculine and neuter is completely obliterated." (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 87, n. 6). He also says—"*Iyaṃ* would be used for the masculine which is in no way extraordinary in monuments in which

the same form is constantly employed both for *feminine and the neuter, and in which the difference between the neuter and the masculine in the singular is almost obliterated.*" (*Ind. Ant*, 1888, p. 306). Mark also *Kaṃdhāni* and *Yutāni* used in the masculine plural. The instances of shortening the feminine termination 'ā' in singular, giving the words the appearance of masculine forms, are also not rare. In the Sep. Ed. II, we have *lipi-sotaviya* at Dhauli, *dhiti patiṃnā ca acala* twice at Jaugaḍa. Then, *esā* is a nom. sing. feminine form, but in nom. sing. masculine it is used in the Girnar version in the R.E. VIII, 5; XIII, 4. Sā has also been so used in G. XIII, 10. (Vide Hultzsch's *Corpus*, p. lxiv., and p. 15, n. 7). It may thus be seen that the authors of the edicts were not strictly particular about the gender of words.

If still one should persist in the aforesaid objection, we can say that there is another construction possible which can satisfactorily remove the cause of this objection. Here we take *isāya* not in the instrumental but in the genitive case (both having the same form), connected with *āsulopena*, a substantive in the instrumental case, so that *isāya āsulopena* means, as before, "by precipitate giving up of envy." This also accounts for the use of *āsulopena* after *isāya*. Similarly, *tulanāya* has been used in the genitive sense, so that *niṭhūliyena tulanāya* means "by cruelty of comparison." The significance of this phrase we have explained before, from which it will be evident that the sense becomes more clear in this arrangement. Then, we stick to the sense of *anāvūtiya* as an adjective qualifying, as we have said before, the two words *ālasiyena* and *kilamathena*. *Anāvūtiya* coming from *anāvṛtti*, which is a Bahuvrihī compound, can be used in all the three genders without any change of forms perceptible in the language of the edicts. Thus the supposed defects of grammar can be entirely removed without any change in the meanings we have noted before. We are more inclined to prefer this arrangement.

(*To be continued*)

MANINDRA MOHAN BOSE

The Lost Bhowal Copper-Plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal

The Asiatic Society of Bengal from its very inception realised the great importance of 'inscriptions on stone and metal' and turned its attention to this class of materials for the reconstruction of history from the earliest times. As a result, a very valuable collection of copper-plates and other inscriptions began to be formed in the archives of the Society. Owing unfortunately to the system of lending them out, many of the plates that were noticed in the early volumes of the Researches and the Journal have been lost and are not to be found now in the collections of the Society. The early notices, however imperfect they may have been, compensate to some degree for the loss of the original plates ; but it is a great pity that some of the plates presented to the Society appear to have disappeared before even a moderately satisfactory notice of them appeared in any of the periodicals. The plate of Raṇavaṅka Malla, found in 1803 in taking the Kalīrbāzār Road over the Lālmāi hills in the Tippera district of Bengal and noticed by Colebrooke in vol. IX of the Asiatic Researches, is no longer to be found. The Idilpur plate of Keśava Sena noticed by Prinsep in an early volume of the Journal has gone, leaving no trace behind. The loss of the documents became so marked that Prinsep thought it prudent to publish them serially with facsimiles, and thus put on permanent record all the plates that he found in the collection of the Society (*JASB.*, V, VI, and VII).

In Bengal, students of literature dealing with the history and antiquity of East Bengal, may have met with the vernacular history of Bhāoāl, a *parganah* of the Dacca District, by Babu Nabin Chandra Bhadra. The book is very rare and comparatively little known. On page 26 of the book, there is a short notice of a copper plate that was found at a place near Kāpāsia in Bhāoāl which is recorded to have been sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for decipherment and thence to England. I have long searched for any detailed notice of the plate in every possible quarter, but all my efforts have hitherto been unavailing.

Some years ago, however, Mr. J. T. Rankin, I. C. S. handed over to me a volume of the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register and pointed

to a passage in it. It was the XXVIII volume of the Journal, (July—December, 1829) and the passage occurs on page 709 under the heading 'Varieties.' It is a quotation from the Calcutta Government Gazette of the first week of May, 1829, and it is a report of the proceedings of a meeting of the Asiatic Society, held on the 6th May, 1829. I was glad to find that the report contained a notice of the copper-plate from Bhāoāl. The details given are necessarily vague and uncertain, but still its value cannot be overestimated, as it is at present the only notice available of this important historical document.

Few, I believe, would go to seek this lost copper-plate again in this rare corner, and the report therefore deserves a fresh lease of life. It will, moreover, afford an interesting sample of the manner of antiquarian studies in the beginning of the last century. The name of Mr. Walters, Magistrate of Dacca, lives in his handiwork, the iron bridge on the Dolai creek at Dacca, which as the memorial tablet shows was erected during his magistracy in 1832. It is gratifying to find the name of this public spirited magistrate again in connection with the Bhāoāl copper-plate. It was Mr. Walters who obtained the plate from Golak Narayan Roy, Zeminder of Bhāoāl and presented it to the Asiatic Society.

Mr. Walters gives the following account of the ancient copper tablet:—

"About thirty miles north of the city of Dacca, a few miles above the site of the ancient fortress of Akdala and a short distance from the banks of the river Luckiah is situated Mowza Rajabary, appertaining to Parganah Bhowal and included in the modern division of Thanah Jamalpore. At this place, on the crest of a low hill stands an ancient building called by the natives Moggee's *Mut.* It is built in the usual pyramidical form of Hindu *Muts* but it is of considerable solidity and contains a small square vaulted apartment. The building is much dilapidated, but it is held together by some old Banian trees, which have encircled it with a netting of roots, many of them being of large dimensions. These trees attest the antiquity of the building from their great size and age. From their elevated situation they also form a landmark visible from a considerable distance. Close to the *mut* is a tank of some magnitude, evidently a work of considerable labour and expense and which must have been excavated during the flourishing period of the Hindu rājās; other buildings appear to have stood near the *mut.*

"At the distance of about two miles to the north-west of the *mut*

stood the palace of Raja Chundal. The site is on a small hill surrounded by a deep and broad moat. The interior is over-run with rank jungle but a large tank called the Dunwa Dighi and the scattered remains of old brick buildings evince that the spot was once the habitation of man.

"The current tradition relative to the *mut* is that Ranee Muggee, after long separation, set out with a splendid retinue to visit her brother, the Chundal Raja.

"The Raja hearing of the approach of a large body of armed men, imagined that the *Mussalmans* were coming to plunder his place and immediately fled. The Ranee however, having pacified his fears, the brother and sister met on this spot, in memory of which event, the *mut* was erected by Ranee Muggee. About forty years ago (i. e., 1790) the accompanying copper tablet was dug up by a Koonch Ryott at a short distance from the *mut*. It was conveyed to the Bhowal Zemindar Luckhenarian Rae, from whose son Goluknarain Rae, it has now been obtained. The inscription on the tablet appears to be composed of Devi Naguree, Sungskritu and Bengali characters. It has been partly decyphered after great labour by Bhyrub Chander Turklunkar, Pandit of the Dacca city-court and from his account, it appears to be a "Dunputer" or deed of settlement by Raja Jye Seen and is something to the following effect:—

"It commences with an invocation of Narayunu and proceeds to state that he, Jye Seen, divides all his possessions in the manner setforth in the copper tablet. To Goree Pereah, his daughter whom he has given in marriage to Mulla Seen, and whose beauty is without rival in the world, he gives one lac and 8000 gold mohurs, 81 horses, 136 slaves, 27 *ruts*, 127 elephants and jewels without number together with all his possessions to the south of the Sybolence river. To his youngest brother, Beer Seen, he gives all the kingdom of Kachar and all to the eastward of the Gomut river. To his second brother Jorea Seen he gives his capital city and palace, all his remaining slaves, army, ordnance and wealth, together with the kingdoms of Gour and Bungu and also the kingdom of Coos (Beyhar) and all the remaining kingdoms under his dominion. He enjoins him to feed the holy Brahmins, to make Poojah to Narayan, to build *muts* in honor of Sheeb; and to follow his example; also to protect and cherish the learned pundits, to take care of all his dependents, and to perform frequent ablutions in the sacred Ganges; also to perform Deebta Pooja and to *jup* (or cause the names of the gods to be repeated on rosaries by the Brahmins);

he further enjoins his daughter and brothers to live together in harmony, under the care and direction of Jorea Seen."

Poor Bhairab Tarkālaṅkār, in order to save his court-pandit-ship as well as his reputation, which were seriously jeopardised by this calamitous copper tablet inscribed with strange characters, concocted, as is evident from the above description of the inscription, an amount of fictitious reading which were too much even for those days to swallow. Dr. H. H. Wilson was then the Secretary of the Asiatic Society. The great scholarship of Dr. Wilson in Sanskrit learning is well-known and he gauzes correctly the value of Tarkālaṅkār's reading.

"Mr. Walters," the report goes on to say "placing reliance upon the accuracy of the account before him, enters into some ingenious speculations respecting the dates and boundaries referred to in the grant, which our limited space prevents our adverting to at greater length; suffice it to say that with respect to the date of the document in question, he concludes the settlement to have been made 379 years ago, or about the middle of the 15th century."

"Subjoined are the observations on the document that were read by the Secretary of the Asiatic Society."

"The inscription sent by Mr. Walters is written in a character, for the greater part the same as modern Bengali, but some of the letters are of an unusual form and some are not decipherable; much of the plate is worn, so that the letters are no longer legible. Upon referring to the copy made by the Pandit, upon which, it is to be presumed, his account of the purport of the inscription is founded, the copy appears to be exceedingly and unnecessarily defective. Scarcely any of the right half of the plate is given and in what is attempted, not only broken and detached sentences but single syllables and solitary letters occur repeatedly. Such as it is, it by no means warrants the interpretation given, and the whole story of Jaya Sen's bequest is his own invention. Gouripriya which implies the beloved, the friend or companion of Gauri, has its place in the first (verse) which is here, as it usually is, a benedictory stanza or an invocation of some deity, and cannot therefore apply to any mortal; the object of the record as to the *Raths*, elephants, mohurs and rupees, the version affords not the least vestige of them; nothing like the word Kachar is given in Bunga, nor Cooch Behar. The name Vic(r)a Sena is to be read but without the epithet 'younger brother.'

"Even if the transcript had borne out the summary of the contents of the inscription, it would have been very doubtful, if reliance is to

be placed in it, and a comparison of it with the original is by no means favourable to its accuracy. Three Pandits have with great pains made out a fresh copy but even of the correctness of their labours there are strong doubts, and no great dependence upon the result can be placed. That it is much more faithful than the copy sent by Mr. Walters has been ascertained by comparing portions of it with the plate.

"The object of the inscription is evidently the common purpose of similar documents and is the record of a grant of land or villages, not provinces, bestowed on Brahmins, not princes. It evidently also comprises a genealogy which might be of value if it could be distinctly followed, but the names that are to be made out are separated by such wide intervals, that it is impossible to say what connection subsists between the persons particularised. The first name that occurs is that of Vijaya Sena, the same apparently with Mr. Walters' Jaya Sena; but he is the first of the race and cannot therefore be the person who makes the grant, as several other names succeed, as Vullala Sena, Kasiraja, Rajagiwa, Vira Sena and Lakshmana Sena Deva. Belal or Bellala Sena and Lakshmana Sena are well-known as Hindu kings of Bengal. The latter was the native sovereign when Muhammad Bukhtiar Khilji invaded and conquered the province in 1202 A.D., and the founder of Gour, Lakshmanavati or Lucknauti. The mention of this raja is therefore wholely incompatible with the date of the inscription as given by the Pandit *viz.*, A. D. 1314 (Samvat 1370); but the original contains no such number having only the cyphers 37, which will of course, be the year of the reign, not that of the era. Belal Sena, it is also well-known, was Raja of Bengal in the 12th century.

"The inscription may throw some light upon the genealogy of the ruling family of Bengal in the 12th century, if it shall be hereafter more satisfactorily decyphered; but its imperfect condition renders this very problemetical."

This is all that is recorded about the Bhāoāl plate of the Sena dynasty in the report of the monthly meeting of the Asiatic Society plublished in the Calcutta Government Gazette and quoted in the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register. Now, the problem before us is to find out to which particular king of the Sena dynasty can the plate be ascribed and what was the nature of its contents.

Very few data indeed are available for the task. The following are about the only points on which we can rely :—

(a) The plate began with an invocation of Nārāyaṇa.

(b) The word Gaurīpriyā was to be made out in the first, i. e. the invocatory stanza.

(c) The names of Vīra Sena, Vijaya Sena, Ballāla Sena, Kāśīrāja, Lakṣmaṇa Sena could be made out in various places.

(d) The figures 3 and 7 could be read, probably at the end of the plate. As the 12th century figure for 2 is easily mistaken for 3, I suspect that the figures were really 2 and 7.

The first point on which the Secretary of the Society based some discussion and which therefore is very definitely stated, is very helpful in identifying the plate. In granting copper-plates to Brāhmaṇas, the kings generally used to follow a stereotyped draft, introducing only such variations of place and personal names as are necessary in each individual grant. Instances of those stereotyped drafts are to be met with in the series of land grants of both the Pāla and the Sena dynasties of Bengal. The Idilpur grant of Keśava Sena and the Madanapāḍa grant of Viśvarupa Sena are copies of the same draft with different person and place names. Of the number of grants of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva discovered up to this time, the Tapandighi plate, the Anulia plate, the lost Jayanagar plate and the new Govindapur plate are copies of the same draft. The Madhainagar plate of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva is, however, a proof of the fact that the same draft was not always followed throughout a long reign, as it is a completely different draft from the above mentioned four grants of the same king. It is certain that the Bhāoāl plate, if it was not a copy of a hitherto unknown draft, must have been similar in composition to one or other of the plates of the Sena dynasty hitherto known. We know from our point (c) that the plate contained the name of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. As this is the name of the latest monarch in the list of names mentioned, we may safely conclude that the plate was of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva; and from the point (d) it appears that the plate was of the thirty seventh year of his reign. As already explained, two types of drafts of the grants of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva are known, *viz.*, the type of the Tapandighi, Anulia, Jayanagar and Govindapur plates and the type of the Madhainagar plate. The first type opens with a *śloka* which does not contain the word Gaurīpriyā; but the Madhainagar grant which opens thus,—Oṃ namo Nārāyaṇāya. Yasyāṅke śaradambudorasi taḍillekheva Gaurīpriyā—contains the sought-for word in the very first line[1].

1. Mr. R. D. Banerjee on the Madhainagar grant. *JASB.*, 1909, p. 471.

From the above, we may not unreasonably conclude that the Bhāoāl plate was a plate of king Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva of Bengal granted in his 27th regnal year and the contents of the plate were similar to those of the Madhainagar grant. The mention of the name of Kāśīrāja in the Bhāoāl plate lends additional support to the identification, as we find the mention of Kāśīrāja on the Madhainagar plate also in the 11th śloka, on line 20.

The portion which contained the date in the Madhainagar plate is unfortunately very badly corroded and undecipherable. The Bhāoāl plate was dated in the 27th regnal year and we have sufficient proof that the draft of the type of the Madhainagar grant must be ascribed to years late in the reign of Lakṣmaṇa Sena. The first type of draft which was followed in the Tapandighi grant dated in the 3rd regnal year,[1] the Jayanagar grant dated in the same year,[2] the Anulia grant[3] dated in the same year, the Govindapur grant[4] also dated in the same year, was apparently the draft adopted in the early part of the reign. The Jayanagar plate which was issued four months later than the Tapandighi plate disposes of Lakṣmaṇa Sena and his glories in one śloka containing only the usual general praise without any specification, while, the latter after repeating this śloka, adds another of an equally unsubstantial nature. The Anulia plate adds two more verses of unspecific character adding nothing to our knowledge of Lakṣmaṇa Sena's achievements. The epithets given to Lakṣmaṇa Sena in the Anulia and Tapandighi plates are Parameśvara, Paramavaiṣṇava, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Mahārājādhirāja, while in the Jayanagar plate, the more specific epithet of Paramanārasiṃha (परमनारसिंह) takes the place of the epithet Paramavaiṣṇava. In the Madhainagar plate, however, the ślokas eulogising Lakṣmaṇa Sena, as well as the epithets applied to him have grown both in substance and form. Four ślokas are applied to describe the achievements of Lakṣmaṇa Sena in the course of which we learn of his victories over the kings of Gauḍa, Kaliṅga, Kāmarūpa, and Benares. Three of the lines describing his epithets are lost, being undecipherable,

1 Mr. R. D. Banerjee in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XII, p. 10.

2 *Vaṅga sāhitya-viṣayaka Prastāva* by Pandit Ramagati Nyāyaratna, 1st ed., p. 373.

3 A. K. Maitra, in *JASB.*, 1900, p. 61-65.

4 ভারতবর্ষ—ফাল্গুন, ১৩৩২।

but four others can be read in which he is called the supreme among heroes, the overlord, the light of the Soma race, the supreme initiated, the like of Lord Nārāyaṇa in kingly glory, the Sumeru mountain of the Brahmakṣatriyas, the lord of Gauḍa, and last of all Parameśvara, Paramanārasiṃha, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Rajādhirāja, the four epithets of the Tapandighi, Jayanagar and Anulia grants. The victories achieved by him and the numerous epithets indicating the spread of his renown, detailed in the Madhainagar plate, unmistakably show that it was issued late in his reign, as he must have taken considerable time to win them.

The fact of the Bhowal plate escaping all notice up to this time is very strange. Prinsep does not mention it; neither Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra nor Cunningham knows of the plate, and of course subsequent writers on the Sena kings like the late Kailas Chandra Sinha and Mr. R. D. Banerjee do not mention it. Yet the plate was presented to the Society and an account of it was read in a monthly meeting. We have only to look to the records of the Society for a solution of this mystery. We learn from the Centenary Volume of the Society that the proceedings of the Society were published in the years 1821-1827 in the Quarterly Oriental Journal started by Dr. Wilson. Before and after these years, the proceedings were "read at meetings and then pigeon-holed to decay." In 1829 however, Captian J. D. Herbert started a monthly Journal under the name of "Gleanings in Science" in which the precis of the monthly meetings were regularly published. This probably missed the meeting of the first week of May, 1829. Thus we see how the proceedings of the monthly meeting in which an account of the Bhāoāl plate was read, failed to get recorded in any of the official publications of the Society and consequently were lost to all scholars. The Calcutta Government Gazette, however, very fortunately, recorded the important proceedings which were quoted by the vigilant editor of the Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register; and a copy of the Journal containing the quotations kindly placed in my hand by Mr. J. T. Rankin, has enabled me after the lapse of about a century to speculate on this long-lost copper-plate again.

NALINI KANTA BHATTASALI

The Origin and Development of Numerals

I. The Meaning and Use of Numerals

"The numerals or the nine figures, with the device of places, to make them suffice for all numbers," says Bhāskara in his Vāsanā, "originate from the beneficent Creator of the Universe." Such was the great importance of the numerals in the daily life of human beings that the Hindus were more inclined to ascribe their origin to the Divinity than to human agencies. It might mean, of course, that the great antiquity of these numerals among the Hindus was beyond calculation, having been used at a period anterior to all existing records. This was also the practice with the Greeks, Egyptians and most other nations, with respect to more important inventions in the arts of life whose origin is lost in the remoteness of antiquity.

The chief use of numerals is for reckoning. The use of visible signs to represent numbers and aid reckoning is not only older than writing, but also older than the development of numerical language on the denary system. We count by tens because our ancestors counted on their fingers and named the numbers accordingly. So used, the fingers were with our ancestors really numerals, that is visible numerical signs; and in remote antiquity the practice of counting by these natural signs were in vogue in all classes of society.[1] In the later times of antiquity the finger symbols were developed into a system capable of expressing all numbers below 10,000. The left hand was held up flat with the fingers together. The units from one to nine were expressed by various positions of the third, fourth and fifth fingers alone, one or more of these being either close on the palm or simply bent at the middle joint, according to the number meant. The thumb and index were thus left free to express the tens by a variety of relative positions, e.g., for thirty their points were brought together and stretched forward ; for fifty the thumb was bent like Greek Γ and brought angainst the ball of the index. The same set of signs, if executed with the thumb and index of the right hand,

1 Even now used in the course of uttering Gāyatrī mantras to remember the number of times.

meant hundreds instead of tens and the unit signs if performed on the right hand meant thousands.[1] The fingers served to express numbers, but to make a permanent note of numbers some kind of mark or tally was needed. Alphabet writing did not do away with the use of numerical symbols, which were more perspicuous and compendious than words written at length. But the letters of the alphabet themselves came to be used as numerals. One way of doing this was to use the initial letter of the name of a number as its sign.

Numerals, therefore, mean the instruments of reckoning. Needs of reckoning were felt with the very dawn of human conciousness, for expression of ideas required reckoning. Hence it is conceivable that reckoning came into force from the time human beings became articulate. Human literature, that is available at the present time as records of the oldest antiquity, bears testimony to this fact. The oldest records of Hindu literature, i.e., the Vedas, show that reckoning was of everyday necessity in practical life. On astronomical grounds some Sanskrit scholars hold that the oldest Vedic hymns date fom 3,000 B.C., while some others put them as far back as 6,000 B.C., it is also an established fact that the Ṛg-veda is the oldest literary document of the Indo-European languages. There also we find in the famous Sāvitrī hymn :

तिस्रो द्याव: सवितुर्द्वा उपस्थाँ
एका यमस्य भुवने विराषाट् ।

There are *three* heavens; *two* are the laps of Sāvitrī, *one* overcoming men, in the abode of Yama. (I, 35, 6).

or

अष्टौ व्यख्यत्ककुभ: पृथिव्यास्
त्री धन्व योजना सप्त सिन्धून् ।

He has surveyed the *eight* peaks of the earth, the *three* waste lands, the leagues and the *seven* rivers (I, 35, 8).

And also in the famous Puruṣa hymn :

सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुष:
सहस्राक्ष: सहस्रपात्
स भूमिं विश्वतो वृत्वा-
त्यतिष्ठद्दशाङ्गुलम् ।

Thousand-headed was Puruṣa, *thousand*-eyed, *thousand*-footed. He having covered the earth on all sides, extended beyond it the length of *ten* fingers. (X, 90, 1).

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1 The system is described by Nicholas Rabda of Smyrna. Vide Palmer in the Journal of Philology, vol. II, pp. 247 ff.

Here it is seen that fingers were not only used for measuring length but also for reckoning.

This system of reckoning by numerals has been adopted, with slight variations, not merely in all languages of the same class and origin, but likewise in many others which are radically different from them. If we proceed to the expressions of higher numbers, we find the same general law of their formation by the combination of names of the articulate numbers, with those of the nine digits.

Speaking of the antiquity of the numbers Dr. Peacock in his work on arithmetic observes :—"From the consideration that when a national literature whether oral or written, is so generally diffused as to form a standard, or a test of purity, which while it enforces a legitimate character upon all existing terms, watches over the introduction of all others with extreme jealousy; from this consideration alone, independently of other evidence, we should be inclined to assign to the Sanskrit terms for high numbers, and consequently, to their system of numeration upon which they are founded, an antiquity at least as great as their most ancient literary monuments ; as the arbitrary impositions of so many new names for the most part independent of each other, and in numbers, also, so much greater than could possibly be required for any ordinary application of them, would be a circumstance entirely without example in any language which had already acquired a settled and generally recognised character."

This much is sufficient to prove the antiquity of numerals. Of their use in our daily life it is needless to add more than what has been said by Bhāskara that their importance has been such as to lead ancient people to think them to have originated from the Creator himself. We have seen what the general meaning of numerals was and has been and in their early conception the fingers played the principal part. So much useful have been the numerals with people all over the world from the very ancient times and so much familiar are we with them, that it is difficult to ascertain correctly their origin and more difficult to find the place of their birth. There are, moreover, such scanty materials to fall upon that the task of determining their origin becomes almost improbable, if not impossible. The meaning and use of numerals are so self evident that we are often led to believe that Bhāskara was right when he attributed the origin to divine agency and not to any human authorship.

II. The Hindu-Arabic Question

In histories of the mathematical sciences it has been usual to trace the knowledge of arithmetic to the Arabs, and the numerals are distinguished by the symbols termed Arabic. Dr. Peacock, in his work on arithmetic, observes that there is nothing in the Greek notation which in the slightest degree resembles the present numerals, and nothing in the object proposed in the researches of Archimedes and Appolonius which could naturally lead to their invention.

The idea that the numerals are Arabic in origin is not an old one. The Mediæval and Renaissance writers generally recognised them as Indian, and many of them expressly stated that they were of Hindu origin.[1] Others were of opinion that the numerals were probably invented by the Chaldeans or the Jews because they increased in value from right to left. Robert Recorde (c. 1542), England's earliest arithmetical text-book writer, probably referred to this general idea of notation when he wrote: "In that thing all men do agree, that the Chaldays, whiche fyrste invented thys arte, did set these figures as they set all their letters for they wryte backwards as you tearme it, and so do they reade. And that may appeare in all Hebrewe, Chaldaye and Arabike books . . . . . whereas the Greekes, Latines, and all nations of Europe, do wryte and reade from the left hand towarde the ryghte."[2] There were others also, among whom were such influential writers as Tartaglia in Italy and Kobel in Germany, who asserted the Arabic origin of the numerals on the ground of their order being from right to left. This order of writing probably led Mr. G. R. Kaye to think that the numerals are of Arabic origin. "Sanskrit and kindred scripts" says Mr. G. R. Kaye "are, and have been, for centuries, written from left to right, while the Arabic family of scripts are written from right to left. It would be natural to expect number, words and symbols to be affected by the mode and direction of writing."[3] But how is it then that the

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1 Maximus Planudes (c. 1330) states that "the nine symbols came from the Indians."(Waschke's German translation, Halle 1878, 3).

2 From the 1558 edition of the Ground of Artes, fol. C, 5.

3 G.R. Kaye, "Notes on Indian Mathematics—Arithmetical Notation," Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. III, 1907, p. 489.

Arabs themselves never laid claim to the invention of numerals, and always recognised their indebtedness to the Hindus both for the numeral values and for the distinguishing feature of place value? The foremost among the Arab writers on mathematical classics, Muhammad, the son of Moses, from Khowarezm, or more after the manner of the Arab, Muhammad ibn Mūsā al-khowārezmī, a man of great learning and one to whom the world is much indebted for its present knowledge of Algebra and Arithmetic, distinctly stated that the numerals were of Hindu origin. Even the later Arab writers, down to the present day, use the phrase 'ilm hindī,' "Indian science," for arithmetic as also the adjective 'hindī' alone. Probably the most striking testimony from Arabic sources is that given by the Arabic traveller and scholar Muhammad ibn Ahmed, Abū 'l-Rihān al-Bīrūnī (973-1048 A.D.) who spent many years in Hindustan. He states[1] explicitly that the Hindus of his time did not use the letters of their alphabet for numerical notation as the Arabs did, and that the numerical signs called *aṅka*[2] had different shapes in various parts of India, as was the case with letters. In his Chronology of Ancient Nations he gives the sum of a geometric progression and shows, how, in order to avoid any possibility of error, the number may be expressed in three different systems :—with Indian symbols, in sexagesimal notation, and by an alphabet system. He also speaks of "179, 876, 755, expressed in Indian ciphers," thus again attributing these forms to Hindu sources.[3] Preceding Al-Bīrūnī, another eminent Arabic writer of the tenth century, Motahhar ibn Tāhir in his "Book of the Creation and of History" gave as a curiosity, in Indian Nāgarī symbols, a large number asserted by the people of India to represent the duration of the world. In Motahhar's time the present Arabic symbols had not yet come into use, and that the Indian symbols, though known to scholars, were not current.[4] Because of this fact Motahhar found something extraordinary in the appearance of the number he cited. Another Arabic writer named Al-Kindī (800-870 A.D.) wrote five books on arithmetic and four books on the use of

1 Al-Bīrūnī's 'India,' vol. I, chap. XVI.

2 The Hindu name for the symbols of the decimal place system.

3 Sachau's English edition of the Chronology, p. 64.

4 Huart's History of Arabic Literature, Eng. Edition, New York, 1903.

the Indian method of reckoning. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that the Arabs from the early ninth century on fully recognised the Hindu origin of the numerals.

But Mr. G. R. Kaye does not think the above evidence sufficient to prove the Hindu origin of the numerals. He says, "In the early stages of any language we generally find that the smaller elements of the higher numbers are exprssed first. Thus we have *two and hund seofontig* in Alfred's Chronicle for the modern 'seventy-two' and the Germans still keep to this fashion much more than we do. Such examples as fifteen, trydaca (त्रयोदश) are found in many languages." He further adds, "The order in which we write our numbers is contrary to the nature of our script and has been imposed on us really by a people with a right to left script. This conclusion, if generally acknowledged as correct, would appear to dispose of the question as to the notation in use being of Indian origin." As an illustration of his theory Mr. Kaye says that the date "Śaka saṃvat, 867" (A.D. 945 or 946) is given by "giri-rasa-vasu" meaning "the mountains" (seven), "the flavours" (six), and the gods "Vasu" who were eight in number. But here Mr. Kaye is misinformed. In reading the date these were read from right to left. The period of invention of this system is uncertain. The first trace seems to be in the Śrautasūtra of Kātyāyana and Lāṭyāyana. It has been asserted by W. Brennand that Āryabhaṭa was also familiar with this system.[1] But it was certainly known to Varāha-Mihira (d. 587), for he makes use of this system in his Bṛhat-Saṃhitā. In Chapter VIII, śloka 10 of this work in the course of calculation of a particular time he mentions *bibhājayecchūnyasarāgarāmaiḥ* ("should divide by 3750," Śūnya—zero, Śara—arrow—five, aga—mountain—seven, Rāma—3, as there were three Rāmas.—Rāma, Paraśurāma and Balarāma.)[2] Here the reckoning is made from right to left. So that the objection of Mr. G. R. Kaye to the numerals being of Hindu origin on the ground of the order not being from right to left does not stand at all. Further, Al-Birūnī remarks that the Hindus writing in ślokas changed their orders, though they generally reckoned from right to left, for otherwise, the meter would have been disturbed. Apart from this word-and-letter system

1 W. Brennand's Hindu Astronomy,

2 Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-Saṃhitā, edition of Dr. H. Kern, p. 50.

there was the old *Kharoṣṭhī* dialect prevalent in the North-West of India, the characters of which were written from right to left instead of from left to right. Of this, probably, Mr. G. R. Kaye took scanty notice, and hence he was so much perplexed to think of the order. For, this *Kharoṣṭhī* script affects the Hindu-Arabic question vitally.

Next to the finger calculation came in vogue the abacus, a mechanical contrivance, for reckoning. It had been introduced very early for keeping number of different denominators apart. Abacus literally means a wooden plank. It was a table with compartments or columns for counters, each column representing a different value to be given to a counter placed on it. This might be used either for concrete arithmetic—say with columns for rupees, annas, pies; or for abstract reckoning. An old Greek abacus found at Salamis has columns which, taken from right to left, give a counter the value of 1, 10, 100, 1000 drachms, and finally of one talent (6000 drachms) respectively. An abacus, on the decimal system might be ruled on a paper or on a board, strewn with fine sand, and was then a first step to the decimal system. Two important steps, however, were still lacking; the first was to use instead of counters distinctive marks (ciphers) for the digits from one to nine; the second and the most important was to get a sign for zero, so that the column might be dispensed with and denomination of each cipher seen at once by counting the number of digits following it. These two steps being taken, the present system of the so called Arabic numerals and the possibility of modern arithmetic are reached; but the invention of the cipher and zero came slowly.

Sir E. C. Bayley says, "It need hardly be said that the use of the abacus is still common in every village bazar in India, and has been universal apparently from time immemorial".[1] Burnell tells us that the Indian abacus was by using heaps of couries for the numbers, the number of these shells being equal to that of the number expressed, the cipher being a blank space. Thus "∴ II ∴ = 303; ∴ I ∴ = 33."[2] Mr. S. B. Dikshit writes: "Hindu astrologers use a wooden plank, which they cover with dust; this plank is called *pāṭī*; hence arithmetic is called pāṭīgaṇita by Bhāskarācārya and others."[3] Bayley also maintains

1 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIV, p. 14.
2 Burnell's South Indian Palæography.
3 Indian Antiquary, vol. XX, p. 54.

this view. The mention of this abacus is necessary inasmuch as it leads to the invention of cipher or zero without which the system of numerals was not complete. Taylor, Wœpcke, Bayley, Burnell and others derive the Sanskrit numeral words that signify zero from the use of the abacus. These terms, they say, indicate the space not filled up by a counter. All these terms indicate emptiness or the sky, ether, etc. The term cipher is derived from *śūnya* through the Arabic *syfr*. "In Sanskrit" wrote Taylor in 1816, "the word Śūnya signifies a circle, cipher or vacuity; and the Arabs on receiving the numerical notations from India translated it by the word *syfr*, which in their language also means emptiness, vacuity or nothing.[1] The origin of the abacus has a special importance in the history of the origin of the numerals. But where did this abacus originate? Bayley and Burnell say that it was frequently used in India. How is it then that there is no mention of this in any Sanskrit literature?

Previous to the advent of the oriental scholars it was the consensus of opinion in Europe that the numerals were of Arabic origin and they were generally termed Arabic numerals. We have already mentioned that such influential writers as Tartaglia in Italy and Kobel in Germany asserted the Arabic origin of the numerals. But in later days the laborious researches of the oriental scholars led most of them to believe the numerals to be of Hindu origin. S. Corrington in his history of arithmetic says, "In the section called Algorithims of Brahmagupta's mathematics we have undoubtedly the numeration and notation of the Hindu system given and explained. In the twelfth century Bhāskara composed a fuller and more valuable work on arithmetic, and undoubtedly there was a race of scholars (between Brahmagupta and Bhāskara) during the intervening centuries to whom was due the maintenance and extension of Hindu learning. Thus the mathematical writings of the Hindus became known to the Arabians and specially the wondrous system of notation having nine digits and a cipher with device of a place." Rodet shows that Āryabhaṭṭa's rule for the extraction of square root implied a knowledge of the value of position:—

भागं हरेद् अवर्गात् नित्यं द्विगुणेन वर्गमूलेन।
वर्गाद् वर्गं शुद्धं लब्धं स्थानान्तरे मूलम्॥

1 Taylor's translation of Lilāvatī, p. 11.

"Always divide the part that is not square by twice the root of the square, after having subtracted from this squared part the square of the root ; the quotient is the root of the next term."

But this implication, says Mr. G. R. Kaye, is no proof of the origin of the numerals among the Hindus. Of the oriental writers, only a very few, Mr. G. R. Kaye and others, doubt the Hindu origin of the numerals, but at the same time cannot prove that they owe their origin to the Arabs.[1]

Apart from the assertion of the oriental scholars who belong mostly to the western countries, we have already cited the evidence of the Arabs themselves. Al-Bīrūni, the great scholar and traveller, conclusively says, "numeral signs which we use are derived from the forms of the Hindu signs. The Hindus use the numeral signs in arithmetic in the same way as we do. I have composed a treatise showing how far the Hindus are ahead of us in the subject." Even Mr. S. Khoda Bux, an eminent Islamic scholar, in a recent article on "Literary and scientific activities under the Caliphate," says, "The Arabs in the IX century borrowed from the Indians their decimal system, numerals and arithmetic." In this chapter we have opened the question of the origin of Hindu-Arabic numerals, a solution of which will be attempted by an examination of the materials hitherto available.

III. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU NUMERALS WITH THE INVENTION OF ZERO AND THE PLACE VALUE

" It is known," says Sir E. C. Bayley, " that while in European parlance the modern numerals have been termed 'Arabic,' yet that they differ in several important points from those used in Arabic writing ; moreover Arab writers emphatically declare these last to be an Indian invention. Still, the chain of descent of either form from an Indian source has never been satisfactorily elucidated. And while

1 In spite of any documentary evidence in his favour, Mr. Kaye has, in season and out of season, so much harped upon this view in his writings on Indian Mathematics that it has to some extent prejudiced the impartial thinking of even scholars like Dr. D. E. Smith.

no doubt the modern system of using, for all purposes of notation and calculation, nine unit figures and a zero, arranged in decimal order, is apparently indigenous in India, it has not yet been distinctly shown how this simplified form was eliminated from the complicated system of notation which was in ancient times used in India."[1]

It is with this unsatisfactory material that we have to deal in searching for the early history of the Hindu Arabic numerals, the probability being that writing was not introduced into India before the close of the fourth century B.C. and literature existing only in spoken form prior to that period.

The whole question of the Hindu numerals therefore divides itself into two parts, *viz.*,

(1) The origin of the ancient Indian system of numerals ;

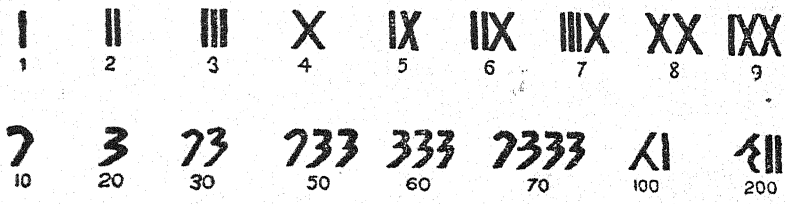
(2) The simplification of this system, by the rejection of all the signs except those for the nine units, and by the invention of the zero.

The early Hindu numerals may be classified into three great groups, (1) the Kharosthi, (2) the Brahmi and (3) the word and letter forms.

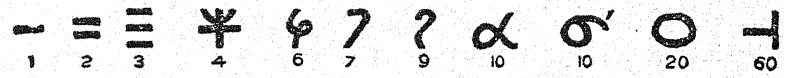
The Kharosthi numerals are found in inscriptions formerly known as Bactrian, Indo-Bactrian, and Aryan, and appearing in ancient Gandhara, now eastern Afganisthan and northern Punjab. The alphabet of the language is found in inscriptions dating from the fourth century B.C. to the third century A.D., and from the fact that the words are written from right to left it is assumed to be of Semitic origin. Not until the time of king Asoka, in the third century B.C., do the numerals appear in any inscriptions, thus far discovered ; and then only in the primitive forms of marks. These Asoka inscriptions are found in widely separated parts of India, often on columns, and are in the various vernaculars that were familar to the people. Two are in the Kharosthi characters, and the rest in some form of Brahmi. In the Kharosthi inscriptions only four numerals have been found, and these are merely vertical marks, for one, two, four and five, thus,—I, II, IIII, IIIII. In the so-called Śaka inscriptions, possibly of the first century B.C., more numerals are found, and in more highly developed form, the right-to-left system appearing, together with

1 Sir E. C. Bayley, Genealogy of Numerals, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XIV, p. 335.

evidences of three different scales of counting four, ten and twenty. The numerals of this period are as follows,—



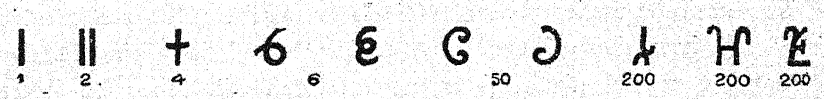
In this system there are several noteworthy points. In the first place, it is probably not as early as that shown in the Nānā Ghāt forms:



although the inscriptions themselves at Nānā Ghāt are later than those of the Asoka period.

It is not in the Kharosthi numerals, as we see, that we can hope to find the origin of those used by us, and we turn to the second of the Indian types, the Brahmi characters. The alphabet attributed to Brahman is the oldest of the several known in India, and was used from the earliest historic times. There are various theories of its origin. The numerals are not as old as the alphabet, or at least, they have not been found in inscriptions earlier than those in which the edicts of Asoka appear.

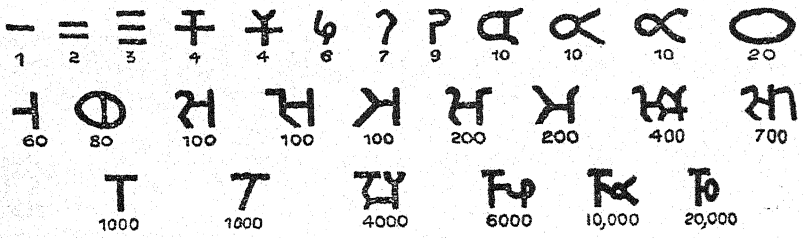
The following numerals appear in the Asoka edicts:



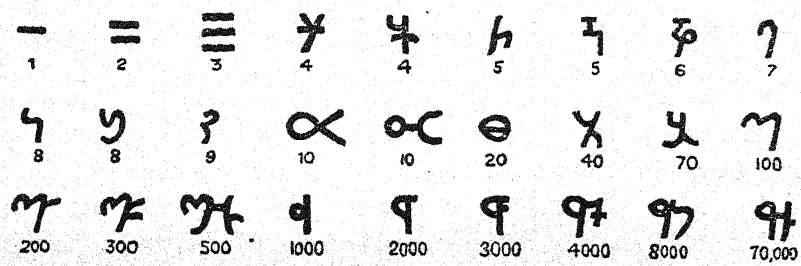
Here we notice that the "one" and "six" of the Brahmi numerals resemble the same of modern numerals. These fragments from the third century, crude and unsatisfactory as they are, are surely forerunners of the present system.[1]

1 D. E. Smith and L.C. Karpiuski—Hindu Arabic Numerals, p.22.

The next use of numerals is found in the Nānā Ghāt inscriptions, supposed to date from the early part of the third century B.C.



These are signs for units, tens and hundreds.[1] Along with these we consider that the "cave" numerals found in certain other cave inscriptions were employed during the first centuries of the Christian era. In the Nasik cave inscriptions, for example, the following forms are found.[2]



In all these systems we notice that no zero appears and as a matter of fact none existed in any of those cases cited. It was therefore impossible to have any place value, and the numbers like twenty, thirty and other multiples of ten, one hundred and so on, required separate symbols. Therefore a large number of symbols had to be used.

These are the earliest forms of Hindu numerals. No one can precisely say how these forms came to be used. The origin of some is evident, but probably the origin of most of them will never be known. Some say that they are derived from the alphabet of the Bactrian civilisation of Eastern Persia and some again find a possibility of Chinese

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1 Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji—"On Ancient Nagari Numeration: from an Inscripton at Nānā Ghāt." Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, vol. XII.

2 Burnell, South Indian Paleography, 1874, and E. Senart, "The Inscriptions in the caves at Nasik," Epigraphia Indica, vol. VIII, pp. 59-96.

influence in certain of the early numerals of the Hindus.[1] But these are mere guess works and cannot be relied upon.

We have thus far spoken of the Kharosthi and Brahmi numerals; now we shall mention the third type, *viz.*, the word and letter forms, with which the perfected system of the Hindus with the symbol zero is closely connected. This system came to be used as early as the sixth century of the Christian era, if not earlier. For example, Brahmagupta says in his *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*, "If you want to write one, express it by everything unique, i.e. one by ādi (beginning), śaśin, indu (moon), sītā, dharā, urvarā, bhū (earth), Brahman, Pitāmaha, raśmi, etc., two by yamala, yama (twins), kara (hands) netra, akṣi, darśana, locana (eyes), Aśvins (the two brothers), etc.; three by Rāma (the three Rāmas), guṇa (virtue); four by sāgara (ocean); five by viṣaya (senses), śara (arrows), etc.; six by rasa (flavour), ṛtu (seasons), etc., seven by aga (mountain), and so on; ten by āśā, diś (quarter) kendu, Rāvaṇāsura (because he had ten heads); zero by śūnya (void), ambara, ākāśa (heaven, space), pūrṇa (circle), etc."

As an example of this system, it has already been said that the date "Śaka Saṃvat, 867" (A.D. 945 or 946) was given by "giri-rasa-vasu," meaning the mountains (seven), the flavours (six), and gods "vasu" (who were eight in number) i.e. 867, the words being read from right to left. The period of invention of this system is uncertain. But as we have already remarked that the first trace seems te be in the Śrautasūtra of Kātyāyana and Lāṭyāyana and it is quite certain that Varāhamihira (d. 587) used it in the Bṛhat-saṃhitā (chap. VIII, 20). In the Pañcasiddhāntikā also Varāhamihira citing details laid down by Lāṭācārya in a work in which he explained the Romaka and Pauliśa Siddhāntas tells us that for some calculative purposes a certain moment was assumed to be fixed (as regards the year)

सप्ताश्विवेदसंख्यं शककालमपास्य चैत्रशुक्लादौ

i.e. by deducting the Śaka-year having the number seven, the two Aśvins, the four Vedas i.e. 427 or 506 A.D. at the end of the bright half of the Caitra month.

This method of calculation came down even to the time of Bhāskara (1150 A.D.) who while giving in his Siddhāntaśiromaṇi details about his birth and parentage says :

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1 C. E. Woodruff, "The evolution of modern numerals," Amer. Math. Monthly, 1909.

रसगुण-पूर्ण महीसमशकनृपसमयेऽभवन्ममोत्पत्तिः
रसगुणवर्षेण मया सिद्धान्तशिरोमणी रचितः।

i.e. I was born in the Śaka-year 1036 (rasa—flavour—six, guṇa—virtue—three, pūrṇa—circle—zero, mahī—earth—one) and wrote Siddhānta-śiromaṇi in my 36th year (rasa—six, guṇa—three), (the words being read from right to left).

Next in importance is the alphabetic system invented by Āryabhaṭa to express numbers. Aryahhaṭa's rule giving his alphabetic system of expressing numbers is as follows :—

वर्गाक्षराणि वर्गेऽवर्गेऽवर्गाक्षराणि कात् ङमौ यः।
खद्विनवके स्वरा नव वर्गेऽवर्गे नवान्त्यवर्गे वा ॥

It may be translated thus : Varga consonants from क (onwards) [should be used] in varga places (i.e., places corresponding to the varga or square units 1, 10^2, 10^4, &c.) and avarga consonants in avarga places i.e. places corresponding to the avarga or non-square units 10, 10^3, 10^5, &c.). य stands for 30 (lit., 5 and 25). Vowels should be used in eighteen places, nine vowels (with distinctly different sounds) in varga places as well as in the (corresponding) avarga places. Those nine vowels should be used in higher places in a similar manner.

The above translation differs from that given by the late Dr. Fleet (J.R.A.S., 1911, p. 115). He writes: "The concluding words 'navāntyavarge vā' or 'in the square immediately following the nine' that is 'in the tenth square place' are enigmatical. They seem to indicate a ninteenth place (the number belonging to which the British trillion, would be square of the Vṛnda No. 10) and nothing after it" (ibid, p. 120). The alleged enigmatical nature of the words disappears when it is noticed that 'navāntyavarge' is not a single compound word (समासबद्ध पद) but has been formed by joining the words 'nava' and 'antyavarge' according to the rules of svarasandhi or conjunction of vowels. "antya" means 'following' or 'which comes after' and "varga" means 'a group of the same class.' So the compound word 'antyavarge' means 'in the following group of the same class.' As a group of eighteen places has already been spoken of in the verse, the word 'antyavarge' can only mean 'in the following group of eighteen places.' In Sanskrit the word vā (वा) is used in the sense of 'or' as well as in the sense of 'and.' Here it cannot mean 'or'; it must have been used in the sense of 'and.' The word 'vā' has also the force of similarity (सादृश्य). Hence the suggestion is that the number of place is un-

limited and that nine vowels are to be used, as explained before, in each group of eighteen places.[1] Fleet translates the second line of the above verse thus: "the nine vowels (are used) in the two nines of spaces square (and) not square, or in the square immediately following the nine." How can nine vowels be used in 'the square following the nine' by which expression Fleet means the ninteenth place? Only one vowel is to be used in each place. This is sufficient to prove that Fleet's translation is incorrect.

It has been suggested[2] that Āryabhaṭa's system of expressing numbers has been derived from the alphabetic notation of the Greeks. The reason for the above suggestion has been given[3] by the late Dr. Fleet in the following words: "Knowing the Greek source of the greater part of the astronomy, etc., which we have in the Āryabhaṭiya and subsequent works, we naturally think of the possibility of a similar origin for this system of numeration." Does the question of borrowing at all arise in connection with the original matter which is included with admittedly borrowed matter in the work of a western savant? In giving his value of π Āryabhaṭa has used, not the Greek myriad or any of its corrupted forms, but the word 'ayuta' which is equivalent to the Greek myriad and has been in use in India at least since the time of the Vedas[4] (i.e. long before the Greek civilisation came into being). Yet it is asserted[5] that the way in which Āryabhaṭa has expressed his value of π points to a Greek source on the alleged ground that the Greeks alone of all peoples use the myriad as their unit of the second order. But has any European critic ever thought of the possibility of the Greek myriad having been borrowed from India and of Pythagoras's calling ten, hundred, etc., units of the second, third, etc., course after the Vedas which contain the earliest record of the use of a strictly decimal system of numeration, the different units being 1, 10, and higher powers of 10?"[6] The renowned German mathematican Euler included both original and borrowed

1 Vide Prof. S. K. Ganguly, Alp. System of Āryabhaṭa, Bull. Cal. Math. Society, vol. XVII, no. 4.

2 Sudhākara Dvivedi, Gaṇakataraṅgiṇī (1892) p. 5: Kaye, *JASB.*, (1907), p. 478; Fleet, *JRAS.*, (1911), p. 125.

3 *JRAS.*, (1911) p. 125.

4 Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, vol. I, pp. 342, 353.

5 Heath, History of Greek Mathematics, vol. I, p. 234.

6 Yajurveda, chapter XVII, mantra 2.

matter in his writings. When "he employed practically the same method of solution"[1] of the so-called Pellian equation as was given some centuries before by the Hindu mathematicians, did anyone naturally think of the possibility of Euler's indebtedness to India for the solution? On the contrary, an attempt has been made[2] to belittle the importance of the equation in order to prove that the Hindus achieved nothing of importance in the field of mathematics.

"Priority of statement of a proposition does not necessarily imply its discovery." Previous use alone of an alphabetic notation by the Greeks, should not, therefore, lead us to trace Āryabhaṭa's alphabetic system to a Greek source.

If the second verse of the Gaṇitapāda (i.e. chapter II) of the Āryabhaṭīya be read with the corresponding verses of Mahāvīra and Bhāskara, it will be seen that it contains an exposition of the modern place-value decimal notation.[3] No one has hitherto claimed that the modern place-value notation was known to the Greeks or to any other non-Hindu people before the sixth century.[4] It cannot, there-

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1 Kaye, *JRAS.*, (1910), p. 752. 2 Ibid., p. 754.

3 This fact has so far escaped the notice of distinguished oriental scholars owing to their attention having been too much attracted by Āryabhaṭa's alphabetic system. Accordingly Mr. Kaye has been inconsistent in translating Āryabhaṭa's verse giving the modern notation. Fleet perceived this inconsistency and tried to be consistent. But in doing so he has mistranslated the principle "*sthānāt sthānaṃ daśaguṇaṃ syāt.*"

Mr. Kaye writes that Jamblichus (4th century) "had perfectly clear ideas on the value of position" and gives the following example in his support :

"If the digits of any three be added together, and digits of their sum be added together, and so on, the final sum is six." (*JASB.*, p. 493).

4 Mr Kaye attributes this example to Jamblichus and cites as reference Gow's History of Greek Mathematics. But a comparison of Mr. Kaye's statement of this example with the statements of Gow (p. 98) and Heath (History of Greek Mathematics, vol. I, pp. 114 and 115) will show (i) that Mr. Kaye is not justified in putting the example in the above form which seems to support his conclusion and (ii) that other peoples who regarded numbers as being made up of a certain number of units, a certain number of tens, a certain number of hundreds, etc., had equally "clear" (?) ideas on the value of position.

fore, be said that Āryabhaṭa's rule explaining the modern notation was borrowed from the Greeks.

Now, the only point of similarity between the Greek and Āryabhaṭian alphabetic systems is that the first nine letters of the alphabet denote the first nine numbers in each case. Āryabhaṭa's system differs from the Greek system in every other particular. The principal points of difference may be stated as follows:

(a) In the Greek system the second group of nine letters denoted the first nine multiples of ten and the third group of nine letters the first nine multiples of hundred. To express multiples of higher powers of ten, strokes or dots were used. Each stroke or dot indicated multiplication by 1,000. Fleet says[1] that Āryabhaṭa's system is certainly not an adaptation of this system of the Greeks, but that Āryabhaṭa derived his inspiration from another Greek system of expressing large numbers in which myriads used to be expressed by means of two letter numerals, viz., (i) a symbol M for a myriad and (ii) the already adopted symbol for the number indicating the multiple. In Indian Kharosthi and later Brāhmi notations hundreds used to be expressed in this way. But in Āryabhaṭa's system each multiple of a power of ten was denoted by a single consonant-numeral combined with a vowel-sign. Fleet is right in holding[2] that in Āryabhaṭa's scheme the vowels had no numerical values in themselves but marked the places to which the consonants, etc. were to be referred. If they had any numerical value, they could be used to express component parts of a number where no confusion was likely to arise. For example, दश could be used to denote 170. But vowels as such were never used by Āryabhaṭa; and vowel-signs cannot stand by themselves.

(b) As has been already stated, Āryabhaṭa's vowel-signs are not numerical symbols but indicate places which the consonant-numerals occupy. Hence Āryabhaṭa expresses numbers by means of consonant-numerals and as many places indicating vowel-signs. But the Greek system exclusively employs letter numerals only. Place-indicating signs are conspicuous by absence in the Greek system.

(c) Unlike the Greek system and the old and modern Indian systems[3] of notation and Indian way of speaking numbers, Āryabhaṭa's

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1 *JRAS.*, (1911) page 125. 2 Ibid., page 118.

3 These systems do not include the so-called 'word-symbol notation' which is not notation at all but which gives numbers expressed

system (i) recognises component parts of a number, which are higher multiples than the ninth of even powers of ten, (ii) makes no provision for expressing the first two[1] multiples of the old powers of ten as such, and (iii) admits of a number being expressed in more ways than one. For example, (i) मि (mi) stands for twenty-five hundreds ; (ii) two thousand cannot be expressed as such ; it should be regarded as twenty hundreds before it can be expressed by नि (ni) ; and (iii) forty-five can be expressed by मन, भय, वफ, यण, or रङ.

(d) The Greek alphabetic system was an arithmetical notation, i.e., it was used in performing arithmetical operations. But Āryabhaṭa's system was not so. As an arithmetical notation it has many and grave defects and is, therefore, useless. Hence it has not been given any place in the arithmetical portion of the Āryabhaṭiya. Arithmetical operation could be more easily and rapidly performed with the previous Indian notations.[2] The only merit of Āryabhaṭa's system is its conciseness and it has been devised chiefly to secure brevity of the rules composed in verse.

Āryabhaṭa[3] had undoubtedly been a student of Sanskrit grammar and metrics. In Sanskrit grammar single letters are used for two different purposes, viz. (i) as a suffix (प्रत्यय, e.g., क, ट, etc.) and (ii) as a संज्ञा or name for something to which frequent reference has to be made (e.g. कु, षि. ढि, etc.). In Piṅgala's manual of metrics single consonants (e.g. भ, स, ज, etc.) have been used for the second purpose. To be included in metrical composition numbers must, of necessity, be expressed by word-numerals or letter-numerals. The study of Sanskrit grammar and metrics seems to have led the mathematical genius of Āryabhaṭa to use letters of the Devanagri alphabet for the sake of brevity, as it afterwards led the well-known grammarian Vopadeva to use these letters in shortening the Sanskrit grammar. The vowels were not

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in the modern notation by stating the digits (one or two at a time) beginning with the unit's place.

1 According to Āryabhaṭa's scheme there are no letter numerals for 1 and 2 to occupy a-varga places. It will be seen from what follows that for the figures 3, 4, 5, etc., up to 10 there are two sets of letter-numerals—one set for varga places and the other for a-varga places.

2 Vide Sir Richard Temple's article on the Burmese system of arithmetic, Indian Antiquary, vol. XX, pp. 53-69.

3 Prof. S. K. Ganguly, "Alphabetic System of Āryabhaṭa," Bull. Math. Society, vol. XVII, no. 4.

suitable for this purpose as they often disappear and merge into unrecognisable forms owing to conjunction (सन्धि) which is an essential feature of Sanskrit. Āryabhaṭa had, therefore, no other alternative than to use consonants to express numbers. The modern place-value notation was known to Āryabhaṭa who classified the places as varga and a-varga. Most probably phonetic resemblance was responsible for the rule "varga consonants should be placed in varga places and a-varga consonants in a-varga places." To indicate the varga or a-varga place occupied by a consonant nothing could be more convenient than a vowel-sign. Hence vowel-signs have been used as place-indicators. Āryabhaṭa names the first ten places (ekam, daśa, etc. up to vṛndam) only. The first ten vowels were perhaps intended to indicate these places. Here some difficulty presented itself. Of the two vowels अ, आ, the second is a long अ. The vowels of each of the remaining four pairs have similar sounds, the first vowel being short and the second long. In books on Sanskrit grammar the vowels constituting each of the five pairs are called equal (समान) vowels. Hence Āryabhaṭa seems to have overlooked the distinction between long and short vowels and made the rule that

अ (or आ) should indicate the places of the units	...	...	...	...	...	10^0, 10^1
इ (or ई)	...	...	...	...	...	10^2, 10^3
उ (or ऊ)	...	...	...	...	...	10^4, 10^5
ऋ (or ॠ)	...	...	...	...	...	10^6, 10^7
ऌ (or ॡ)	...	...	...	...	...	10^8, 70^9

Thus, each of the five vowels, अ, इ, उ, ऋ, ऌ long or short, was assigned to a varga place and the next higher a-varga place. This could not result in confusion, as varga places were to be occupied by varga consonants only and a-varga places by a-varga consonants only. Then by the principle of analogy—a principle which is responsible for two serious mistakes[1] made by Āryabhaṭa—he also assigned the remaining four vowels ए, ऐ, ओ, औ (which have distinctly different sounds), each to two consecutive places. Hence the rule "vowels should be placed in eighteen places, nine vowels in varga places and the same nine vowels in a-varga places." As by his rule, ङ and ञ denote the first and second multiple of 10, he used य, र etc., up to ह for the 3rd, 4th, etc. up to the 10th multiple of 10. It should be noted here that only when the consonants य, र, ल, व etc. are each associated with the vowel अ they

1 Āryabhaṭa's rules for the volumes of a tetrahedron and a sphere. (vide *JRAS.*, 1911, p. 118).

denote 30, 40, 50, 60, etc. Thus, घि means घ् (or 3) put in the thousandth place (the a-varga place assigned to ङ). If य stood for 30 घि would denote 30 tens or 300. Fleet is not right in holding that in Āryabhaṭa's scheme consonants have no numerical value in themselves. The metre shows that this reading is correct. If he were right, ङ् in the rule "ङ्नौयः could not stand for 5.[1]

Mention should also be made, in this connection, of a curious system of alphabetic numerals that sprang up in Southern India. In this we have the numerals represented by the letters as given in the following table:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
क	ख	ग	घ	ङ	च	छ	ज	झ	ञ
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	ण	त	थ	द	ध	न
प	फ	ब	भ	म					
य	र	ल	व	श	ष	स	ह		

For example, the word

2 3 1 5 6 5 1

Kha gant yan me ṣa mā pa (खगघ्न्यन्मेषमापः) has the value 1,565,132, reading from right to left.[2] This is given in a commentary on the Ṛg-veda, representing the number of days that had elapsed from the beginning of the Kaliyuga. Burnell states that this system is even now in use for remembering rules to calculate horoscopes, and for astronomical tables.[3]

But these systems without the zero were impracticable to designate the tens, hundreds, and other units of higher order by the same symbols used for the units from one to nine. There was therefore no possibility of place value without some further improvement. So the Nānā Ghāṭ symbols required the writing of "thousand seven twenty-four" almost like T 7, tw, 4 in modern symbols, instead of 7024, in which the seven of the thousands, the two of the tens (concealed in the word twenty. being originally "twain of tens," the 'ty' signifying ten), and the four of the units are given as spoken and the order of the unit is given by the place. The system required the zero for its perfection. It is possible that one of the forms of ancient abacus suggested to some Hindu mathematician the use of a symbol to stand for the vacant line when the counters were removed. There were however different names

1 For this interpretation I am indebted to Dr. Bibhutibhusan Datta, D. Sc. of the Science College of the Calcutta University.

2 Bühler, Paleographie, p. 82.

3 Burnell, South Indian Palæography, p. 79.

for the higher orders of the Hindu numerals. We have in Bhāskara's Līlāvatī:

Ekadaśaśatasahasrāyutalakṣaprayutakoṭayaḥ kramaśaḥ
Arbudam abjaṃ kharvanikharvamahāpadmaśaṅkavas tasmāt
Jaladhiścāntyaṃ madhyaṃ parārdham iti daśaguṇottaraṃ saṃjñāḥ
Saṃkhyāyāḥ sthānānāṃ vyavahārārthaṃ kṛtāḥ pūrvaiḥ.[1]

I.e., older mathematicians have invented the names eka, daśa, śata, sahasra, ayuta, lakṣa, prayuta, koṭi, arbuda, abja, kharva, nikharva, mahāpadma, śanku, jaladhi, antya, madhya, parārdha, and such multiples of ten for indicating the place values of numbers. Indeed this may have necessitated the introduction of a word to signify a vacant place or lacking unit, with the ultimate introduction of a zero symbol for this word.

To enable us to appreciate the force of this argument a large number, 8,443,682,155, may be considered as the Hindus wrote and read it, and then by way of contrast as the Greeks and the Arabs would have read it.[2]

Modern American reading :—8 billion, 443 million, 682 thousand, 155.

Hindu:—8 padmas, 4 arbudas, 4 koṭis, 3 prayutas, 6 lakṣas, 8 ayutas, 2 sahasras, 1 śata, 5 daśa, 5.

Arabic and early German:— eight thousand, thousand thousand and four hundred thousand thousand, and forty-three thousand thousand, and six hundred thousand, and eighty-two thousand and one hundred fifty five (or five and fifty).

Greek :—eighty-four myriads of myriads and four thousand three hundred sixty-eight myriads and two thousand and one hundred fifty-five.

The reading of numbers of this kind shows that the notation adopted by the Hindus tended to bring out the place idea. No other language than the Sanskrit has made such consistent application, in numeration, of the decimal system of numbers; nor did any other ancient people carry the numeration as far as the Hindus did.

When the aṅkapalli (the nine ciphers were called aṅka), the decimal place system of writing numbers, was perfected, the tenth symbol was called śūnyabindu, generally shortened to śūnya (the void). It is generally thought that this sūnya as a symbol was used about 500

1 Līlāvatī, chap. I, verses 2, 3.

2 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpanski, Hindu Arabic Numerals.

A.D.; but it is certain that in the sixth century the use was frequent, as we have seen that Varāhamihira in his Bṛhat-saṃhitā uses śūnya while speaking of numerals. Varāhamihira used frequently the word-system with place value in his Pañcasiddhāntika.[1] At the opening of the next century (c. 620 A.D.) Bāṇa wrote of Subandhu's Vāsavadattā as a celebrated work and mentioned that the stars dotting the sky were there compared with ciphers. Traces of the numeral words with place value, therefore, are found very early in India. Bühler[2] gives the copper-plate Gurjara inscription of Cedi-saṃvat 346 (594 A.D.) as the oldest epigraphical use of the numerals "in which the symbols correspond to the alphabet numerals of the period and the place." Vincent Smith[3] quotes a stone inscription of 815 A.D., dated saṃvat 872. So F. Kielhorn in the Epigraphia Indica[4] gives a Pathari pillar inscription of Parabala, dated Vikrama-saṃvat 917, which corresponds to 861 A.D. and refers also to another copper-plate inscription dated Vikrama-saṃvat 813 (756 A.D.). The inscription quoted by V. A. Smith above is that given by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (Epigraphia Indica, vol. i, pp. 193,198) and another is given by the same writer as of date Śaka-saṃvat 715 (798 A.D.), being incised on a pilaster. Kielhorn also gives two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahendrapāla of Kanauj, Valabhī-saṃvat 574 (893 A.D.) and Vikrama-saṃvat 956 (899 A.D.). That there should be any inscriptions of date as early even as 750 A.D., would tend to show that the system was at least a century older. "That the system now in use by all civilised nations is of Hindu origin cannot be doubted; no other nation has any claim upon its discovery, especially since the references to the origin of the system, which are found in the nations of Western Asia, point unanimously towards India."[5]

The testimony and opinions of men like Bühler, Kielhorn, V. A. Smith, Bhandarkar, and Thibaut are entitled to the most serious consideration. As authorities on ancient Indian epigraphy and cultural history no other rank higher, their work is accepted by Indian scholars the world over, and their conclusion as to the rise and development of the system with a place value—that it took place in

1 Pañcasidhāntikā, chap. I, verses 8, 9, 10.

2 Bühler, Paleographie, p. 78.

3 "The Gurjaras of Rajputana and Kanauj",—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January and April, 1909.

4 Vol. ix, 1908, p. 248. 5 Thibaut, p. 71.

India as early as the sixth century A.D.—must stand unless new evidence of great weight can be submitted to the contrary.[1]

The improved Hindu system with a place value would never have dominated the numeral system of the western world, unless there had been the symbol zero. "The earliest undoubted occurrence of a zero in India is an inscription at Gwalior, dated Saṃvat 933 (876 A.D.), where 50 garlands are mentioned (line 20), 50 is wrtten as ५०, 270 (line 4) is written as २७०.[2] Apart from the appearance of zero in early inscriptions, there are indications of the Hindu origin of the symbol in the special treatment of the concept zero in the early works on arithmetic. Brahmagupta in the early part of the seventh century gives in his arithmetic a distinct treatment of the properties of zero. A still more scientific treatment is given by Bhāskara. Even in the most recently discovered work on ancient Indian Mathematical lore, the Gaṇita-sārasaṃgraha of Mahāvirācārya (c. 830 A.D.), there is a discussion on the calculation with zero.[3] In the first chapter of this book we find the word and letter system of numerals, though there is no indication of the numerals with the place value. But in the second chapter there is a long discussion on the śūnyabindu.

It is not till the time of Bhāskara (1150 A.D.) that we find traces in writing of a perfected system of numerals with the place value of zero. From that time the modern Sanskrit numerals

१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0

came into use.

But Bhāskara mentions the names of a number of works in the concluding chapter of his Bīja-gaṇita from which he gathered materials for his work:—

"As the treatises of Brahmagupta, Śrīdhara, and Padmanābha are too diffuse, I have compressed the substance of those works in a well-seasoned compendium for the benefit of learners." (verse 2).

Colebrooke was fortunate enough to secure a copy of Śrīdhara's arithmetic and there he found an indication of the complete system with place value.

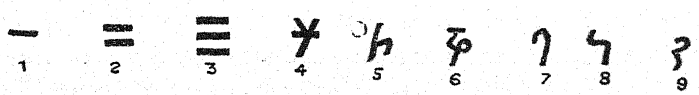
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1 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, Hindu Arabic Numerals.

2 From a letter to D. E. Smith from G. F. Hill of the British Museum.

3 D. E. Smith in the Bibliotheca Mathematica, vol. IX (3), pp. 106-110.

We have thus seen that the following types of numerals prevailed in ancient India which by evolution gave rise to the modern numerals :

	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
	I	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Kharosthi—	1	11	111	1111						
Asoka—	1	11	111	1111	+					
Nānā ghat—										
"Cave" (Nasik)—										

Letter— ए द त च प ष स अ न (very primitive).

The last ones are first letters of the words, eka, dvi, tri, catur, pañca, ṣaṭ, sapta, aṣṭa, nava.

1 The modern Sanskrit '१' has no doubt originated from ए combined with "Asoka" 1.

2 २ from Nanaghat ⚌ . One spur mark inside made it two.

3 ३ from Nanaghat ☰ . Two spur marks inside made it three.

4 ४ from "Cave"  The super-imposition of the last side stroke of three made it four.

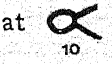
5 ५ from ष with a spur at the foot, ५.

6 ६ from Asoka "six" with a spur at the foot.

7 ७ from Nanaghat "seven" turned through a right angle.

8 ८ from "Cave" "eight" with the tail shortened.

9 ९ from Nanaghat "nine" with the upper part turned,  or from "Cave" "nine" turned.

0 ० from circle or from Nanaghat  (ten).

This last theory of the development of the modern numerals is entirely my suggestion. A minute examination of the formation of all the types of ancient Hindu numerals led me to believe in this theory, in order to explain the modern numerical forms.[1]

In this chapter I have tried to trace the gradual development of the Hindu numerals on the distinct and direct testimony of ancient writers on arithmetic. (*To be continued*)

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

1 Also Burnell, South Indian Palæography, 1874.

On Metals and Metallurgy in Ancient India

I

Metallurgy in the Ṛg-veda

Many scholars, even up to the present day, are apt to disbelieve that IRON was known to the ancient Hindus as is seen from the following lines which appeared in the Smithsonian Annual Report of 1911, p. 520: "Blackenhorn maintained (Zeitsch. Ethnol., 1907, p. 368) that iron was generally known in India at least as early as 1500 B. C. but he was unable to produce proofs for this assertion, and as little was G. Oppert able conclusively to prove that it was known as early as 1000 B. C. (Zeitsch. Ethnol., 1908, p. 60). It was merely a conviction of Oppert which he could argue with probable reasons, but not support with positive proofs. Hence I would emphasize the statement that iron finds made in strata of old East India ruins of the tenth to fifteenth pre-Christian centuries do not justify the conclusion that there existed a native iron industry among the Hindus. Such objects only prove that the ancient Hindus were acquainted with iron utensils but not that they actually made them. We have few accounts of the use of iron by the Hindus, and these scarcely favour the assumption of a native iron industry, but rather suggest that the Hindu iron utensils of the tenth to fifteenth centuries B.C. were foreign importations, and the Phœnicians will probably have to be considered as the importers of such iron manufactures. For, in my opinion, it has been proved above that the Phœnicians at least as early as 3000 B.C. had regular commercial relations with India which they carried on from Eloth-Aelana on the Red Sea. If then, at the period 1300 B.C. iron and steel utensils were practically unknown to the Hindus, as may well be assumed, while among the Phœnicians they were objects of common barter, it seems natural that the latter carried such articles to India to use for barter. It is, therefore, not only not impossible, but very probable that in excavations in India, especially on the sites of harbours, such isolated imported Phœnician iron and steel articles will be found."[1]

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1 *The Discoveries of the Art of Iron Manufacture,* translated by the Smithsonian Institution from the German of W. Belck Die

Such inferences as the above owe their origin to a common belief that *iron* was not known in India in the *Mantra Age*, for most of the Vedic scholars cannot yet come to a decisive conclusion as to whether the "Ayas" of the Ṛg-Veda could be interpreted as iron.[1]

One would see, however, after a careful investigation into the subject of Metals and Metallurgical processes in the Ṛg-veda itself, that it mentions three metals only, *viz.*, *Hiraṇya*, *Rajata* and *Ayas*, of which the first one may be definitely identified with *gold*, the second with *silver* and the third with *iron*.

The evidences in support of the identification of "Ayas" with "iron" are too many and mostly conclusive. They may, however, be grouped under three distinct headings, viz., (1) *Primary*, from the definite mentions in the Ṛg-veda itself, (2) *Secondary*, from the traditions in support of the Ṛg-vedic statements and from post-Vedic literature, (3) *Collateral*, from a comparative review of statements on the subject from diverse authors both foreign and Indian.

Such evidences, taken collectively, would certainly offer most reliable materials for a clear and definite solution of the long tried equation of *ayas*=*aes* of antiquarian research, which would most evidently go to disprove such erroneous conclusions as the German scholar Belck has arrived at, and most firmly and positively uphold that a native iron industry existed in ancient India in an age that lies beyond the beginning of all history.

Contemporaneous civilisation is ever eager to know the state of the society and its adjuncts that existed on the face of the globe in the remotest past. This period of the hoariest antiquity may be rightly included in an age generally called the *Age of the Saṃhitās*, and the age of the Ṛg-veda can be regarded as the oldest one. Indeed though scholars differ in determining the actual age of the Ṛg-

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Erfinde der Eisentechnik in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, vol. 42, 1915, part 1, pp. 15-30.

1 Vincent Smith's Review (in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1915) of *Iron in Ancient India* by Prof. Panchanan Neogi, in which he observed "the fact that Sāyaṇa assumed '*Ayas*' in various passages of the Ṛg-veda to mean "iron" does not prove that to be the real meaning. I am not convinced that Ṛg-vedic *Ayas* must necessarily be interpreted as "iron".

veda, yet they all seem to agree on one point that the Ṛg-veda is the oldest record of human civilisation on earth. One may, therefore, be naturally inquisitive as to the state of the civilised life in those ancient times in the land we live in.

"Amongst the great turning points in the history of culture" says a distinguished scholar, "may with good reason be reckoned the epoch when man makes his first acquaintance with the metals" and thus the knowledge of the metals being considered as one of the principal characteristics of human civilisation, it would be most suggestive to an orientalist to find out the state of metallurgy in the Ṛg-vedic age.

The task, pleasing and interesting no doubt as it is, is beset with the greatest difficulties possible, inasmuch as, an enquiry of this nature, if it carries any value, must be based on pure scientific principles. But the Ṛg-veda is not a treatise on metallurgy nor does it speak of the metals in a general and scientific way. Our data must be gleaned from a mass of poetic and literary materials and will often be found in the form of archaic similes and metaphors, seldom in plain matter-of-fact forms of expression. Further this data being embodied in the high-flown language of religious and fervent hymns of prayer composed by bards of yore, the difficulty of their proper elucidation becomes at once apparent. Therefore, it is evidently necessary for the inquirer to make a careful and comparative study of the various commentaries, annotations and writings of diverse authors, foreign and Indian, using as best as he can, the modern scientific methods. Further a proper acquaintance with the traditions and traditionary customs still prevalent in India, as well as, a fair knowledge of the Vedic rituals would also be highly useful to the inquirer.

It is thus seen to be a task of stupendous difficulty and it is only the interest and importance of the enquiry that emboldens me to offer to the public, the results of my investigation, as a humble contribution to the subject.

If we confine our enquiry to the Ṛg-veda alone, we will find that in that age three metals only were known. They are *Hiraṇya*, identified with *gold*, *Rajata* identified with *silver* and *Ayas*, the identification of which with *iron* or *copper* or *bronze* has long been a subject of much doubt and controversy.

Of *Hiraṇya* there are about a hundred mentions in the Ṛg-veda in various forms while Yāska in his Nirukta gives sixteen synonyms for the term all meaning gold. From these we have a good glimpse into the knowledge of gold amongst the ancient Vedic people. That

gold was highly valued in the Ṛg-vedic age is amply evidenced by the Ṛg-veda itself. The Vedic hymns addressed to various deities abound with fervent prayers for gold—*Hiraṇyam*. This shows clearly the passionate hankering after gold in that ancient age. The Vedic singers would pray to their deities to give them sons bedecked with gold.[1] They would very often describe their gods *Indra*, *Mitra*, *Varuṇa*, etc. as golden in hue[2] driving from golden seats[3] in golden chariots[4] having shafts or poles[5], wheels and axles all bright as gold[6] with golden reins for the horses[7] who had golden manes[8] and were bedecked with golden ornaments.[9] They would often compare their deities to gold itself as in I, 4, 5 ; Rudra is said to be shining in splendour like the Sun, and refulgent and bright as gold. They wore gold rings on their fingers,[10] gold earrings on their ears[11] and had on them golden neeklets[12] and armlets too[13]. They would most frequently compare the lightening flashes to clear and bright gold.[14] They used to call the Sun and its light as bright as gold at break of dawn.[15] Thus "the tawny" Rudra they would say "adorns himself with bright gold.[16] They would designate the progenitor of the Universe, the Prajāpati, as "*Hiraṇyagarbha*"[17] (the golden foetus) and Āṅgirasa as "*Hiraṇyastūpa*,"[18] (the hoard of gold). They would very often identify "*the soma*" with the fountain of gold,[19] inasmuch as, by its influence, as they fully believed, they could win any amount

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1 i, 122, 14.

2 i, 46, 10 ; i, 167, 3 ; i, 139, 2; ii, 35, 10 ; iv, 3, 1 ; iv, 10, 6 ; vi, 16, 38 ; vii, 45, 2 ; viii, 61, 6 ; viii, 66, 3 ; x, 20, 9.

3 iv, 46, 4 ; viii, 5, 28 ; 22, 9.

4 i, 30, 16 ; 35, 2 ; 56, 1 ; 139, 4 ; iv, 1, 8 ; 44, 4 ; 5 ; vi, 29, 2 ; 66, 1 ; viii, 1, 24 ; 33, 4 ; 46, 24 ; 66, 2 ; 69, 16.

5 i, 35, 4 ; 5 ; viii, 5, 29.

6 i, 38, 5 ; 64 ; 11 ; 105, 1 ; 139, 3 ; 180, 1 ; vi, 56, 3 ; viii, 5, 29.

7 viii, 22, 5. 8 viii, 32, 29. 9 vii, 7, 27.

10 ix, 86, 43. 11 i, 122, 14.

12 & 13 vii, 56, 13 ; i, 166, 9 ; i, 64, 10 ; v, 54, 11 ; vii, 56, 13 ; i, 168, 3 ; ii, 34, 2 ; vi, 16, 40, x, 38, 1.

14 i, 79, 1 ; iv, 58, 5. 15 i, 46, 10 ; iii, 38, 8.

16 ii, 33, 9. 17 x, 121, 1.

18 x, 149, 5. 19 ix, 107, 4.

of gold.[1] To them their gods had golden eyes and golden tongues[2] and golden teeth[3] and they had the power of bestowing gold upon them.[4] They would often speak of the celestial horses as gold-feathered[5] and the gods themselves as golden handed,[6] i.e. meaning either the hands were adorned with gold for making gifts or they were wrought of gol itself. They would also speak definitely at times of having secured lnmps of gold,[7] as well as pitchers full of gold.[8] They would sing the hymns in praise of their deities applying such epithets as pleasing, bright and purest gold.[9] Indra's *Vajra* (thunderbolt) they would often describe as bright and beautiful as gold.[10] They would very frequently mention in their prayers gold—gold that glitters.[11] They would speak of their gods' arrows[12] and the water ewers[13] too to be wrought of gold. They would also speak of *Varuṇa* as wearing golden coat of mail.[14] They would be often seen mentioning treasures of gold.[15] They would also not very unfrequently refer to their gods as bedecked with gold.[16] They would describe their kings as gold to look upon.[17] The Soma-juice, the heavenly nectar of life, they would very often describe as entering into golden jars (*kalasas*).[18] The places of sacrifice even would be spoken of as golden.[19] The heavenly birds they would describe as of golden colour.[20] The birds *Vena* (Savitar's Swans) they would describe as having golden pinions.[21] They would very often refer to golden cloths,[22] golden mantles[23] and gold trappings.[24] They would often speak of gold that gives wealth,[25]

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1 ix, 78, 4. 2 i, 35, 8 ; vi, 71, 3.

3 v, 2, 3. 4 ii, 35, 10 ; x, 101, 2.

5 & 6 i, 22, 5 ; i, 35, 9 ; 10 ; iii, 54, 11 ; vi, 50, 8 ; 71, 1 ; 4 ; vii, 34, 4 ; 38, 2. 7 vi, 47, 23 ; x, 48, 4. 8 i, 117, 12.

9 viii, 65, 11 (that there was known a distinction between the purest gold and the ordinary one is indicated. So it would be apparent that the brightest and the purest gold was the objective of the Vedic singers).

10 i, 57, 2 ; 85, 9 ; x, 23, 3. 11 x, 107, 7.

12 viii, 77, 11. 13 iv, 32, 19. 14 i, 25, 13.

15 iii, 34, 9 ; ix, 97, 50. 16 i, 43, 5 ; viii, 31, 8.

17 viii, 5, 38. 18 ix, 71, 6 ; 75, 3.

19 v, 67, 2 ; ix, 64, 20 20 ix, 85, 11.

21 iv, 45, 4 ; x 123, 5.

22 xiii, 1, 32. 23 v, 55, 6.

24 i, 162, 16. 25 ii, 34, 11 ; vii 66, 8.

that is self luminious[1] and heightening the pleasure of mankind.[2] They would speak of Indra as possessing a bull's strength in his golden whip[3] and bringing treasures bright and golden.[4] They would address the Maruts as having gold chains on their breasts and visors wrought of gold on their heads.[5] They would speak of the robes that were spread on the horses to clothe them and of the upper coverings and the trappings as golden and adorned with an array of gold jewels.[6] They would frequently refer to golden helmets[7] and golden swords too.[8] They would tell of Puṣan travelling in the mid-ocean or air in golden ships.[9] They would mention of golden celestial doors filled up with their frames on high.[10] They would often speak of winning gold as anything.[11] At times they would be showing a chronic longing for gold and gold and nothing else.[12] The driving box of Savitar's chariot they would describe often as golden.[13] They would speak of 'Agni'as invested with golden colours bright with hues of gold.[14] They would most frequently pray in their hymns of prayer for becoming wealthy in horses, kine, cattle and gold.[15] And gold being their object of desire they were often found to pray fervently to their worshipful deities for pouring on them wealth in goods, treasure and gold.[16] They would most definitely pronounce their cherished *Ghṛtam* (clarified butter or sacred oil) to be golden in colour.[17] They would also clearly refer to the washing and cleaning of gold for purification.[18] They would be frequently found to speak of golden paths (*Hiraṇyavartanī*).[19] That the river Sindhu was full of golden beds is definitely mentioned in the Ṛg-veda.[20] The river Svarasvatī has been described as

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1 v, 87, 5. 2 x, 107, 7. 3 vii, 33, 11.
4 iv, 17, 11 ; vii, 31, 3. 5 v, 54, 11.
6 i, 162, 16 ; i, 33, 8. 7 ii, 34, 3 ; viii, 7, 25.
8 i, 42, 6 ; vii, 97, 7 ; viii, 7, 32. 9 vi, 58, 3.
10 ix, 5, 5. 11 ix, 86, 39 ; x, 48, 4.
12 ix, 27, 4. 13 viii, 23, 8. 14 vi, 16, 38.
15 i, 30, 17 ; 92, 16 ; 94, 9 ; viii, 22, 17 ; ix, 41, 4 ; 61, 3 ; 63, 18.
16 vii, 90, 6 ; viii, 32, 9 ; ix, 69, 8 ; 72, 9 ; 86, 38 ; ix, 97, 50.
17 ii, 35, 11.
18 i, 117, 5, cf. Taittirīya Saṃhitā, vi, 1, 7, 1.
19 i, 92, 18 ; v, 75, 2 ; 3 ; viii, 5, 11 ; 8, 1 ; 87, 5.
20 x, 75, 8—*Sindhu* or modern *Indus* (The Sands of the Indus at Cuttock are also washed for gold. See Ball, Geology of India, iii, p. 210 (1881 Edn).

abounding in gold, "terrible with golden paths"[1] The Vedic bard would sing, "this river with his lucid flow attracts you more than all the streams, even Sindhu with his path of gold."[2]

From such a long array of similes and metaphors and a luxuriant terminology founded on the term "Hiraṇya" as also from descriptions pure and simple, that are often met with in the Ṛg-vedic hymns one could easily conclude that the people of the Ṛg-vedic antiquity had an extensive knowledge of and practical acquaintance with gold and its usefulness in its manifold forms of jewellery, embroidery and perhaps even coinage.

Again it may be easily conceived from the fact of their mentioning the various rivers and their beds as full of gold that that noble metal used to be found on the beds of the rivers[3] whence they used to be carried for purification by washing and then finally to the melting pots[4] to be molten into lumps.

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1 Ṛv., vi, 61, 7. 2 Ṛv., viii, 26, 18.

3 "The sands of all the rivers which flow from the Alps contain gold. Thus, for instance, the sands of the Upper Rhine have for centuries been washed for gold although the richest portion of the sand contains only about 56 parts of gold to 10 million. Gold has also been found in many streams in Cornwall and the precious metal is now being worked to a considerable extent in North Wales..... In Asia gold occurs chiefly on the eastern flanks of the Urals and in other parts of Siberia, but the metal has been found in almost all parts of this continent specially in India and Corea"—Roscoe, *Chemistry*, Vol. II. p. 388.

"The most striking feature of the gold deposits of the Assam Valley is the universal distribution of the metal in extremely small percentages throughout the gravel of the river beds."—Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, p. 566.

"At the time of his visit he (Dr. Walker) could hear nothing locally of this mine, but learnt that washing had been carried on comparatively recently in the streams which feed the Godâvarî from the South"—Ball, *Geology of India*, III, p. 188.

"It has been not unfrequently stated that all the rivers of the Punjab, the Ravi alone excepted, contain cuniferous sands..... the rivers and streams of this province do as a general rule contain gold.—Ball, *Geology of India*, III, p. 209.

4 Ṛv., vi, 3, 4.

The metallurgical processes for obtaining gold, therefore, so far as we are informed from the Ṛg-veda alone, were clearly in those days of remotest past, quite simple as consisting of gathering sandy deposits from the river beds, washing them clean with water and the fine powder thus obtained was brought to the melter's pot to be molten into lumps. By this process very pure gold was obtained. That this metallurgical process, though very simple, yet compares most favourably with that existing even at the present date could be easily seen.[1]

Thus we see "gold, renowned in history, gold which glitters in the sands of rivers and is usually deposited in the veins of mountains, pure and unmixed gold, the beautiful gleam of which rouses the desires of the savage as much as the ease with which it can be worked attracts the artistic sense of more civilised man; gold highly prized and highly abused, which is decried by moralising poets now as *melius irreperum*, now as *ferro-nocentius*, but which is equally desired by all, won for itself its high position in the esteem of man in an age, that lies beyond the beginning of all history."[2]

"*Rajata*" the second metal, known as silver we met with once only in the Ṛg-veda[3] in the form of an adjective to *aśva* (horse) which may be construed to mean "white." Thus we cannot see

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1 "The extraction of the particles of gold from alluvial sands is effected by taking advantage of the high specific gravity of the metal (19·3) which causes it to remain behind, whilst the sand, which is very much lighter (sp. gr. 2·6) is carried away by water. This washing is commonly performed by hand, in wooden or metal bowls, in which the sand is shaken up with water, and the light portions dexterously poured off, so as to leave the grains of gold at the bottom of the vessel."—Bloxam, *Inorganic Chemistry*, p. 404.

"The simplest method of gold mining, namely, *alluvial-washing* or *placer-digging*, as it is termed in California, come down from the simple pan-washing to hydraulic mining in a stupendous scale, necessarily requires a considerable quantity of running water. This or a similar process was in use amongst the ancients"—Roscoe. *Chemistry*, vol. II, p. 390.

2 Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities* (Jevon's translation, 1890), p. 169.

3 Ṛv., viii, 25, 22.

anything about the metallurgy of this metal at so remote a period of our civilisation. From this it is evident that silver was very rarely used in that age of the dim past, and not much favoured like gold by the people of those ages long gone by. "The preference, thus demonstrated," observed a learned scholar,[1] "for silver to gold at a very early period in the history of human culture undoubtedly finds its explanation in the later and rarer appearance of that metal amongst the oriental nations and amongst mankind generally, a phenomenon which is clearly indicated by facts of archæology (cf. Lubbock, Prehistoric Times, pp. 3, 20, 22, 25) and is sufficiently explained by the circumstance that silver occurs only in mountains and not in the sands of rivers and on the whole is not of such widespread occurrence and is harder to get than gold."

Next, as regards "*ayas*," the third Ṛg-vedic metal round which have been woven the most subtle threads of controversy and doubt as to its proper identification, there are as many as forty references in the Ṛg-veda.[2]

The Vedic bards are profuse in their use of vocabulary "*ayas*" and indeed it is no less copious than that used of "*hiraṇya*" or gold. But it is a remarkable fact that they are very particular in calling Indra's horse bright and beautiful as "*hiraṇya*," but as to its legs they describe them as wrought of "*ayas*,"[3] a hard metal as they apparently desired to speak of the horses as possessing very strong legs for fast and swift running. Almost all the comparisons that are found to be made with "*ayas*" seem to be quite apt signifying the idea of either sharpness or strength or both combined. The arrow, a weapon of considerable importance, owing to the part it plays as a sharp and strong weapon of war, they would describe as "*ayomukham*"[4] or "*ayoagrayā*,"[5] i.e., tipped with "*ayas*" to render it sharp as well as strong. They would often call Indra as being "*aya apāṣṭi*,"[6] i. e., armed with claws of "*ayas*" as they would be extremely sharp like those of the hawk for slaying *dasyus* or robbers. The "Jātavedas" they would call "ayodaṃṣtra,"[7] i.e., armed with the teeth of *ayas* (for attacking demons). The "Maruts"

1 Schrader, Prehistoric Antiquities (Jevon's translation), p. 180.
2 Ṛg-vedic Concordance and Max Müller's Index to Ṛg-veda.
3 i, 163, 9. 4 vi, 75, 15.
5 x, 99. 6.
6 x, 99, 8. 7 x, 87, 2.

they will address as "ayodaṃṣṭras",[1] i.e., having tusks of "*ayas*" as sharp and effective as those of the wild boars. The progeny of Indra have been termed "*ayaḥśiprā*,"[2] i.e., having stout and strong jaws like those made of "*ayas*." The "Soma" they will often speak of as entering into its *ayas* fashioned home,[3] i.e., the receptacle which has been framed by hammering with a tool made of "*ayas*," evidently indicating the strength and hardness of the metal as well as the hammer itself. The god "Savitar" has been called "*ayohanu*,"[4] i.e., having cheeks as strong as those of "*ayas*." They speak of "*agni*" as whetting his splendour like the edge of "*ayas*,"[5] clearly indicating that "*ayas*" would admit of being sharpened. Again they are found to address—"Be gracious, Indra! sharpen my thought as it were a blade of "*ayas*."[6] They would also mention cauldrons or huge pots of *ayas*,"[7] for pouring or heating or holding milk of cows, evidently indicating that "*ayas* being tough could be beaten into large vessels. Very frequently they would call Indra "*āyasa*,"[8] i.e., having the weapon wrought of "*ayas*" and therefore fierce even against the strong. Indra's *vajra* has often been mentioned as wrought of "*ayas*",[9] stuck fast in his hands[10] and having a thousand very sharp edges—one that kills enemies and shoots out a thousand flames in the sky.[11] At times Indra would be said to be as stout and strong as "*ayas*" itself.[12]

From all these descriptions one could easily understand the nature and characteristics of the third Ṛg-vedic metal "*ayas*." It was a very hard metal, tough, tenacious, malleable and ductile, one that could be sharpened at the same time into murderous weapons, admit of being easily forged or worked into tools and beaten into desired shapes and sizes.

Again in the Ṛg-veda IV, 2, 17 we have the definite mention of smelting of "*ayas*." We have the Vedic bards singing in this hymn—"purify us by smelting like ore",[13] meaning the purification of humanity as ore is purified by smelting in the hands of "*karmāras*"[14] or smiths.

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1 i, 88, 5.
2 iv, 37, 4.
3 ix, 1, 2; 80; 2.
4 vi, 71, 4.
5 vi, 3, 5.
6 vi, 47, 10.
7 v, 30, 15.
8 i, 56, 3.
9 i, 80, 12.
10 viii, 96, 3.
11 x, 96, 3; 4;
12 x, 96, 8.
13 iv, 2, 17.
14 ix, 112, 2; x, 72, 2.

We have here a definite mention of "Karmāra" or "Dhmātṛ"[1] in connection with "ayas"—a particular guild of artisans associated with the work of "ayas." Again we have a clear and most definite mention of "*welding*"[2] in connection with the acts of the smiths often identified with the forging of "ayas". This forging is very clearly described in Ṛv IX, 112, 2; thus—"with dry faggots of trees, and fans of bird's wings and bright whetting stones, the *karmāras* (engaged in the making of arrows) would desire for rich men (to buy them). Evidently then we have in reference to "ayas" the process of smelting or purifying the ore, forging and then welding by particular guilds "Dhmātṛs" or "Karmāras," the master smiths. Added to these if we bring in the facts already enumerated above that "ayas" requires to be *hard, tough, tenacious* admitting the process of *sharpening*, then a scientific mind could not but construe it as *iron* (of steely character) and nothing else.[3] For "ayas" if identified with gold, or silver or even copper would not answer to having simultaneously the properties ascribed to it, of being *hard, tough, tenacious, malleable, ductile*—a metal *that is purified by smelting ores*, one that could be *welded* and at the same time admit of being sharpened into tools and weapons and beaten into any desired shape, etc. While in the absence of "tin" in the whole of the "Ṛg-veda"[4] we could be hardly justified

1 Ṛv., v, 9, 5. 2 Ṛv., x, 81, 3.

3 "Bar-iron is a hard, grey, lustrous metal. Its texture is fibrous. When heated it first becomes pasty, and in this condition may be welded. At a greater temperature it may be fused. At red-heat it is both ductile and malleable ; compared with other metals its tenacity is enormous"—Tidy, *Handbook of Modern Chemistry*, p. 351.

"When carbon is absent or only present in a very small quantity we have *wrought iron*, which is comparatively soft, malleable, ductile, weldable, easily forgeable, and very tenacious, but not fusible except at temperatures rarely attainable in furnaces, and not susceptible of tempering like steel. When present in certain proportions, the limits of which cannot be exactly prescribed, we have the various kinds of *steel* which are *highly elastic, malleable, ductile, forgeable, weldable*, and *capable of receiving very different degrees of hardness by tempering*, even so as to cut wrought iron with facility and *fusible* in furnaces." Percy's *Metallurgy*, p. 102.

4 *Trapu* denotes *'tin'* in the Atharva-veda (xi. 3, 8) and later.

in introducing at all any idea of bronze. But even if for argument's sake we ever attempt to bring in such a hypothesis, it would utterly fail as untenable, as the only bronze known to India *viz. bell-metal*, or any kind of bronze if it was at all then known, could not be identified with the qualities possessed by "ayas" as mentioned in the Ṛg-veda. Thus taking all points into consideration, "ayas" cannot but mean "iron," which is a metal, ordinarily obtained by *smelting ores* and is *tough*, *tenacious*, *malleable* and *ductile*, at the same time very *hard*, could admit of being easily *sharpened*, the *only* metal that could be *welded* and allow of being *forged* in the way as described in the Ṛg-veda.[1] And this identfication of "ayas" is clearly affirmed by the Vedic bard's associating "ayas" with "harita"[2] i.e., with the colour of the morning Sun (not rising Sun) which is faintly bluish shining and dazzling in brilliance like the blade of a damask steel.

Further, the very mention in the Ṛg-veda of a particular guild "Karmāra" or blacksmith, still known to prevail on Indian soil plying on its most ancient profession of forging iron and nothing else under the strict traditionary discipline of the caste-system affords a proof of the existence of iron in those ages. While the clear and definite description of a very sharp shaving instrument "kṣura"[3] (razor) and the fact of killing horses with weapons by a single stroke,[4] a custom still prevalent in animal sacrifices throughout India are evidences which throw considerable light on our ideas of 'ayas" and support our attempt to identify it with iron and iron alone.

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1 It may be pointed out, however, that bronze, whatever may be its compositon, could never be *welded*, and no metal, as is very well known to all scientific men, save and except *iron* could admit of being *welded* at all. Electric welding was not known in the Ṛg-vedic age. Again the process of smelting for purification from ores could only be applicable to *iron* alone, inasmuch as, it could not be identified with copper smelting which was never so simple—a fact best known to chemists and metallurgists. Further the idea of purification of bronze of any kind by smelting would be scientifically most irrelevant.

2 x, 96, 3; 4.

3 i, 166, 10; viii, 4, 16; x 28, 9.

4 i, 162, 20.

Now "ayas" being identified with *iron* we can now somewhat describe its metallurgy in that remote period of human civilisation. The metal was found in the ores, which were smelted for purification by a particular guild called "*dhmāṭṛ*" identified also with "*Karmāra*" or blacksmiths. The smelting was done by means of a furnace with dried faggots of trees as fuel and bellows of birds' wings. The iron balls thus smelted were then hammered down and welded into lumps. In forging tools of iron the process would consist in heating the iron in a smith's forge worked with bellows, and hammering, welding the parts together and finally sharpening on clean whetting stones. The vessels made were beaten into shape probably by hand-hammering like that still used in India. Very probably smelting and forging used to be carried on in the same forge or furnace. These processes compare very favourably with those now done by the Indians in general even up to the present times.

Thus from the above it is seen that the knowledge of the metallurgy of iron in those ancient days of civilised life was a pretty advanced one and we have it from the Ṛg-veda that from the household utensils of jars, pots, kettles, vessels of various types, tongs, scissors, sharp razors, needles, pipes, tubes, awls, hammers, and the agricultural implements such as plough-share, spade, shovel, furrow, sickle to warriors' helmets, coats of mail, spears, axes, daggers, swords, lances, and arrows were all known to them and even the substitution of a broken-limb by one made of iron,[1] the sure indication of skill in the making of surgical implements was also not beyond their scope.

(*To be continued*)

MANINDRA NATH BANERJEE

1 Ṛv., i, 116, 15.

Siege of Bednore, 1783

Tipu Sultan's own story—translated from his Memoirs (India Office MS.)—and accounts of two English eye-witnesses

II

The English force marched out, "the next day", to a place fixed for the burial of such of their troops as had fallen. The Sultan's *Sardārs* "stood in their way", and "searched" them closely, "one by one" (*fard-fard*). Those "cursed people" were found to have carried secretly coins (*Haidrī* coins) and other jewels, which had been concealed, "sewed up" in all their garments.[1] They had "made holes"[2] "in the cheeks of goats"[3] and "filled" them "with jewels" and other (valuable) things. They had concealed gold coins in their loaves (*nān*). Jewels were also found to have been concealed inside the pipes and in the bottoms of their *huqqas* (hubble bubbles). And they had also "concealed jewels and gold pieces" in their "private places."[4] Some "sweepers" (*khāk-rūbān*) "were engaged in this business" and "every thing was brought out."[5]

Closing part of Sultan's narrative.

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1 "*Dar tamāmi dukht* (*dokht*)-*i-pārcha-i-khud pinhānī wa nihānī Haidrī wa jawāhir dukhta* (*dokhta*) *budand.*"

2 "*Sūrākh namūda*", having made holes.

3 "*Dar kala-i-gūsfandān* (*gosfandān*)".

4 "*Dar mawāzi'makhṣūṣa*".

5 There may be a great deal of exaggeration in this account of the Sultan, but the whole thing, however, cannot altogether be rejected as a fictitious story. The fact that the Sultan's men made a vigorous search of the members of the English force, that they made a very close search of their bodies, is sufficiently proved by the statements of Capt. Oakes and Lt. Sheen (*passim*). One may doubt, of course, whether as a result of this search, coins, jewels, etc., were actually discovered in abundance from all the alleged places of concealment enumerated by the Sultan. As regards this point also, one would not be perhaps justified in wholly disbelieving his statements. The Sultan,

At the time of the search, the Sultan continues, "some male and female children belonging to the *Sarkār*", who had been carried away by the English, "dressed after their own fashion", "cried out." "About five hundred [such] persons were found" with them. "After due search", the Sultan's people [those found with the English] were all separated from the "Nazarenes"—the believers (Musalmans) were thus all separated from the "unbelievers" (or "infidels")[1] and the "polytheists."[1]

The Sultan next gives the justification of the step taken against the English. As they "did not", he says, "keep" their written promise, all of them were made prisoners and handed ever [in separate batches] to the charge of different high officers (of his government). At the time of the search, the Sultan writes, "ten or twelve Muhammadan ladies" were also found, who had been [previously] captured by the "Nazarenes" from Surat and Bengal, and [so long] "kept with them". They were now "set free" by his men. Here ends the Sultan's narrative of the Bednore incident. We shall now give below the English version.

The English Version

The capitulation terms, as stated by Capt. Oakes.

Capt. Oakes writes that after a siege of 17 days, "a cessation of arms took place" on the 24th of April, 1783. On the 26th, General Matthews called a council of war, which after deliberating on the situation of affairs came to the resolution of capitulating on the following terms :

(1) "That the garrison should march out of the fort with the honours of war, and pile their arms on the glacis."

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who is never tired of using abusive terms about his vanquished enemy, may, of course, be suspected of giving a grossly exaggerated account, in order to discredit his enemy. But it should, at the same time, be pointed out that there is hardly anything in it that can be rejected as altogether absurd. It is now really very difficult for us to find out the whole truth about the incident.

1 "*Kuffārān*"—from *Kāfir*, unbeliever, infidel. (Ar. plu., *Kuffār*. *Kuffārān*—double plural with Pers. suffix.)

2 "*Mushrikān*"—plu. of *Mushrik*, one who believes in many gods, a polytheist [Steingass].

(2) "That all public stores should remain in the fort."

(3) "That all prisoners, taken since the siege began, should be delivered up."

(4) "That after being joined by the garrisons of Cowladroog and Anantapore, the whole should have full liberty to march unmolested with all their private property to Sadashagur, from thence to embark for Bombay."

(5) "That Tipoo Sultan Nawab Bahadur shall furnish a guard to march with the English troops, for their protection through the country, which guard should be under the orders of Brigadier General Matthews."

(6) "That Tipoo Sultan Nawab Bahadur should likewise furnish the English troops with a plentiful buzzaur [*bāzār*] and proper conveyances for sick and wounded during their march to Sadashagur."

(7) "That a guard of 100 Sepoys from the garrison of Bednore with their arms and accoutrements, and 36 rounds of ammunition, should attend Brigadier General Matthews, as a bodyguard, during the march to Sadashagur."

(8) "And that Tipoo Sultan Nawab Bahadur, for the performance of the articles on his part, should deliver two hostages prior to the garrison's marching out of the fort."[1]

Lt. Sheen's narrative.

Lt. Sheen has narrated how the English force made a last desperate attempt to continue the struggle after General Matthews had already sent the terms of capitulation to the Sultan. This incident has neither been mentioned in the Sultan's Memoirs nor in the narrative of Capt. Oakes. Lt. Sheen's narrative may be stated as follows: After the continuation of the siege for 20 days, General Matthews was "at length obliged to send out a flag of truce and afterwards terms of capitulation." The Sultan "acceded to these terms", "which were to leave in the fort all the property" they (the English) "had taken", and "to agree not to fight against him [the Sultan] for a stipulated time".[2] The Sultan on his part "promised to let" the English force "return unmolested" to their "own garrison"; but they "were first to march out and pile" their arms "in the front" of the Sultan's army. "These conditions were thought so ignominious", that they prepared themselves "for fresh

1 *Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, pp. 1-2.

2 The latter point has not been mentioned by Capt. Oakes, nor has it been found in the Sultan's version.

hostilities." And, "the next morning at daybreak", they "accordingly made a sally in two divisions", and "stormed" the Sultan's "grand battery", and there "killed a few of the French and about one hundred irregulars." This was "accomplished almost in an instant", but the main body of the Sultan's troops soon surrounded them, so that they were forced "to retreat with precipitation into the fort", in the course of which Lt. Sheen received "a slight wound."[1] A "council of war" was then held within the fort, in which "all the officers present" agreed to accept the "proffered terms". Lt. Sheen says that at that time their sick and wounded numbered 530, who were "lying exposed to the Sun", and, moreover, "a putrid fever" was then "raging in the fort."[2]

How the English drained the Bednore treasury—Lt. Sheen's statement.

After "the capitulation having been signed, the hostages received, and doolies sent for the sick and wounded", the English garrison marched out of the fort on the 28th April, 1783. Lt. Sheen writes that on that day, before they left the fort, General Matthews "ordered all the officers to draw of the Paymaster-General as much money as they wanted." At this, "both officers and men drew as much as they judged they should have occasion for, some officers taking two thousand", and "others one thousand pagodas". "This [money]", Lt. Sheen continues, "was all taken from the Sircar [*Sarkār*] property, which by treaty was to belong to the captors. But the General, being apprehensive of so much money being discovered in the possession of one man, ordered it to be distributed among the troops." We further find it explicitly stated by Lt. Sheen in one place that "not a single rupee" was found by the Sultan in the fort, after the English force had left it.[3]

Events after the English force had left the fort.

"In the afternoon" of the 28th April, the English garrison marched out of the fort, and piled all their arms before the Sultan's force. Capt. Oakes has given a detailed account of the incidents which followed. This is substantially corroborated by Lt. Sheen's letter. We shall give below the full narrative of Capt. Oakes, with reference to Lt. Sheen's account where necessary.

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1 In the Sultan's account, we have noticed the incident of an English attack on the Sultan's battery on the 5th day and how it ended.

2 Lt. Sheen's letter, in *Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, pp. 83-84.

3 Lt. Sheen's letter, in *Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, pp. 84-85, 87.

After they had piled their arms, Capt. Oakes writes, they were "immediately escorted by a strong body of the enemy about half a mile beyond the Onore gate". At that place, General Matthews "was informed that he must encamp that night", "to which he reluctantly consented".[1] "When the whole came up", "the enemy surrounded" them, and "posted sentries on every side, beyond whom no person was permitted to pass." General Matthews next learned from his body-guard that "the enemy had forcibly taken away their arms and ammunition, immediately on their leaving the fort, and had also deprived many of the officers of their side arms." He further learned that "Lt. McKenzie of the 100th regiment", who had a few days before been shot through the body, "was forced out of his dooly [*duli or doli*] by the enemy with their bayonets, as he was coming out of the fort, and several others were treated in the like cruel manner." He also heard that "Capt. Facey of the Bombay establishment, with 50 sick and wounded, were detained in the fort till the next morning, with Mr. Shields, Asst. Surgeon". "* * * Early in the morning [of the 29th April], while the troops were preparing to march, the General received a message from the Nawab desiring him to see him, together with Capts. Eames and Lendrum of the Bombay establishment, and Mr. Charles Stuart, the pay-master"., General Matthews accordingly went to see the Sultan, accompanied by the officers mentioned above and several of his servants. The hostages also, "of their own accord", accompanied him.

Capt. Oakes' narrative.

"Soon after their departure", Capt. Oakes continues, "a good buzzaur [*bāzār*], furnished with a great variety of provisions and other articles, arrived in camp".[2] "At the same time", "people came to carry away the doolies, out of which they threw the sick and wounded in a most inhuman manner, seizing those who had lately suffered amputation by the stumps, and left them in that painful wretched condition upon the bare ground, entirely exposed to the heat of the

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1 Lt. Sheen also says that after being conducted "about a mile from the fort", they were asked "to halt till the morning", and "then to march" to one of their settlements.

2 Lt. Sheen also says that after the departure of General Matthews, who was called for by the Sultan, the latter "sent sutlers, with all manner of liquors and provisions, of which the officers and soldiers made *liberal purchases* [italics our own], having tasted none of these delicacies within the fort." [*Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, Appendix, p. 87.]

Sun". On "being asked the cause of such barbarous treatment", "the brutes replied" that they had "received orders to make the doolies two feet longer."

The English force "waited with the greatest impatience" for the return of Gen. Matthews "till 5 o'clock in the morning, when intelligence was received that the general and the gentlemen who accompanied him were immediately on their arrival at the Darbar, without being admitted into the Nawab's presence, made close prisoners."[1]

"At 10 o'clock at night", they "were alarmed by the arrival of an additional force of the enemy, when the guards turned out and posted double sentries all round". "Their design was easily seen through", "though they endeavoured to lull" the suspicion of the English force with some "pretext".

"The next morning" (30th April), they perceived that "the enemy had spies in every part" of their camp, and "emissaries employed to entice the troops" to enter the service of the Sultan. At "about 10 o'clock", a messenger arrived from the Sultan, who informed the people belonging to the English force that they "were to remain there some days", and they were asked to tell him "what number of tents" they wanted. Capt. Oakes says that they "refused" the tents, and wrote a letter to the Nawab, "signed by all the officers",[2] "requiring him immediately to fulfil the terms of capitulation". The letter was "sent to him by Major Fewtrill of the Bombay establishment, but no answer was received."

The search was made in the morning, on the 1st of May. The description of Capt. Oakes may be given as follows: "At 10 o'clock, the buzzaur [*bāzār*] was taken away, the guards ordered under arms, and all the European officers immediately sent for to the spot of ground from whence the buzzaur [*bāzār*] had been taken, where we were, one by one, plundered by the enemy, *in the most scandalous manner*, of our

The Search and confinement—Capt. Oakes' description.

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1 We notice some difference between the accounts of Capt. Oakes and Lt. Sheen. According to Lt. Sheen's statement, General Matthews alone was, on the 29th morning, called by the Sultan, and "they met half-way between the two camps". And on the next day (30th April), the Pay-master and other officers were sent for by the Sultan, and they were detained on their arrival.

2 According to Lt. Sheen's account, the "Field and Staff officers, with all the captains, the Pay-master and Commissary" were on this

horses, ptelanqueens [palanquins], money, plate, watches, valuables, etc., and in short of every article except our bedding and cloaths [clothes], *searching us most minutely in every part, without the least regard to decency.* [Italics our own.] The European soldiers, black officers, and Sepoys, with all their wives and children, as also all the camp followers, were searched and plundered in the same indecent, infamous manner, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon were marched under a strong guard to Bednore, the sick and wounded being left to perish on the ground. Shortly after, the European officers with their servants were likewise conducted to Bednore, where we were closely confined in the barracks which had been formerly occupied by a battalion of our own Sepoys; and from the time the villains began to search and plunder us, we had nothing of any kind to eat till 12 o'clock the next day, at which hour they brought and delivered to each person one pice and a seer of the coarsest rice, which they informed us was to be the daily allowance of officers and servants indiscriminately."[1]

Lt. Sheen's account.

Lt. Sheen gives the following account: On the "1st of May, our eyes were fully opened as to the intention of the Nabob, when we were taken before the Buckshy [*Bakhshī*] or Pay-master and ordered to be searched before him; we were then stripped of our money, which, among the officers alone, amounted to 40 thousand pagodas, besides our watches, horses, camels, etc. They afterwards confined us in a large yard, and fed us upon a penny worth of rice per diem. Having remained in this confinement for a few days, they tore our cloaths [clothes] off in the most indecent manner, coupled us in irons two and two together, and marched us in that manner, exposed to the damps at night and the heat of the Sun by day, afflicted no less by hunger than thirst, till they conducted us after 16 days' march to a fort called Chittaldroug [Chittledroog]."[2]

The Sultan in his Memoirs has tried to justify his action, as we

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day (30th April) "sent for and detained" by the Sultan. In order to pacify, however, the English troops, he sent two Brahmins to them, "with assurance" that they would "all return the next day."

1 *Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, pp. 7-9.

2 Lt. Sheen's letter, in *Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, Appendix, p. 88.

The prisoners were brought to the fort of Chittledroog on the 21st of May. [*Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, p. 19.]

Sultan's action how far justifiable.

have found, on the ground that the English had violated a very important item of the solemn peace terms, by trying to take away secretly all the money, jewels, etc., from the Bednore fort. This action on the part of the English, even so far as the charge is corroborated by the statement of Lt. Sheen, mentioned before, was certainly a gross violation of a very important term of capitulation, which vitally affected the Sultan's interest. It cannot, as such, be denied that the Sultan could really claim sufficient justification for the search, and even some justification for the wholesale imprisonment of the English force. It should, however, be pointed out that the very harsh and often inhuman treatment of the English prisoners of war, made on this occasion as well as in Hyder's reign, in different forts of the Sultan,[1] which can scarcely be justified by the laws of war of any civilized age, remains a stigma on Tipu Sultan's administration.

One may, of course, say that the Sultan had sufficient reason for having a strong grudge against the English. They had taken possession of Bednore and some other places by a secret transaction with the traitor *Ayāz Khān*. The English General and that traitor had tried to share between themselves a vast amount of the Sultan's wealth at Bednore, as is clear from the statement of Lt. Sheen and the evidence of *Tārīkh-i-Tīpū* (see previous issue). They had, further, tried to deceive the Sultan by draining the Bednore treasury, in distinct violation of the terms of capitulation. This certainly added fresh fuel to the fire of the Sultan's wrath against them. It may, in this connection, be mentioned that in the Preface to the *Narrative of Capt. Henry Oakes,* with Lt. Sheen's letter in the appendix, there is a note (perhaps of the publisher), which goes so far as to justify, on this ground, to a considerable extent, the Sultan's cruel treatment of the English prisoners. It runs as follows: "His (Sultan's) conduct was evidently founded upon principles of retaliation; and candour must

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1 As vividly described by Capt. Oakes and Lt. Sheen, and by another English officer belonging to Col. Baillie's Detachment—all eye-witnesses and actual sufferers. [*Narrative of the imprisonment and sufferings of the English officers and soldiers,* by an officer of Col. Baillie's Detachment—in *Memoirs of the War in Asia,* 1780-84 (2nd. ed., 1789), pp. 155 ff.; *Narrative of Capt. Henry Oakes,* pp. 5-10, 19-21, 41, 61-62, *etc.*]

acknowledge that the unjustifiable behaviour of the Company's army goes a considerable way in justification of that of the enemy."

Another important question arises in connection with the Sultan's conduct—namely, whether he had a preconceived plan of not allowing the English force to go away safely out of his clutches. If it were so, it can of course be said that perhaps the same fate would have befallen the English troops, even if they did not violate the capitulation terms. Lt. Sheen seems to have brought, in a mild form, a charge of this nature against the Sultan. He has not tried, it appears, to justify the English conduct, but he says that the Sultan "determined to make" it "a plea for an infraction of the treaty."[1] This has been asserted definitely by Wilks. "There is abundant reason", he says, "to believe that Tipu had predetermined to seek some pretext for infringing its conditions [those of capitulation]; but, an empty treasury, together with the money found on searching the prisoners, exempted him from the necessity of recurring to fictitious pleas."[2] Beveridge has also echoed the same view. He has not, in the least, justified the English conduct, but he says that Tipu, "who only wanted a pretext for violating the capitulation, found too good a one in the example thus set him" by the English army.[3]

Without sufficient evidence, it is difficult to assert that the Sultan had really such a preconceived plan, and that he wanted only a pretext for doing so. Of course, that is quite possible, for certainly he bore a strong grudge against the Ehglish.

But if the Sultan had really such a design, the English army surely did not act wisely in thus offering a fresh provocation and furnishing him a sufficiently strong *plea* for taking such action.

Conduct of the English Army.

If one analyses the conduct of the English army, it would appear that a greed for wealth clouded the brain of General Matthews and other English officers. The former had already given a strong proof of his greed after he had taken possession of Bednore. On the present occasion, it is apparent, he successfully made all the other English officers approve of the action by freely distributing among them the wealth of the Bednore treasury. They are also, as such, not immune from the blame, which, of course, principally

1 Lt. Sheen's letter (*Narrative of Capt. Oakes*, p. 87).

2 Wilks, *Mysore*, vol. II, p. 61.

3 Beveridge, vol. II, p. 518.

falls upon General Matthews. Their greed, it appears, overshadowed their judgment, so that they could not perhaps think calmly of the possible consequences of the action, for which the whole army would suffer. Beveridge has, therefore, rightly criticised the English action in "fraudulently" emptying the Sultan's treasury. "Unfortunately", he says, "a rapacity, of which too many examples had previously been given, prevailed over a sense of honour and even of self-preservation."[1]

SURATH CHARAN SENGUPTA

Indian Literature Abroad

VII

The Tang Dynasty collapsed in 907 A. D. owing, as we have already indicated, to the incapacity of the later emperors and was succeeded by a period of troubles in which five short dynasties, founded by military adventurers, three of whom were of Turkish race, rose and fell in 53 years. One of the emperors of this epoch, Shih-tsung of the Later Chou Dynasty, stopped building monasteries and turned bronze images into currency. But in the south, Buddhism flourished in the province of Fukien under the princes of Ming and the dynasty which called itself South Tang. In 960 the Sung dynasty united the Chinese people, but had to struggle against the Khitan Tartars. In the 12th century appeared the Kins or Golden Tartars, who demolished the power of the Khitans in alliance with the Chinese but turned against their allies and conquered the whole of China on the north of the Yang-tse and harassed the Sungs. But the Mongols soon appeared in the field. In 1232 the Sung emperor entered into alliance with the Mongols against the Kings, and although the Kings were driven, Kublai Khan of the Mongols became emperor of entire China in 1280.

The Sung Dynasty 960 A.D.

"The dynasties of Tang and Sung mark two great epochs in the history of Chinese art, literature and thought, but whereas the virtues

1 Beveridge, vol. II, p. 518.

and vices of the Tang may be summed up as genius and extravagance, those of the Sung are culture and tameness."[1] Buddhism inspired many artists to paint their master-pieces. We remember that Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth patriarch, founded the Chan or Contemplative sect better known as Zen Sect in Japan. This school of thought was specially responsible for great movements in art and literature in China as well as Japan. Block-printing was popularised, and culture and learning greatly spread. Taitsu, the founder of the Sung Dynasty, although not a Buddhist, was a man of culture.

It was in his reign (972 A.D.) that the first printed edition of the Tripiṭaka was published. The early and thorough application of printing to this gigantic Canon is a proof of the popular esteem for Buddhism. The emperor himself wrote a preface to this edition and his name will ever be remembered with gratitude for having printed and popularised the Chinese translations of Sanskrit books. In 971 A.D., he caused two copies of the same canon to be made, one written in gold and the other in silver paint. This may be called the eighth collection made by the order of the Emperor of China, though no Catalogue or Index seems to have been compiled on the occasion. The blocks of wood on which the characters were cut for this edition are said to have been 130000 in number. After this between 960 and 1368 there are said to have been as many as twenty different editions under the Sung and Yuen dynasties.

First printed Chinese Tripiṭaka.

The first edition of the Tripiṭaka did not close the work of translation, for 275 works translated during the Northern Sung Dynasty are still extant. Religious intercourse with India continued, although henceforward the number of Chinese Śramaṇas proceeding to India either on pilgrimage or for study was more than that of the influx of Indian monks into China. On the whole there was a decrease in the volume of religious literature, after 900 A.D. This decrease is natural; by this time most of the important and unimportant Sanskrit books of different sects had been rendered into Chinese. The literature of the Tang and the Chao dynasties was not at all favourable for the growth and spread of Buddhist culture. A few Indian monks came from India for a century and half before the Sungs came in power. The history of the Sung Dynasty, in its

1 Eliot, *op. cit.*, III, p. 269.

account of India, refers to the arrival (in A.D. 951) of Samanta, a monk, with a large number of companions belonging to sixteen families of W. India. In 965 a Chinese priest, named Tan-Yuen, returned from a journey to the western countries with relics and Sanskrit Buddhist books written on "Palm-leaf" to the extent of 40 volumes. He was absent for twelve years and resided in India alone for half the period. He gave an account of his travels to the emperor and showed him the Sanskrit books he had brought.

Chinese pilgrims and Indian pandits in the Sung period.

M. Chavannes[1] says that between 964 and 976, 300 Chinese Śramaṇas travelled to India. Edkins says that in 966 A.D., 157 Chinese priests set out together, with the emperor's permission, to visit India and obtain Buddhist books. They passed through Karashar, Kutcha, Khotan, Peshawar (Pu-lu-sha) and Kashmir but nothing is said of their further travels.[2] One of the travellers of this period Kiye wrote a short account which has been translated into English by Gustav Schlegel under the title "Itinerary to the Western Countries of Wang-nieh in A.D. 964"[3]. Indians continued to come to China and in 972 A.D., three Śramaṇas arrived at the royal court of the Sungs from Western India. Another came from a land called Sou-ko-to, who offered the emperor the relics and flowers of Manjuśrī. Fourteen more Śramaṇas, about whose activities we have no particular information, came to China from Western India.

In 973 appeared in China one of the greatest translators of Sanskrit named Dharmadeva[4] (Fa-Tien or Fa-hsien). He was a native of Magadha and came from the great Buddhist monastery of Nālandā. He worked from 973 to 982 under the name of Fa-tien, when he was honoured by the emperor and changed his name in 982 to Fa-hsien. In 982, a board of translators was formed with Dharmadeva, Tien-si-tsai and Dānapāla, each of whom was asked to translate one work into Chinese. There were also other Chinese monks well-versed in Sanskrit language. They were engaged to supervise translations, others were appointed to make the

Dharmadeva [Fa-T'ien].

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1 Appendix to Les inscriptions Chinoises de Bodh-Gaya par Ed. Chavannes. (*Revue de l' histoire des Religions*, 1896, Jul-Aout).

2 Edkins, *op.cit.*, p. 144.

3 *Memoires du Comité Sinico-Japonais*, XXI, 1893.

4 Nanjio, pp. 450-451.

Chinese style idiomatic and perfect. We shall hear of their literary activities later on.

Indian Śramaṇas in China.

In 977 A.D. Ki-siang a Śramaṇa from India came, and brought with him some Sanskrit texts written on palm-leaves. It is said that he presented to the emperor a pretentious translation which he called the 'Sūtra of Collection of Magic Prayers of Mahāyāna,' but Dharmadeva denounced that work as spurious having no Sanskrit original and the emperor had it burnt.

Prince Mañjuśrī 971 A.D.

Ki-t'song, a Śramaṇa of the temple of K'ai-pao in Western India, came to China with a number of his companions. He offered Sanskrit books, a relic of a stūpa of Buddha, the leaves of Bodhi-tree and some curios. Another Śramaṇa Po-na-mo of Central India also brought some curios to the emperor, but no books. Sometime back in 971 A.D., a prince named Mañjuśrī had come to China with the Chinese monks returning from India. He was the youngest son of a king of Northern India, and according to custom, he had to become a monk. Tai-tsung (960-975) the then reigning emperor asked him to live in the temple of Siang-Kuo. He observed the discipline religiously and became the favourite of the people of the capital. The monks became jealous of him and as he did not know Chinese, they falsely told the emperor that the Indian prince-monk was homesick. The emperor granted him his request; Mañjuśrī was greatly annoyed, but there was no help for it. He said that he would go towards the South Seas to return on a merchant boat. It is not known where he had gone (978 A.D.).

Tien-si-tsai and Dānapāla.

In 980, landed in China two most famous Indian monks, whose literary activities have won them an immortal name in Buddhist Chinese literature. They were Tien-si-tsai and Che-hu or Dānapāla.[1] Two years after, the emperor honoured the three great Indian translators—Dharmadeva with the title of Chwang-chio-ta-shih, Tien-si-tsai with Ming-chiao-ta-shih and Dānapala with Hsien-chiao-ta-shih. They were put at the head of the Translation Committee. The Chinese monks versed in Sanskrit were charged to pick up the translation by writing and by correcting the phrases, modelled at first on the Sanskrit original. The high functionaries were to polish the Chinese styles.

1 Nanjio, App. II, p. 161.

The same year a priest of Western China returned from India with a letter from a king of Western India, an impression of the skull of Buddha, some pages of palm-leaf texts, and leaves of Bodhi-druma, the most favourite thing of a Buddhist. It was translated by (Che-hu) Dānapāla and it contained congratulations on the favourable attitude shown by the emperor to Buddhism, together with some geographical details of India and adjacent countries. This king Mo-si-hang is identified with Mahāsena mentioned in the Mahāvaṃsa of Ceylon.

The next year 983 the Chinese monk Fa-yu[1] while returning from India, whither he had gone in search of sacred books, arrived at San-fo-tse, a country bordering on Cambodia to the south-west, met a Hindu monk named Vimalaśrī (Mi-mo-lo-che-li). He expressed his wish to go to China to translate sacred books there. The emperor, having heard that, sent for him and engaged him in the work. Fa-yu started again for India with the emperor's credentials.

Other Indian monks in China.

The annals of the Sung Period mention quite a number of Indian monks who went to China, and Chinese monks who came back after a tour in India. A Buddhist priest of the Brahmin caste with Aliyin, a Persian, is mentioned as having visited the capital. Some people came by sea ; they could not make themselves understood, but the images and books, they brought with them, showed that they were Buddhists. Several other arrivals are also recorded. They presented Sanskrit books and Buddhist relics to the emperor as token of their gratitude to him for his love for Buddhism. In 989 Pout'o-k'i-to, a Śramaṇa of Nālandā came to the Chinese court with relics and Sanskrit texts. In 995 Kāla-śānti (?) of Central India brought the same thing. Rāhula, Ni-wei-ni, Fo-hu (Buddha-rakṣa) all brought Sanskrit texts between 997 and 998. In 1004 A.D. arrived another great Sanskrit scholar and translator Fa-hu (Dharma-rakṣa). He brought the relics of Buddha and Sanskrit texts written on palm-leaves. Śīlabhadra, another monk, also brought some Sanskrit texts. Mou-le-che-ki of Kashmir, Ta-mo-pa of Western India, Chang-te, Kio-chie, Tsi-hien, and a host of these Indian travellers went to China with Sanskrit texts. Probably in India after the Hindu revival the Buddhists were no more safe, and sorely needed a shelter for themselves and their books.

1 Nanjio, App. II, p. 162.

The intimate relation between China and India is proved also by the three inscriptions in Chinese, found at Buddha-Gaya by Beglar and Cunningham of the Archæological Department in 1878. These were first deciphered and reproduced by S. Beal in the *JRAS.*, for 1881 and noticed in the *Indian Antiquary* of the same year. In 1895 G. Schlegel made some observations in the *Toung Pao* (vol. VI, pp. 522-524) and corrected a few mistakes of Beal. In 1896 M. Ed. Chavannes published the complete text with critical study and translation in the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions* (1896, Jul.-Aout.—Les inscriptions Chinoises de Bodh-Gaya).

11th century Chinese Inscriptions in Buddha-Gaya.

These inscriptions tell us that as late as the early eleventh century Chinese monks came to India. The first and the shorter inscription gives us the name of Chi-i, a priest of the great Han country, who had vowed to exhort or encourage thirty thousand men to prepare themselves by their conduct for birth in heaven, to distribute in charity 30,000 books relating to heavenly birth, and himself to relate as many books ; then in company with others he travelled through India and arrived at Magadha, where he saw the Vajrāsana and other sacred places. After this in company with other Chinese monks he travelled through India.

The second, third and the fourth inscriptions belong to 1022 A.D. The second one is very long ; it says that Ho-Yun, a priest came to Buddha-Gaya with a view to worship the sacred relics of the place. He had great ambitions about religious piety and left behind him a hymn of praise of Tri-kāya of Buddha and of the three thrones occupied by them. The third inscription tells us that in 1023 A.D. two men, called I-tsing and I-lin, were sent from the eastern capital of China with a *Kāṣāya* garment in a golden case which they hung above the Bodhi-tree. The fourth inscription is very short and relates the same thing as above, but the monk was Chao-p'in. The fifth inscription is dated 1033 A.D., which says that a man named Hoai-Wen commemorates the erection of a Stūpa close to the Vajrāsana. He came as an agent of the Chinese emperor and empress.

These five inscriptions may not have any great value in ordinary history, but are of momentous importance to the religious history of the East ; it shows the strength of the religious impulse that urged so many pilgrims from China to visit Buddha-Gaya and other sacred places of India, and the sincerity of their belief in the merits of their pilgrimage.

During the Sung dynasty of 167 years, ten translators worked for the Chinese literature. The most prominent among these was Dharmadeva (Fa-Tien or Fa-hsien as he called himself after 982 A.D.), a Śramaṇa of Magadha, who came from the great Nālandā University in 973 A.D. In 982 he received from the emperor Tai-Tsung an honorary title for his great learning. He died in 1001. 118 works are ascribed to him, these are all mentioned in the Ming Catalogue. Of these 118 books, 31 were either second or third or sometimes fourth translation of works done previously. These were mostly monograms or parts of bigger books. He translated 78 new books, mostly dhāraṇīs and sūtras of not much merit. Among the translations we find a very interesting composition by King Śīlāditya. It was a laudatory verse in Sanskrit (Nanjio 1071). M. Sylvain Lèvi restored this Sanskrit poem and published it. There were other Sanskrit poems, the originals of which are long lost, viz., *Trikāya-saṃskṛta-stotra* (1072), *Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva-srī-gāthā* (1074), *Ārya-vajrapāṇi-bodhisattva-nāmāṣṭa-śataka-saṃskṛta-stotra* (1075), *Ghaṇṭika-saṃskṛta stotra* etc. These transliterations show that Sanskrit was greatly revered by the Buddhists in China.

Dharmadeva.

Sanskrit stotras in Chinese transliteration.

A large number of Dhāraṇīs are found in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, both in translation and transcription. The transcription of Sanskrit sounds in Chinese ideograms is highly important to the students of Chinese phonetics. Some of the Dhāraṇīs are written in Nāgarī characters as well as in Chinese letters. The writing of these Gupta Nāgarī characters should receive the attention of epigraphists. I mention below a few of the *Dhāraṇīs* which are found both in transcription and translation from a collection called *T'o-lo-ni-tsa-chi* [T'o-lo-niṃ Dhāraṇī), compiled during the Liang Dynasty (502-557):

Dhāraṇī.

1 Śākya Mahānāma Dhāraṇī.
2 Ānanda-bhikṣu-bhāṣita Dhāraṇī.
3 Samantabhadra-bodhisattva-bhāṣita Mahādhāraṇī.
4 Mañjuśrī Dhāraṇī.
5 Samādhīśvara-rāja-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
6 Ṣaḍakṣara-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
7 Guṇalakṣaṇālaṃkāra-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
8 Sukrīti-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
9 Ratnacandra-prabha-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.
10 Dhrūva-bodhisattva Dhāraṇī.

11 Mahābrahma-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
12 Māheśvara-devarāja Dhāraṇī.
13 Nirmāṇarati-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
14 Tuṣita-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
15 Yama-devarāja Dhāraṇī.
16 Trayastriṃśa-devarāja Mahādhāraṇī.
17 Maheśvara-devarāja Dhāraṇī, etc.

Courant in his *Catalogue des Livres Chinois*, etc. mentions 172 works on Dhāraṇī[1] most of which contain transliteration, and translation.

The fourth emperor Jin-Tsung of the Sung Dynasty was a distinguished patron of literature ; during his reign there was a galaxy of scholars ; he appointed fifty youths to study Sanskrit, although he himself showed no inclination towards Buddhism.[2] In the system of education, Buddhist and Taoist subjects were introduced.[3]

Tien-si-tsai, an Indian monk.

Tien-si-tsai and Dānapāla (Sh-hu) were contemporaries of Dharmadeva (Fa-tien or Fa-hsien) already mentioned. Tien-si-tsai (whose original Indian name has not been restored) was a Śramaṇa either of Jalandhar or of Kashmir. He arrived in China in A.D. 980, and worked indefatiguably for twenty years till 1000 A.D. He received Imperial honours during his lifetime and even after his death he was honoured by the emperor. Eighteen works are attributed to him. Of his works *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha* or *Ghana-vyūha-śāstra* is important. His translation was in 4 fasciculi, whereas the earlier translations by Dharma-rakṣa in 270 A.D. and the later by Guṇabhadra two centuries after contained only 2 fasciculi. Burnouf says that there are two versions of this book, the prose version having 67 folios or 134 pages, and the peotry version having 185 folios or 390 pages.[4] It is evident that Tien-si-tsai translated from this longer version of *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*. His other works were *Alpākṣara Prājñāpāramitā* in four leaves. We have heard of *Pañcaviṃśati-sahasra-prajñā-pāramitā* and its abridgment, but not of the Alpākṣara. *Mañjuśrī Mūlatantra* in 20 fasciculi was translated by

1 Maurice Courant—Catalogue des Livres Chinois, Coriens, Japonis etc. (Bib. Nationale of Paris), 1910, II, pp. 564-590. Also the Chinese Tripiṭaka (Shanghai ed.), bk. 27.
2 Eliot, III, p. 270.
3 Biot, *L' Instruction Publique en China*, p. 350, quoted by Eliot.
4 *Introduction du Bouddhisme*, p. 196.

him. Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryā-sūtra* which is wrongly attributed to Nāgārjuna, (354) and *Dharmasaṅgraha-mahārtha-gāthā-sūtra* or better known as *Dharmapada* collected by Dharma trāta were rendered into Chinese. Tien-si-tsai's translation of *Dharmapada* is the last of the four Chinese versions of this famous book, which has been rendered into all the civilized languages of the ancient and modern world. A brief resumé of the Chinese translations of the *Dharmapada* will not be out of place here.

Chinese Dharmapada.

There are four principal copies of what may be called *Dharmapada* in Chinese, the first dating from Wu Dynasty, about the beginning of the third century A.D. This translation called Fa-cheu-ching, is the work of a Śramaṇa Wei-chi-lan and others. Its title means 'the sūtra of law verses'—Gāthāsaṅgraha. In the preface the Chinese translator states that the Śramaṇas in after ages copied from the canonical scriptures various gāthās, some of four lines and some of six, and attached to each set of verses a title, according to the subject therein explained. This work of extracting and collecting is ascribed to the uncle of Vasumitra and Ārya-Dharmatrāta, the author of the Samyuktā bhidharma-śāstra and other works.

In the preface to the Fa-chun-ching we are told that the original, which consisted of 500 verses, was brought from India by Vighna in 223 A.D., and that it was translated into Chinese with the help of another Indian. After the translation was finished, 13 sections were added, making up the whole to 752 sections, 1458 words and 39 chapters (S.B.E., X, Intro., p. viii). The Pāli *Dhammapada* does not agree with Chinese and we know from the Central Asian finds that there were Prākṛt as well as Sanskrit versions of the *Dharmapada* and it is probable that the Chinese source is Prākṛit and not Pāli. The translation of Vighna is somewhat difficult in its expression, though simple words were used in order to make the meaning of the text as accurate as possible. Afterwards in the reign of Hwui-ti (290-306) Fa-li and Fa-chu translated a shorter sūtra with a commentary.

A third Chinese version is called Chie-ten-ching. Its translator was Buddhasmṛta (about 410 A.D.). The text of this work is said to have been brought from India by Saṅghabhadanta of Kipin (Cabul) about 345 A.D. It is an extensive work in 33 chapters with a very large commentary. The fourth translation was done by Tien-si-tsai; it consisted of 33 chapters.

(To be continued)

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI

The Nyāyapraveśa of Dinnāga*

1 *The Nyāyapraveśa*

The *Nyāyapraveśa* is one of the most important works on Budddist logic. It has also been named *Nyāyapraveśaka*[1] or *Nyāyapraveśa* or *Nyāyapraveśaka-sūtra*.[2] This name, *Nyāyapraveśa*, is supported also by such titles of works in Skt. as *Nyāyapraveśa-vṛtti*, a commentary on it by Haribhadra (about 1120 A.D.); *Nyāyapraveśa-pañjikā*, another commentary on the same work by Pārśvadeva (1133 A. D.); and *Nyāyapraveśa-ṭippaṇa*, a gloss by Śrīcandra on Haribhadra's *Nyāyapraveśa-vṛtti*. In the Tib. index to the Tanjur it is named *Nyāyapraveśa-śāstra* (Bstan bcos rigs pa la ḥjug pa); while in T^1 it is

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* It is included in the Gaekward's Oriental Series forming vol. xxxix : Part I, Sanskrit Text with Haribhadrasūri's Vṛttī and Pārśvadeva's Pañjikā edited by Principal A. B. Dhruva of the Benares Hindu University ; Part II, Tibetan Text compared with Sanskrit and Chinese Versions edited by the present writer. The second part will shortly be issued. The references are to this edition. The following abbreviations have been used in the paper :

NB = *Nyāyabindu*, Bibliotheca Indica or Bibliotheca Buddhica edition, both Sanskrit and Tibetan versions.

NP = *Nyāyapraveśa*.

PS = *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (Tibetan version).

Skt = Sanskrit.

T^1 = The Tibetan translation direct from Skt.

T^2 = The Tibetan translation from Chinese which in its turn was made from Skt.

Tib = Tibetan.

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1 Haribhadra's *Vṛtti*, p. 9 (Skt. text) : "न्यायप्रवेशकव्याख्यां," "न्यायप्रवेशकाख्यं शास्त्रम्;" Pārśvadeva's *Pañjikā* : "न्यायप्रवेशकमिति प्रथिते सुशास्त्रे प्रारभ्यते तनुधियापि हि पञ्जिकेयम्।"—quoted in the *History of Indian Logic* by Vidyābhūṣaṇa, p. 220.

2 As found in our Skt. text edited by Principal Dhruva. He informs me that the title is given in the oldest Ms. which contains both the text and the *vṛtti* of Haribhadra. One of the later Mss. refers to all the quotations from the text as *sūtra*.

styled *Pramāṇanyāyapraveśadvāra* (Tshad ma rigs par ḥjug paḥi sgo), p. 1; or simply *Nyāyapraveśadvāra* (Rigs par ḥjug paḥi sgo), pp. 10, 28; and in T² *Pramāṇaśāstra-nyāyapraveśa* (Tsad maḥi b tan bcos rigs pa la ḥjug pa), p. 28. In Chinese it is *Yin miṅ yu cêṅ li lun*, p. 28, meaning literally in Skt. *Hetuvidyāpraveśa-samyagyuktiśāstra* which is in other words, *Nyāyapraveśa Tarkaśāstra*. T² observes in the clophon (pp. 28-29) that in a Chinese book it is seen as *Nyāyapraveśa*, while in Tibet it is now known as *Nyāyadvāra* (Rgyaḥi dpe la *rigs pa la ḥjug pa* shes snaṅ diṅ saṅ | bod rnams *rigs paḥi sgo* shes grags so ||). That this observation of T² is quite right, so far as the Tib. version is concerned, is evident from the references to it in the *Viśālāmalavatī*, now extant only in Tibetan, a commentary on Diṅnāga's PS, as we shall see presently in discussing the question of the authorship of NP. In that work, as well as in Diṅnāga's own *vṛtti* on his PS it is always alluded to as *Nyāyapraveśa*. It goes without saying that in fact *Nyāyapraveśa* and *Nyāyadvāra* are one and the same. It may also be noted that in the title, *Nyāyapraveśadvāra*, one of the last two words is unnecessary.

In Chinese we have a work on logic called *Yin miṅ cêṅ li man lun*, which literally in Skt. is *Hetuvidyāsamyagyuktidvāraśāstra* or *Nyāyatarkadvāraśāstra* (Nanjio, Nos. 1223, 1224). This is generally known by the name, *Nyāyadvāratarkaśāstra*. But, I think, the Chinese title should be translated by *Nyāyatarkadvāraśāstra*. For, why the word *dvāra* (*man*) should be taken with *nyāya* (*yin miṅ*) and not with *tarka* (*cêṅ li*) which just precedes it? That this word must be *Nyāyatarkadvāra* is supported by the last five characters of the last kārikā (No. 28) of the book itself. Those characters are *miao i cêṅ li man*, the Skt. equivalent of which is *sadarthatarkadvāra*. Clearly we have here *tarkadvāra*. Sugiura (*Hindu Logic*, p. 74) has translated the *kārikā* rendering those five characters into English by "Gate of the supreme Nyāya" somewhat figuratively. Yet, he styles the work *Dvāra-tarka-śāstra*.

Vidyābhuṣaṇa (*History of Indian Logic*, p. 289, note 1) says that the NP is probably the same as *Nyāyadvāratarkaśāstra* (= *Nyāyatarkadvāra*). That these two works are different was quite clear from Sugiura's *Hindu Logic* long before (1900) Vidyābhuṣaṇa's book (1921). The NP is now before us. It is in prose with only two verses, one at the beginning and the other at the end; while the *Nyāyatarkadvāra* is composed only of verses or *kārikās*, twenty-eight in number, there being not a single line in prose.

Incidentally one thing may be briefly discussed here. Nanjio says in his Catalogue (p. 270, Nos. 1223, 1224) that the author of this work is Nāgārjuna. Takakusu follows it (*A Record of the Buddhist Religion* by I-sting, 1896, pp. 177, 186). But in fact, it is not so. The real author of it is *Diṅnāga* and not Nāgārjuna. Nanjio seems to have made a mistake in rendering the name into Skt. The name as given in Chinese in the book itself is *Yü luṅ*, the Skt. equivalent of which is *Diṅnāga* (see O. Rosenberg: *Introduction to the Study of Buddhism*, Part I, 1916, p. 99). It should, however, be noted that generally for the name of Diṅnāga we have in Chinese *Faṅ sāṅ* (*op. cit.*, p. 69). The above two Chinese characters cannot give the name, Nāgārjuna, for which we have the following: (1) *Luṅ shu*, lit., 'dragon-tree;' (2) *Luṅ shaṅ*, lit. 'dragon-conqueror;' or (3) *Luṅ maṅ*, lit. 'dragon the brave' (Nanjio, *Catalogue*, p. 369). See *JASB.*, 1905, p. 222,

2 *The Author of the Nyāyapraveśa*

That Diṅnāga is the author of our NP can be proved on several grounds. In the Skt. text as we have it now there is nothing to show that he is the author. But in its Tib. versions it is clearly stated. T[1] says (§ 65; Note 139, p. 28) इति न्या य प्र वे श ट्टी कं म ट्टा चा र्य दि ङ् ना ग कृतिः सम्पूर्णा। (she pa rigs par ḥjug paḥi sgo slob dpon chen po phyogs kyi glaṅ pos mdzad pa rdzogs so); and so reads T[2] : प्रमाणशास्त्रं न्या य प्र वे शो नाम म ट्टा चा र्य दि ङ् ना ग कृतिः सम्पूर्णा। (tshad maḥi bstan bcos rigs pa la ḥjug pa shes bya ba slob dpon chen po phyogs kyi glaṅ pos mdzad pa rdzogs so ||).

The PS (Tsad ma kun las buts pa) which is now extant only in Tib. (Mdo, Ce, XCV. 1) is a well-known work of Diṅnāga. The beginning verse of it runs:

tshad mar gyur pa ḥgro la phan par bsheṅ /
ston pa bde gçegs skyob la phyag ḥtshal nas /
tshad ma sgrub phyir raṅ gi gshuṅ kun las /
btus te sna tshogs ḥthor rnams ḥdir gcig bya //

and the following is its Sanskrit:

प्रमाणभूताय जगद्धितैषिणे
प्रणम्य शास्त्रे सुगताय तायिने।
प्रमाणसिद्धेः स्वनिबन्धहन्दतः
करिष्यते विप्रकृतं समुच्चितम् ॥[1]

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1 The first two lines of this verse in Skt. are found in the *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* of Yaśomitra, Bibliotheca Buddhica, p. 7.

Here explaining the word स्वनिवन्धवन्दतः (raṅ gi gshuṅ kun las) Diṅnāga himself says in his own *vṛtti*[1] on the PS:

> de lta buḥi yon tan can gyi ston pa la phyag ḥtshal nas tshad ma bsgrub par bya baḥi phyir *raṅ gi rab tu byed pa rigs paḥi sgo* la sogs pa rnams las ḥdir gcig tu btus te *tshad ma kun las btus pa* brtsam par byaḥo
>
> =एवंगुणं शास्तारं प्रमाणसिद्धै स्व प्र क र ण न्या य द्वा रा दिभ्य (=न्या य प्र वे शा दि भ्य) इहैकदोच्चित्य प्र मा ण स मु च्च य आरब्धव्यः ॥[2]

Thus it is perfectly clear from the above that the author of NP is Diṅnāga.

Again, Jinendrabuddhi writes on the same passage in his *Viśālāmalavatī* (Mdo, Re, fol. 4^b) referred to in a previous note:

> gal te deḥi don du ḥdi brstam par bya ba yin na / deḥi tshe brtsam mi bya ste / tshad ma grub pa ni *rigs paḥi sgo la sogs pa raṅ gi gshuṅ* gis khyod kyis sñar kho nar bsgrubs zin pa byed kyi phyir ro // gaṅ bsgrubs zin pa de ni sgrub paḥi ched du rtogs pa daṅ ldan pas brtsams par bya ba ma yin te / bsgrubs zin paḥi zan bshin no // tshad ma sgrub pa yaṅ bsgrubs zin no /
>
> =यदि तदर्थमारब्धव्यस्तदा नारब्धव्यः । प्रमाणसिद्धिर्हि न्या य द्वा रा दि (=न्या य प्र वे शा दि) स्व नि व न्धे न त्वया साधितत्वात् । यत् सिद्धं तस्य सिद्धिनिमित्तं प्रेक्षावता नारम्भः कर्तव्यः । सिद्धान्नवत् । प्रमाणसिद्धिश्च साधिता ॥[2]

The same author writes again in the same connection after a few lines:

The last two lines are conjecturally reconstructed by the present writer. In his commentary on PS, *Viśālāmalavatī* (Yaṅs pa daṅ dri ma med pa daṅ ldan ma) Jinendrabuddhi or Jinendramati (Rgyal baḥi dbaṅ poḥi blo gros), but in no case Jinendrabodhi (as writes Vidyābhuṣana in his *History of Indian Logic*, p. 328, for the Tib. words *blo gros* mean *buddhi* or *mati* and not *bodhi* for which we have *byaṅ chub*) says in the course of commenting on the words *sna tshogs ḥthor rnams* in *d*: 'rab tu rtogs ni pra sṛ taḥo/ gaṅ la rab to rtogs pa daṅ bral ba de ni vi pra sṛ taḥo //" It may be translated thus : प्ररूपणं हि प्रस्तुतम् । यत् प्ररूपणविरहितं तद् विप्रस्तुतम् । As the Skt. word is transliterated here we are sure that it was actually used by Diṅnāga for the Tib. words referred to above.

1 Mdo, Ce, fols 13^b ff. (Narthang ed.); Cordier, III, p. 434.

2 We may read also निबन्धव्यः for आरब्धव्यः (Tib. *brstam bya*).

raṅ gi gshuṅ rigs[1] *paḥi sgo la sogs pa* ni tshad ma gtan la ḥbebs pa rab tu rtogs pa daṅ bral baḥo // de ltar yaṅ der "mṅon sum rtog pa daṅ bral ba" shes pa mṅon sum gyi mtshan ñid ḥdi la dmigs bsal byas pa med la // deḥi phyir zla ba gñis la sogs paḥi ṭes pa yaṅ mṅon sum ñid du thal bar ḥgyur ro // rgyas pa daṅ bral ba yaṅ de ste ḥdod badus paḥo //

स्वनिबन्धो ना य द्वा रा दिः (=नया य प्र वे शा दिः) प्रमाणनिर्णयप्ररूपणारहितः। तथा हि। तत्र "प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमिति" प्रत्यक्षलक्षणम् (NP, Skt. p. 7, 1, 13 ; Tib § 54)। अस्खालस्वलं न विरुद्धम्। तस्माद् द्विचन्द्रादिज्ञानमपि प्रत्यक्षमेव प्रसज्यते। विस्ताररहितं हि तत् संक्षिप्तमिष्टम्॥

Here NP is not only mentioned as Diṅnāga's own work, but also a line is quoted from it. Haribhadrasūri is, therefore, quite right when he explains the word अन्यत्र (gshan las, § 65, p. 8) by " प्रमाणसमुच्चयादौ."

There are some references to Diṅnāga or his works in Kumārila's *Ślokavārtika.* While some of these references are made from PS[2] the others are from NP as evidednt also from the commentary, *Nyāyaratnākara,* by Pārthasārathi Miśra, on the *Ślokavārtika* (Chaukhamba S. Series, 1898). Among the nine *pakṣābhāsas* (phyogs ltar snaṅ ba, § 11) the first is *pratyakṣaviruddha* (mṅon sum gyis bsal ba) and its example is अश्रावणः शब्द इति (sgra mñan bya ma yin shes pa lta buḥo). Kumārila refutes it thus (I. 1. 5, Anumāna, vv. 59-60, pp. 364-365) :

" अयाज्यता तु शब्दादेः प्रत्यक्षेण विरुध्यते॥
तेषामश्रावणत्वादि विरुद्धमनुमानतः।
नहि श्रावणता नाम प्रत्यक्षेणावगम्यते॥ "

According to the characteristics of *pratyakṣa* as explained by Diṅnāga (§ 54; PS I. 3; NB p. 103), *śrāvaṇatva* is a *viṣaya* of *anumāna* and not of *pratyakṣa.* This point is raised by Haribhadra in his *Nyāyapraveśavṛtti*: " श्रावणत्वं सामान्यलक्षणत्वात् प्रत्यक्षगम्यमेव न भवति, कथं प्रत्यक्षप्रसिद्धधर्मविरुद्धः।" The example (अश्रावणः शब्दः) may, therefore, be of an *anumānaviruddha* and not of *pratyakṣavirodha,* as the author says. Thus with reference to the passage quoted above Pārthasārathi Miśra comments: " अनुमानविरोधमुदाहरति तेषामिति। दि ङ् ना ग स्त्विदं प्रत्यक्षविरोधोदाहरणमिच्छति। तन्निराकरोति नहीति।" Here it refers to the NP (p 2, § 11) as the passage occurs there. It is also clear from it that according to Pārthasārathi

1 The Xylograph has *rig.*

2 My pupil Mr. H. R. R. Iyengar of the Mysore Uuiversity has shown it clearly in a paper, *Kumārila and Diṅnāga,* which will shortly be published.

Miśra this example does not allude to NB of Dharmakīrtti though it is to be found also there (p. 111).

In commenting on Kumārila's threefold *śabdavirodha* ("विधा शब्द-विरोधः," pp. 61-03) Pārthasārthi Miśra writes: "जननी मे वन्ध्येति। सोऽयं स्ववचनविरोध इति।" This reminds us at once of our "स्ववचनविरुद्धो यथा माता मे वन्ध्येति" in NP (§ 16).

Regarding *sarvalokavirodha* which is the same as our *lokaviruddha* (ḥjig tren pas bsal ba *or* ḥjig rten gyis gnod pa, §§ 11, 14) Kumārila has (pp. 64-65):

"चन्द्रशब्दाभिधेयत्वं शशिनो यो निषेधति।
स सर्वलोकसिद्धेन चन्द्रज्ञानेन बाध्यते॥"

This is with reference to "शशी (Ch. lit. शशाङ्कः) न चन्द्रः" found in this connection neither in Skt. nor in T[1] of our NP, but in Ch. and T.[2] See Note 22, p. 15, and Add. et Cor. This is quoted also in NB, p. 111 with the reading अचन्द्रः for न चन्द्रः.

On the passage referred to above with regard to *lokaviruddha* Pārthasārathi Miśra quotes the following sentence: "यथा शुचि नरशिरःकपालं प्राण्यङ्गत्वाच्छुक्तिवत्." This is actually found in our NP (§ 14) as an example of *lokaviruddha*. The only difference is that for शुक्तिवत् in the former the latter reads शङ्ख-शुक्तिवत् adding the word शङ्ख.

Among the *hetvābhāsas* (gtan tasigs ltar snaṅ ba) *viruddha* (ḥgal ba) is one (§ 22) and it has four kinds (§ 35) of which one is *dharma-viśeṣaviparītasādhana* (chos kyi khyad par phyin ci log tu sgrub par byed pa, §37). It is illustrated there by "परार्थाश्चक्षुरादयः सङ्घातत्वाच्छयनासनाद्यङ्गवत्" (See Note 74). This is quoted in a slightly different words by Kumārila (v. 105; p. 380) when he says:

"पारार्थ्यं चक्षुरादीनां संघाताच्छयनादिवत्"।[1]

Dharmakīrtti (about 635-650 A.D.), as says Dharmottara (about 847 A.D.), wrote his NB as a *vārtikakāra*[2] of Diṅnāga's work. *Vārtika* means a work in which three kinds of things are discussed, viz. (1) those which are said, (2) those which are not said, and (3) those which are said wrongly.[3] And so Dharmakīrtti is found to have

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1 In the corresponding reading T[2] omits आसन and thus exactly agrees with Kumārila on this point reading शयनादिवत्. See notes 73, 74.

2 NB (Ṭikā), p. 78: "अयं च विरुद्ध आचार्यदिङ्नागेनोक्तः। स कस्माद् वार्तिककारेण सता त्वया नोक्तः।"

3 "उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तचिन्ता वार्तिकम्।" Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, GOS, 1916, p. 5.

criticised Diṅnāga throughout his book. And though he has not mentioned the name of Diṅnāga or his NP, it is quite clear from the NB and its *ṭīkā*; in the latter Diṅnāga is expressly named (pp. 78-84). See Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *History of Indian Logic*, p. 316.

From what has been said above there cannot be any doubt about the fact that the real author of our NP is Diṅnāga. But against it is the evidence from Chinese and Japanese sources. At the very beginning of the Chinese version of NP after its name is mentioned it is clearly written that the author is Bodhisattva Śaṅkarasvāmin (*Sam cha la chu p'u sa tsao*).[1] Kwhei-ci, a great disciple of Hiuen-tsang and the writer of the 'Great Commentary' on the NP says the same thing, and we are told the same story in Japanese accounts (see Sugiura's *Hindu Logic*, pp. 37 ff.). Now, Hiuen-tsang has mentioned so many authors in his travels, but why not Śaṅkarasvāmin, who is said to have been a great disciple of Diṅnāga and whose work, NP, he himself has translated? Evidently it was very important to him, otherwise he would not take the trouble to carry it with him to his country and to translate it. Nor is Śaṅkarasvāmin's name found in I-tsing's travel, though the book, NP, itself seems to have been recorded by him. He writes (*Records of Buddhist Religion by I-tsing*, 1896, p. 186): "When a priest wishes to distinguish himself in the study of Logic he should thoroughly understand Jina's eight śāstras." Jina is here no other than our Diṅnāga who is generally called *Dinna* in China and Japan. Watters (*On Yuan Chuang*, 1905, vol. II, p. 211) has sufficiently proved that the two Chinese characters *chên-na* do not represent the sound of *Jina* (See Sugiura, p. 33), though we find that Nanjio (p. 371) and Takakusu have written so. Watters has also shown that *Dinna* is the shorter form of the name of Diṅnāga the full one being *Din-na-ka* found in other treatises. Now, I-tsing has given the names of the eight books of Jina or Dinna or Diṅnāga of which nos. 4, 5, and 6 are as follows (p. 189):

"4 The Śāstra on the Gate of the cause (Hetuvidyā) (not found).

5 The Śāstra on the Gate of the resembling cause (not found).

6 The Nyāyadvāra (tarka) śāstra (by Nāgārjuna), not found) (Nanjio's Catal. Nos. 1223, 1224.)."

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1 In the *Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣitā with Kamalaśīla's *Pañjikā* recently published in GOS, Śaṅkarasvāmin is quoted several times.

Among these three we have already seen that the last book is in fact *Nyāyadvāratarkaśāstra* and its author is Diṅnāga and not Nāgārjuna. This fact is supported also by Sugiura (p. 34). About the identification of the fifth work I have nothing to say; but as regards the fourth, most probably it is identical with our NP. *Hetudvāra* (which seems to be for the fuller form *Hetuvidyādvāra*) and *Nyāvadvāra* (=*Nyāyapraveśa*) actually mean the same thing.

Now, here is a very remarkable point that none of the books on logic mentioned in the list is connected with the name of Śaṅkarasvāmin as its author. It appears from this that among the important writers of books on logic which were then being studied in India Śaṅkarasvāmin was not known to I-tsing. I am unable to explain how the work, NP, was attributed to him by Chinese and Japanese authors. However, in the face of so much evidence alluded to, it cannot be accepted that Śaṅkarasvāmin was the real author of it. We have the Chinese translation of it by Hiuen-tsang and its Tibetan version (T^2). As we have already seen, T^2 clearly says that the author is Diṅnāga, and there is no mention whatever of Śaṅkarasvāmin. It is further said in the colophon of T^2 that it was made with much care after having collected and corrected two books, one from China and the other from Tibet (rgyaḥi dpe daṅ bod kyi dpe gñis po legs par btus ciṅ bcos te dag par bsgyur baḥo‖ p. 29). So at least at the time of this translation, Śaṅkarasvāmin as the author of the work was unknown not only in Tibet but also in China to a large number of those who had much interest in it.

3 *Translations of the Nyāyapraveśa*

First it was translated from its original Skt. into Chinese (Ch. by Tripiṭakadharmācārya (*Sān tsāṅ fa shi*) Hiuen-tsang (647 A.D.) as is written at the very beginning of it and known from Chinese and Japanese sources. There is a Tibetan translation (T^2) from this Chinese version. In the colophon of this Tibetan translation (T^2) it is stated (p. 28, l. 28; p. 29) that the Chinese version from which it is made was done by a Chinese translator, Thaṅ Saṅ Tsaṅ (Rgyal lo tsa ba thaṅ saṅ tsaṅ gis bsgyur ciṅ). This translator is no other than Hiuen-tsang as interpreted by Cordier, III, p. 436, and accepted by scholars, though the three Chinese characters, Thaṅ Saṇ Tsaṅ do not give his name expressly, they simply mean 'Tripiṭaka of the Thāṅ dynasty (618-907 A.D.)' This is, however, an abbreviation

of the fuller form 'the master of the Tripiṭaka of the Thaṅ period' and it refers to Hiuen-tsang, as says Cordier.

This Tibetan translation from the Chinese version was made, as mentioned there in the colophon (pp. 28, 29), by one Seṅ Gyaṅ Ju[1], a *kalyāṇamitra* of China, and Ācārya Kumāra (Ston gshon) also a *kalyāṇamitra* of Tibet (p. 28). Then one Deva bhadanta Dharmaratna of Mahācīna belonging to Mahāsarvāstivādanikāya translated it again in the great monastery of Śrīpāṇḍubhūmi in Upper Tsang, Western Tibet, having collected and corrected two books, one from China and the other from Tibet (pp. 28-29). I could not ascertain the date of this translation.

There is another translation in Tibetan which is now edited for the first time (T[1]). It is made direct from Sanskrit by one Śākyabhikṣu Kīrttidhvaja Śrībhadra with help from the Kāśmīraka mahāpaṇḍita sarvajña Śrīrakṣita in the Mahāvihāra at Śrīpāṇḍubhūmi, i.e., at the same place where the first translation was made (p. 28). Cordier says that Kīrttidhvaja Śrībhadra was probably the fifth hierarch of Śrīpāṇḍubhūmi, 1147–1216 A.D.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

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1 As regards the name I have nothing to say. I am however, glad to write what my friend, Dr. Tucci, thinks of it. He says that *seṅ* is certainly a very common name for a Buddhist monk. *Gyaṅ* is perhaps *yaṅ*. Compare in the translated Chinese title of the book (gyen miṅ gshai ciṅ liḥi lun) *gyen* for *yin*. And this *yaṅ* may correspond to the character which has the same pronunciation under the radical No. 170, nine strokes. (Owing to the want of Chinese characters in the Press it could not be written here.) About *Ju* Dr. Tucci, too, has nothing to suggest.

MISCELLANY

Tibetan Translation of the Sādhanamālā: A Reply

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (vol. II, pp. 626ff.) Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya has contributed an article in which he has offered a detailed criticism of the *Sādhanamālā* published as No. XXVI in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* of Baroda. The learned critic has compared the printed Sanskrit text with its translation in the Tibetan Tangyur and has come to the conclusion that only the Tibetan translation has preserved the true reading and not the Sanskrit Mss. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya the editor of the *Sādhanamālā* must consider himself honoured for receiving attention from so great a critic and a Tibetan scholar like Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. But what we deplore is that he is so enamoured of the Tibetan translation that he goes to the length of underestimating the value of the Sanskrit text and all the reliable Mss. which the editor used in preparing his edition. In the course of this paper we shall examine how far his Tibetan readings are rational when compared with Sanskrit. Moreover, some of his statements are so bold that they should not go unchallenged.

Pandit Vidhushekhara knows quite well that the printed text is based on eight different Mss. the earliest among them bearing a date in Newari Era which corresponds to A.D. 1165. Two other Mss. of the same work have also been shown by the editor to have belonged to a period not later than the 13th century. The date of the collection may be placed in about 1100 A.D. as it contains Sādhanas of Advayavajra, his disciple Lalitagupta, and Abhayākaragupta all of whom flourished in the immediately preceding period. It therefore stands to reason that the earliest Sanskrit Mss. of the text of the *Sādhanamālā* is only about 65 years later than the date of the collection, and as such the Sanskrit text is likely to be more reliable than its Tibetan translation which must be of a later date. The authority of the Sanskrit text therefore cannot be set aside so lightly as the learned critic has done. We would have certainly attached some value to the Tibetan translation had it contained some sensible readings suggesting improvement on the printed text. But a very

large majority of readings found therein having been of an unreliable nature we cannot subscribe to the opinion of the critic. We shall show presently how his assertion in holding that the Tibetan translation has only preserved the true readings is absolutely without any foundation.

The critic further complains that many points in the Sanskrit text are unintelligible to him. That the Buddhists, especially the Tāntrics, purposely violated grammatical rules is known to all, and we will refer him again to the preface of the *Sādhanamālā* and to an interesting quotation from the *Vimalaprabhā*, a commentary on the *Laghukālacakraṭīkā* in the first volume of the *Catalogue of Mss. in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 78.

The critic needlessly discusses the title of the printed Sanskrit text aud gives us the useful information that both the titles *Sādhanamālā* and *Sādhanasamuccaya* express the same meaning and therefore any title among the two is justified. There is nothing new in this information as the editor has already mentioned this in his short preface. Moreover, the critic is evidently unaware that all the Mss. of *Sādhanamālā* follow one plan of arrangement while the Mss. of the *Sādhanasamuccaya* have an entirely different arrangement though the individual Sādhanas are the same in both the works. Therefore the title *Sādhanamālā* only is justified and not the other one.

While examining the arguments of the critic we do not consider it necessary to discuss the obvious mistake in the Tibetan readings such as *Jagatāṃ* instead of Sanskrit *Jagati* (p. 15 verse 1b), *anya* instead of S. *para* (verse 3c), *balasya vegaṃ* instead of Sanskrit *balaṃ vegaṃ* (verse 11c). Nor is there any necessity of paying attention to such immaterial points such as *evaṃ* for Sanskrit *eva* and many omissions of lines and words in Tibetan. The editor must however plead guilty for adding the hyphen (which is, of course, a printer's error) at the end of the line *c* in verse 3 before *satataṃ* in line *d*.

With these few preliminary remarks let us turn our attention to the Tibetan readings where the critic is positive about the correctness of Tibetan and whereby he claims to have understood many points made obscure by Sanskrit.

p. 15, verse 1.

The critic complains that the word *samata* does not give any sense though he tries his best to understand it. The Tibetan

reading which he interprets as *samati* opens his eyes and gives him clear sense which however he leaves to the reader to imagine. This *samati*, however, does not give any sense to the average readers like us. The word *samata* we may point out stands for the word *samatā* and the absence of *ā* is due to the exigencies of the metre. The word *samatā* evidently means 'observance of equality.'

In the opinion of the learned critic the Tibetan *asamāna* is undoubtedly better than Sanskrit *asamanta* and it is indeed apparently so, because he missed the meaning of the Sanskrit word. The word *asamanta* here as well as elsewhere means *ananta* which we hope will remove all his difficulties. He need not strain his imagination by explaining Tibetan *asamāna* by *amūrta*, because in verse 3 instead of Sanskrit *parāsamantinī* his Tibetan reads *parāpyanantinī*, which leaves no room for doubting the meaning of *asamanta* as *ananta*. In view of the facts mentioned above the critic may reconsider his position.

In *d* the concluding word is only a repetition of the last word in *a* and as such the word *sama* stands for *samata* or *samatā*. The critic need not create an additional difficulty by putting this *sama* as *asama* thus setting up a meaningless compound.

verse 2.

Here first of all we want to impress one most important point on the critic that it is not the business of the editor to change the readings offered by the Mss. whimsically even when they are defective. Whenever the readings can be justified they should be allowed to remain and when the reading is obviously defective he should suggest improvements either in the footnotes or enclosed within brackets to show that they are no part of the original text but the editor's emendations. Now, if this elementary principle is not followed, and the editor's pen is allowed to run riot then the resultant edition will not be an edition of the original work but either a new composition or an improved or degenerated edition of the original work.

The critic finds in Tibetan *gaganasamās tadupamā na vidyate* instead of Sanskrit *gaganasamopamakatā na vidyate*, but as both Tibetan and Sanskrit spoil the metre he suggests *gaganopamās tadupamā na vidyate* which in his opinion should be accepted as the correct reading. In his zest for correct metre, for which the Buddhists care very little, the critic performs the funeral rite of rhetoric. He means to

say first that the 'Lords are comparable with the sky' (*gaganopamāḥ*) and in the same breath wants further to establish that the 'Lords have no comparison' (*tadupamā na vidyate*). Whether the Lords, who are *vigatopamāḥ*, can be compared with the sky or not, is indeed a controversial question. The Sanskrit reading however unlike Tibetan clearly shows the meaning (*gaganasamā iti upamakatā na vidyate*).

Strangely enough, the critic is not in favour of the reading *asīmike* and therefore changes it to *asīmake* and goes so far as to dub the Sanskrit reading as ungrammatical. T. *asīmake* and S. *asīmike* both mean 'unlimited' equally, the only difference being that while the former is in *Bahuvrīhi* the latter is in *Tatpuruṣa*. *Sīmika* means 'one who has limit' while *asīmika* means 'limitless one' (*sīmā asya asti iti=sīmī*. *Sīmī sa eva=sīmikaḥ*. *Na sīmikaḥ=asīmikaḥ*).

In *c* the critic maintains that S. *sadasattvadhātu* does not give any sense ; it should be changed to *sadā sattva*° though T. has *sada* as we have in S. but he adheres to *sadā* by saying that the *ākāra* in *sadā* is dropped in Buddhist Sanskrit. We have seen in many instances in Buddhist Sanskrit the omission of *ākāra* in compounds but never have we come across a single example where the *ā* of short *avyayas* has been dropped. The S. *sadasattva* evidently means both *sattva* and *asattva* and gives quite a good sense, though it does not appear to be a whit inferior even to the critic's emended meaning which is hardly justifiable even from his T. material.

Verse 4.

In *b* the critic quite contrary to his habit of justifying the metre breaks it mercilessly by suggesting *Triloki vrajate* instead of S. *vrajate triloki*.

In *d* he asserts that the Tibetan translator could not understand the meaning of the line, as he gives his sense only in prose, while the Sanskrit text should always be treated with suspicion. He asks us to accept the prose line *aho tatra dharmatā sugatir avagatā* in the absence of any other, instead of S. *gatiṃ gateṣvapi aho sudharmatā*. Further, he says *su* cannot be joined to *dharma* but we fail to understand why the critic rejects *sudharma* ; we will ask the readers whether we will be justified in putting in three lines in verse and the fourth *pāda* in prose in one and the same śloka.

Verse 5.

He says that *agrasiddhi* should be compounded with *varada* and

should not be kept separately as has been done in Sanskrit. That Sanskrit is quite right can be understood even by a schoolboy when the line is explained as *varadāḥ* (Bodhisattvāḥ or Nāthāḥ) *Trisamaye agrasiddhi(m) me dadantu.* If T. is followed here as recommended by the critic what then will be the object of the verb *dadantu* ?

In *b* the critic recommends a change for the S. line *varadānatāgragatitāṃ gatāḥ sadā* into T. *varadāna te sadā suvṛtāḥ* or *suvṛtatāṃ gatāḥ.* But later on he again suggests *sugatāṃ gatāḥ.* His T. seems to be very fertile so that one Ms. can produce many readings for one and the same passage. The T. reading besides spoiling the metre spoils the meaning and grammatical construction.

p. 16.

Relying on some worthless T. reading the critic wants to disturb here a beautiful grammatical passage in *c* by suggesting *triloki sakalaḥ* or *sakala triloki* (e) for S. *Sakalāstrilokivaradāgrasādhakāḥ.* What good will come of it ?

Lines 3 and 4

Here the critic suggests by recommending us to cut short a colophon in accordance with T. to suit a verse completing it with the next line. As per his suggestions we compose the following beautiful stanza for examination by the impartial readers :

Trisamayarājakalpoktā Vajradharagītā stutiḥ kṛtā |
Idaṃ tat sarvabuddhānāṃ adbhutaguṇavistaraṃ ||

p. 17, verse 15.

For *mudrādiṣu gauravaṃ* the critic recommends *mudrādiṣvagauravaṃ.* His contention may be correct but then he loses sight of the famous and well-known stanza in the Vajrayāna literature, viz :

Mudrāmaṇḍalamantrādyair jāpabhāvanatatparaiḥ
Naiva siddhiṃ parāṃ yānti kalpāsaṃkhyeyakoṭibhiḥ.

Now the readers should judge for themselves whether *gaurava* or *agaurava* should be shown to the Mudrās, and to the opinion of the critic.

verse 18.

In criticising this verse the critic gives us a most interesting piece of information by explaining the meaning of the word *alaṃ* as 'nega-

tion.' While thanking him for this courtesy we venture to point out that if the word is accepted in this sense the line *antarāyakarā dharmāḥ* in the following verse will be redundant. The word *alaṃ* will therefore have to be taken in the sense as *adhikaṃ*. Further, the word *kaukṛtyaṃ* in perfect accordance with grammar can be taken as an adjective of *ājīvaṃ*.

With proper decency we cannot enter into the discussion whether T. *ratiṃ gaṇakathāsu* (love for gossip) or S. *ratiṃ saṃgaṇikāsu* (love for courtezans) would be better. Let the readers judge.

We do not quite understand why the word *bhūriḥ* which means 'much' is beyond the comprehension of the critic. His T. gives °*bhāvaḥ* compounded with the previous word *vicikitsakatā*°. In view of the particle *tā* which stands already for *bhāvaḥ* his new emendation seems uncalled for.

Verse 21.

For S. *vidhinā* T. gives *sādhanena*, and because it spoils the metre the critic without any authority recommends us to adopt *sādhanepsitāṃ* instead of *sādhanenepsitāṃ* which gives quite a different meaning. So far we knew that the sentient beings like men, animals, etc. have a desire, but now, according to the critic's new emendation we have to understand that the inanimate things such as the sādhanas, books, literature, etc. also have a desire. But this belongs to the domain of science.

p. 20, II 5-6

Here the critic makes a little digression and utilizes his knowledge of iconography. Let us examine very carefully the arguments advanced by the critic. In the original Mss. of *Sādhanamālā* the word *avasavya* occurs nearly a thousand times. Nowhere it is spelt as *apasavya* which the Hindu Pandits are likely to do. How would it be justifiable for a conscientious editor to change the spelling simply because the Hindus spell it in a different way ? Further, the critic objects to the reading *utsaṅgasthitaṃ* because its T. equivalent means in his opinion *uttānasthitaṃ*. In all Mss. the word is *utsaṅga*. In the sādhana No. 4 also the corresponding word is *vāmotsaṅgasthitavāmakaraṃ*, and in the next, No. 5 it is *utsaṅgasthitāpasavyahastaṃ*. Thus none of the Sanskrit versions supports T. which is expected to be only a translation of S. We wonder why in discussing this point the critic is silent about the other sādhanas of the same deity.

Another thing which should be pointed out in this connection and which gives rise to serious misunderstanding is the meaning of *savya* and *avasavya*. Without ascertaining the meanings of these two words *savya* and *apasavya* which are taken by the critic correctly to mean 'left' and 'right' respectively, he proceeds to the ridiculous length to give a lecture on iconography by saying that the Bhūmisparśa Mudrā is always shown in the right hand and never in the left. In case the readers may disbelieve in this precious discovery of his he at once cites his authorities such as V. A. Smith, Cohn, etc. That the fact is already well-known to the editor of the *Sādhanamālā* will be borne out by the fact that he, in the very first pages of his *Buddhist Iconography* (p. 11) while giving a description of Vajrāsana mentions the fact that the Bumisparśa Mudrā is displayed by the deity in his right hand. The fundamental mistake the critic seems to have commited is by holding that the word *savya* always means 'left' and nothing else. It will not be out of place to mention here that the word *savya* is very loosely used throughout Sanskrit literature, especially in the composition of the Buddhists and Jainas. The *Sādhanamālā* is also no exception where the word *savya* has been used very indiscriminately to mean both 'left' and 'right'. In the *Vajrāsanasādhana* the phrase *savyakaraṃ bhūsparśamudrānvitaṃ* means nothing but that the earth-touching attitude is shown in the right hand only. The next sādhana of Vajrāsana (No. 4) leaves no room for doubting this fact because in the corresponding passage it uses the word *dakṣiṇa* (which means 'right' undoubtedly) in the place of *savya*. That the word *savya* means 'right' also will be evident if the critic proceeds a little further with the text of the *Sādhanamālā* and comes to p. 210 where the following line occurs—

Khaḍgakartrikarāṃ savye vāmotpalakapāladhāṃ.

Here the word *savya* is used in relation with the word *vāma* which always means 'left' and nothing else. It therefore stands to reason that the word *savya* at least here means 'right' and 'right' only. Otherwise, the deity with four arms will have no right hands, and all the four arms will come to the left side according to the critic's interpretation of the word. Now while the Hindus describing this four-armed deity *Mahācīnatārā* by name, borrowed the identical wordings and sense with certain modifications, and changed the word *savya* and *vāma* as *savyetara* and *savya* to mean 'right' and 'left' respectively. In the *Tantrasāra*, p. 415 we read :—

Khaḍgakartrisamāyuktasavyetarabhujadvayāṃ |
Kapālotpalasaṃyuktasavyapāṇiyugānvitāṃ ||

If we are to accept the critic's interpretation as gospel truth then we have to relegate the two most deadly weapons like the *Khaḍga* and *Kartrī* to the mercy of the left hands. But this will be rather difficult to imagine in view of the fact that we know of one *Savyasācin* only in the person of Arjuna. Moreover, in the whole of the *Sādhanamālā* a careful reader will not fail to perceive that the weapons like the sword or the knife are never given to any deity in his left hand. If the critic is not satisfied with this explanation a few authorities on Indian lexicography may conveniently be quoted to convince him that the word *savya* is used in Sanskrit literature to mean both left and right :—

(1) Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* with his own commentary p. 586.

प्रतिकूलन्तु विलोममपसव्यमवपष्टुरम् ।
वामं प्रसव्यं प्रतीपं प्रतिलोममपष्टुच ॥ १०१ ॥
अपगतं सव्यादपसव्यं वाममित्यर्थः । सव्यशब्दो हि दूरान्निकार्थाराच्छब्दवत् वामदक्षिणार्थः ।

(2) *Vaijayantī*, p. 229.

सभ्यस्त्वामाजिके साधौ सव्यो दक्षिणवामयोः ॥ २९ ॥

(3) Siddhasenācārya's *Viśvalocanakoṣa*, p. 263 :—

वामदक्षिणयोः सव्यं सच्चं शस्त्रकले गुणे ॥ ६१ ॥

When *savya* means right of course *ava°* or *apasavya* means left and *vice versa*. In the *Sādhanamālā* in order therefore to ascertain the correct meaning of *savya* a reference should always be made to all the different sādhanas ascribed to one deity and if possible to the images of that particular deity either in stone or in metal. In view of the above it can be rightly said that the critic's lecture on iconography in this connection is but a cry in the wilderness.

I. 9

As the same sort of interpretation has been given by the critic to the word *savya* it is needless to discuss it again here. But what we object to is his sweeping remark that the *cāmara* cannot be taken in the left hand. If the critic would care to turn plate XIII in Dr. B. Bhattacharyya's *Buddhist Iconography* where a picture of a stone image of Vajrāsana (Indian Museum) with his two attendant deities, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara is reproduced, it will be seen that Maitreya

carries the *Cāmara* in the left hand while Avalokiteśvara holds it in the right. This seems to be a logical arrangement inasmuch as the hands carrying the *Cāmara* should be nearer to the deity. Otherwise, the purpose for which the *Cāmaras* are given will be frustrated in case the attendant to the right holds the same in the right hand.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

Bhāravi and Daṇḍin

In his paper on Bhāravi and Daṇḍin (I. H. Q., vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 31f.), Dr. S. K. De doubts with becoming restraint the correctness of the theory of Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi on the relationship of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin which is based on the following solitary verse of uncertain import:—

Sa medhāvī kavir vidvān bhāraviḥ prabhavo girām,
Anurudhyākaron maitrīṃ narendre viṣṇuvardhane

found in the *Avantisundarīkathā-sāra* (I. 22). This work appears to be a metrical summary by a later hand of the ancient prose work called *Avantisundarī-kathā* by Ācārya Daṇḍin; and, as such, a statement based merely on the metrical version but not supported by a corresponding prose passage of Daṇḍin cannot be accepted as authoritative. Daṇḍin's prose passage corresponding to the above verse found in the text of the *Kathā* published[1] by Mr. Kavi being defective it was not possible to gather any definite information regarding the relationship of the two authors. The present writer has since had occasion to come across an exceedingly worn out palm-leaf manuscript of the *Kathā* among the manuscripts acquired by him on behalf of the Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Trivandrum, during the year 1924-25, and to decipher the following prose passage bearing on the subject:

tatrodapādi bhagavato vidhivad āhṛta-saptatantu-rūpiṇo nārāyaṇa-svāmino nābhi-padma iva brahmaika-dhāmā dāmodara-svāmi-nāmā (tremātajo?) yamaḥ kumārah. sa yauvanārambha evāti-subhagākṛtir akṛtaka-vākya-darśita-puṇya-sadbhāvayā, sarvāṅga-mano-harayā, sarva-kalā-vidagdhayā, sarva-bhāṣā-pravīṇayā, pramāṇa-yuktayā, lalita-pada-vinyāsayā, catura-hṛdyālaṅkārayā viśuddha-jāti-vṛttayā sarasvatyā

1 Dakṣiṇa Bhāratī Series, No. 3 (1924).

svayaṃvara iva kanyakayā svayam upetya sasneham asvajyata. ke hi nāma bhagavatīm bhavitavyatām atikramya yathā-samīhitena sādhayati pathā. yataḥ kauśika-kumāro mahāśaivaṃ mahāprabhāvaṃ gavāṃ prabhavam pradīpta-bhāsam bhāravim ravim ivendur anu(rūpya ? rudhya) darśa iva puṇya-karmaṇi viṣṇu-vardhanākhye rāja-sūnau praṇayam anvabadhnāt.[1]

The following is a summary of the passage:—

From Nārāyaṇasvāmin, the embodiment of holy sacrifice, was born Dāmodara. The divine Muse marked Dāmodara for her own, even in his youth. Who could however do away with the all-powerful Fate and tread the path chalked out by his own wish? Dāmodara, associating himself with Bhāravi, the great Śaivite and the fountain of the Muse, allied himself by ties of friendship with the prince Viṣṇuvardhana.

The narrative of the *Kathā* then goes on to say that Dāmodara touring on a pilgrimage happened to meet with the favour of the Gaṅga king Durvinīta, that Siṃhaviṣṇu the Pallava king of Kāñcī, having been attracted by his poetic talents, honoured him with his favour and that Daṇḍin, the author of the work, was the fourth descendant in the direct line from Dāmodara.

In the prose passage quoted above, the words *Bhāravim* and *prabhavam* occur as objects of *anurudhya*, while in the verse quoted from the metrical version the word *anurudhya* stands without an object. It is evident therefore that the words *Bhāraviḥ* and *prabhavaḥ* ending in visarga which, in the verse being construed as referring to *saḥ* (Dāmodara), has led Mr. Kavi to infer that Bhāravi and Dāmodara were identical, should be read as *Bhāravim* and *prabhavam*. What we learn from the prose and metrical quotations is that Bhāravi was a Śaivite (Mahāśaiva) and a great poet (*girām prabhava*) attached to the prince Viṣṇuvardhana and that Dāmodara who was also endowed with poetic gifts of a high order secured the friendship of the king through the medium of Bhāravi.

The further narrative of Daṇḍin mentions Siṃhaviṣṇu, the Pallava king of Kāñcī and Durvinīta, the Gaṅga king, as contemporaries of Viṣṇuvardhana and inscriptions also reveal three kings of these same

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1 I am enabled to give the extract by the kind permission of Pandit R. Harihara Śāstrī, Head Pandit in charge of the Department for the Publication of Sanskrit Mss., Trivandrum.

names as rulers of various provinces in Deccan in the beginning of the 7th century A. C. It is certain therefore that the individuals known from inscriptions were the same as those referred to by Daṇḍin. The fame of Bhāravi as a poet had grown second to none but Kālidāsa so early as 634 A.C. as proved by the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, the elder brother of the Viṣṇuvardhana referred to, and, judging from his *Kirātārjunīya*, he should have been a Śaivite poet. Bhāravi, mentioned in the *Kathā* is therefore none else than the author of the *Kirātārjunīya*. As Viṣṇuvardhana seems to have been Bhāravi's patron, while he was still a prince, *i.e.*, before he became the Eastern Cālukya king in 615 A. C., and after the accession of Pulakesin II in 608 A. C. Bhāravi may be assigned to the beginning of the 7th century A. C.; while the date of Daṇḍin, the fourth descendant of Dāmodara roughly falls about the close of the 7th century A.C.

G. HARIHARA ŚĀSTRĪ

The Bhagavadajjukīyam

In the June issue (1926) of the Indian Historical Quarterly Mr. Asokanath Bhattacharya of Calcutta has contributed a short paper on "*Rūpakas—how many are they*?" in which he has made certain comments on a passage in the prologue of the Bhagavadajjukīyam—a Sanskrit Prahasana—recently edited by me and published from the Pāliyam Mss. Library of Chennamaṅgalam, Cochin State. Subsequently, the same paper with a few more lines added to it has been published in the *Summaries of Papers submitted to the Fourth Oriental Conference*, Allahabad (1926, November)—this time the title being changed to "*Bhagavadajjukīyam—some new problems.*" In writing this note my intention is only to point out certain irrelevant points the author has raised in his paper submitted to the Oriental Conference, without minding much for the many original ideas he has extracted, without acknowledgment, from the Preface and Introduction to the book.

On page 50 of the *Summaries of Papers* he writes that "just as Bhāṇikā, the Uparūpaka, is different from Bhāṇa, the Rūpaka, so also Saṃlāpaka, the Uparūpaka, may be quite different from Sallāpa, the Rūpaka;" and adds that since Vāra and Sallāpa are "by way of association" to be considered as Rūpakas, "it would not be wrong to say that

the prologue gives us a list of no less than 12 Rūpakas." Now, we know that according to *Daśarūpaka* (I.8), *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (vi. 3) and *Bharata-nāṭyaśāstra* (xviii. 2, 3) there are only ten Rūpakas.[1] But the author of our Prahasana has, along with these ten, mentioned Vāra and Sallāpa, besides a few others whose names were unknown. That simply because these have been mentioned along with the Rūpakas, they should be also said to be belonging to that class is quite untenable. Vāra, on the other hand, had probably been one of the minor types of dramas known at the time of the author ; but it became subsequently unknown. Sallāpa or Saṃlāpa, which is only another word for Saṃlāpaka (meaning 'discourse'), is clearly one of the 18 Uparūpakas mentioned in the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (vi. 4,5). It is, therefore, of no use trying to maintain that the author had meant by the words Vāra and Sallāpa to be Rūpakas. To make the point more clear let me quote the text below :

अथ तु नाटकप्रकरणोद्भवासु वारिहास्यगडिमसमवकारव्यायोगभाणसल्लापवीथ्युत्सृष्टिकाङ्कप्रहसनादिषु दशजातिषु नाट्यरसेषु हास्यमेव प्रधानमिति पश्यामि ।

Could any one ascertain that the types of dramas which the author has meant by the word *ādiṣu* in the above passage, and which, like all the rest, are said to have been sprung from Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa, are to be included among the Rūpakas ? One might in that case say that there are not only ten, not twelve, but more than that number of Rūpakas ; but this will be absurd.

Here I may be allowed to point out that the commentator has explained the compound *nāṭaka-prakaraṇa* as *Bharataśāstra*, taking *prakaraṇa* to mean *lakṣaṇa-grantha*. But he does not tell us why in that case the two principal types of dramas, viz., the Nāṭaka and the Prakaraṇa have to be omitted from the list. It will, therefore, be more correct, I think, to take the whole compound, as Prof. Winternitz has done to mean "sprung from *Nāṭaka* and *Prakaraṇa*. In the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* we have a passage conveying a similar idea, where, after enumerating all the different types of dramas, we are told : "Verily, they (the 9 Rūpakas and the 18 Uparūpakas) are all like the Nāṭaka in quality, although they differ in their special characteristics."[2] The author

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1 In all the lists given in the above works, it may be noted that Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa are given the prominent place.

2 विना विशेषं सर्वेषां लक्ष्म नाटकवन्मतम् । —VI. 6. The Commentary says : सर्वेषां प्रकरणादिरूपकाणां नाटिकाद्युपरूपकाणां च ।

of the Prahasana has, on the other hand, taken Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa in the same category. It may now be evident from this that the author must have meant both the Rūpakas and the Uparūpakas in the list when he said that they were all *sprung from* Nāṭaka and Prakaraṇa.

Mr. Asokanath Bhattacharya, I think, misrepresents Prof. Winternitz when he attributes to him the suggestion that Bodhāyana Kavi (the author of the Prahasana) might be identified with the *Vṛttikāra* of the Brahmasūtra. On the other hand, what has been suggested by the Professor was that, though there was a Bodhāyana often quoted by Rāmānuja as Vṛttikāra, who wrote a commentary on Bādarāyaṇa, the Bodhāyana Kavi of our Prahasana could not be identified with him.

But for these, all the 'new problems' the writer has ushered before the public are quite the same as I have mentioned in my Introduction to the book, and have, therefore, no occasion to differ from them.

P. ANUJAN ACHAN

Bālpur Copper-coins of Pratāpamalla Deva

A new discovery

Bālpur is a little village on the north bank of the Mahānadī in the Chandarpur tract of the Bilaspur Dist., C. P. It is about 8 miles from Pujāripāli (Sarangarh State) where there are the remains of three small old brick-temples of the type of Lakṣmaṇa temple at *Sirpur* (Dist. Raipur), the old Śrīpur, the capital of the Mahākośala country and where an inscription of Gopāladeva (Cedi era 840=A. D. 1088) was found ; and about 16 miles from Kirārī village where an inscribed wooden pillar (now in the Nagpur Museum) was unearthed in 1921, the writing on which is in Brāhmī characters and is pronounced to be of about the 2nd century A. D.

Bālpur has no tradition of its own except that in very olden days it was a rival town of Ratanpur and was rather superior to it. This is expressed in the following words of the gold-dust-washers who periodically visit this place every year ;—

बालभर बालपुर
रत्तीभर रतनपुर

The second tradition is that Bālpur contains such a vast treasure

that it can feed the whole world for 2½ days :—बालपुर में संसार के अढ़ाई दिन के खर्चा है। No importance can, however, be attached to this tradition as such sayings are very common.

Very small gold rings called बालमुनिया are found here by the gold-dust-washers in the bed of the *Mahānadī* and about its banks. Nothing definite is known about the use of these small rings. The name and shape of the rings suggest that they were probably used as hair decorations of women.

Bālpur has yielded a number of coins the most important of which are those of *Pratāpamalla Deva,* whose coins have not yet been found anywhere. These form the subject of the present note.

In 1919 some two or three very worn out pieces of copper were brought to me with one copper coin of Ratnadeva, the Haihaya prince of Ratanpur. These worn out pieces contained nothing on one side being very much corroded while the other side contained one indistinct letter. These were sent to the Coin-expert, Central Museum, Nagpur but they could not be identified owing to their bad condition on account of tear and wear of time. On 6-7-24 the village watchman of Bālpur got one small copper coin on the footpath leading to the Mahānadī. On examination I found that it contained in three lines on the obverse the following inscriptions :—

श्रीमत्प्र (Śrīmatpra)
तापम (tāpama)
ल्ल देव (lla deva)

and on the reverse a distinct figure of a rude lion and of a dagger or sword (no. 1). Three days later one bigger coin of Pratāpadeva was handed over to me by a boy. This has a picture of a lion. The boy had got it on the border of the village site where his father was digging earth (coin no. II).

On 2-10-24 a fresh coin of Pratāpa (middle size) was found. A fisher boy was grazing cattle in a meadow on the bank of the Mahānadī and he came across it after a heavy shower of rain, which had exposed it out of the sandy soil (coin No. III.)

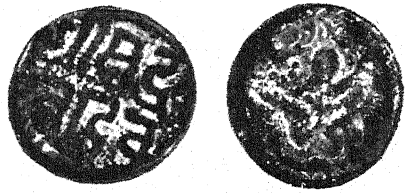
On 24-10 24 a coin of Pratāpamalladeva (middle size) was secured by me from a gold-dust washer. He had got it while washing for gold dust and Bālmuniyās (small gold rings) (coin no. IV).

One coin of Pratāpmalladeva was found near the village of Pujāri-pāli referred to above (coin no. V).

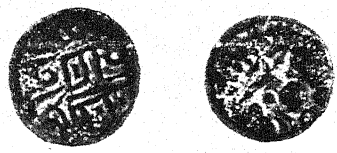
On 8-9-25 a middle sized copper coin of Pratāpamalladeva was found at Bālpur. From this coin it was confirmed that the name of



Middle size coin of Pṛthvideva (Hanumān type)
5 māṣas, 3 rattis



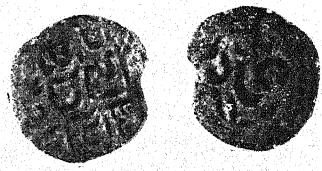
A bigger coin of Ratnadeva (lion type—7 māṣas)



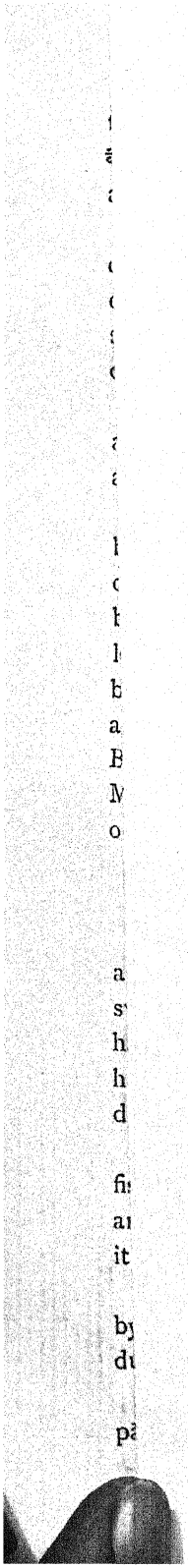
Coin of Pratāpamalladeva No. I



Coin of Pratāpamalladeva No. II



Coin of Pratāpamalladeva No. VI



the prince was *Pratāpamalladeva,* because the letters म and ल्ल are quite distinct on this coin while on other coins of that king those two letters were not so clear. (coin no. VI).

Besides these 6 coins, I have got 6 more coins belonging to this king. So I have altogether 12 coins. Out of which one is of small size, five are of middle size and six of bigger size.

All of these excepting one were found at Bālpur and I therefore call these coins by the name of *Bālpur Coins of Pratāpamalladeva.*

I sent some of these coins to Mr. M. A. Suboor, Coin-expert, Central Museum, Nagpur. He kindly examined them and wrote to me that he agreed with me in my views that the coins belong to Pratapasiṃha-deva, the Haihaya prince of Ratanpur, as the figure of a lion was very much in favour of their being assigned to the Ratanpur Haihaya dynasty.

According to the Raipur District Gazetteer (1909) Pratāpasiṃhadeva reigned about 1276 A. D. and according to Babu Rewā Rām Pandit's "Ratanpur Itihās" his rule extended from Vikrama Saṃvat 1307 to 1350 (1250 A. D. to 1293 A. D.). I am of opinion that the word "*siṃha*" in place of "*malla*" was a mistake made by the later writers. The proper name of the king was Pratāpamalladeva as is found on the coins.

Pratāpadeva is stated to have conquered a portion of Allahabad division and to have founded 'Pratāpapura,' a town after his name in commemoration of his victory.

The characters of the legend on these coins appear to be of the 12th century A. D.

The coins of Pratāpamalladeva in question weigh as follows :—

Small coin (no. 1)	1 māṣa 4 ratis (1½ māṣa)
Bigger coin	3 māṣas
Middle size	2 māṣas 2 ratis

The weight of coin no. 1 is just the same as that of the copper-coin (small) of Ratnadeva (Haihaya) found here ; both weigh 1½ māṣa.

I give below the weight of some more copper-coins of the Haihaya princes of Ratanpur found at Bālpur :—

1	Small copper coin of Ratnadeva (Type rude lion)	1 māṣa 4 ratis
2	Haihaya piece (worn out)	1 „ 1 rati
3	„ „ („)	1 „ 1 rati
4	Bigger copper coin of Pṛthvī-deva 1st. (Hanumān type)	7 māṣas.

5	Bigger copper coin of Ratnadeva (Lion type)	7 māṣas
6	Middle size copper coin of Pṛthvīdeva (Hanumān type)	5 māṣas 3 ratis
7	Middle size copper coin of Pṛthvīdeva (Hanumān type) (worn out)	4 „ 2 ratis

The variation in weight is due to the good or bad condition of the coins.

Two very old square coins of copper (un-assigned—probably of the Buddhist period) have also been found here. Each weighs 2 māṣas 4 ratis.

L. P. PĀNDEYA

Kautalya and Machiavelli

That comparisons sometimes prove odious is sufficiently manifest. It is too well known that there has been a great crossing of swords, as it were, among the various orientalists of distinction as to the fact whether Kauṭalya, the immortal author of the undying Arthaśāstra, is an Indian prototype of the Italian Machiavelli. Put briefly the question resolves itself thus : whether Kauṭaliyan recommendations and principles agree in the main with those of that remarkable statesman of Italy. This point of view has had the careful consideration and authoritative approval of scholars like Drs. Winternitz, Botazzi, B. K. Sarkar, K. D. Nag, U. N. Ghoshal and Shamasastry to mention only a few. Among these all scholars except Nag and to some extent Ghoshal seem to support the view that Kauṭalya is only an Indian Machiavelli. Dr. Ghoshal too admits that some of the theories of the Arthaśāstra correspond with those of Machiavelli.

This note is the result of the long contribution entitled 'Hindu Politics in Italian' made by Prof. B. K. Sarkar to the March and June issues of the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. His writings bear out the unmistakable mark of his well assimilated and digested notions and ideas of western polity. In his outlook he is perhaps more an occident than an orient. He seems to judge things Indian by the test of western standards of polity. This line of research has often landed many students of Indology in untenable positions. For the conclusions thus arrived at will not stand often the test of verifica-

tion with the originals. But one is happy to note the present tendency in Indian historical research to develop healthy lines of finding out the Indian view-point and examining the texts from that point of view.

In the light of the above remarks we would proceed to examine some statements of Professor Sarkar as regards Kauṭalyaism and Machiavellism. According to Prof. Sarkar Kauṭalya like Machiavelli is the first of the new series of politicians in India and is an advocate of the secularisation of the state, Kauṭalīya is a treatise of political philosophy and not the document of an actual constitution, and last but not least Kauṭalyaism is Machiavellism. Let us take these statements one by one and see whether they are warranted by evidence.

First Machiavelli was undoubtedly a remarkable author and a rare politician. He has to his credit a number of political treatises such as the Prince, the Dialogues, etc., where he has propounded new theories of state and administration, some of them strikingly original. It is hence in the fitness of things that he has been called the first of modern political philosophers. And what about Kauṭalya? He was one of our distinguished pandit-politicians who have played from time to time not an insignificant role in the make up of Hindu India. He has propounded certain theories and principles which, as he himself declares, are not his own but the choice fruits of his ceaseless endeavours in recovering the science (शास्त्र) from oblivion. It would appear that he has collated and collected the opinions of his predecessors from very remote times and generously acknowledges his indebetedness to their views and writings. At any rate he makes no pretension to originality. He speaks naked truth when he says

सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगानुबलभ्य च ।
कौटल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिः स्मृतः ॥ Arth. Ś., II, 10,

Kauṭalya is thus a faithful transmitter of ancient Hindn tradition. To him tradition is something sacred and inviolable, as to us even today. He bows to it with all humility of a serious student. To our knowledge he does not seem to break new ground. On the other hand, every one of his so-called secular recommendations meets with the approval of the Dharmaśūtras and the Dharmaśāstras wherein similar rulings are found (vide my paper 'Is Arthaśāstra Secular ? in the Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference). Hence it is strange that Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar remarks that Kauṭalya like Machiavelli is the *first* of a *new series* of politicians in India.

Secondly in Prof. Sarkar's opinion Machiavelli was an advocate of the 'secularisation of the state,' (*I.H.Q.*, vol II, p. 150) like Kauṭalya. He effected this by being the 'inspirer of political movements against the papacy' and by attacking 'the vested interests of the theological *status quo*.' This kind of secularisation is foreign to the Kauṭalyan treatise. In his book the author has given an exalted position to the Purohita, certainly not inferior to that occupied by him in the epoch of the Brāhmaṇas. Even Dr. Winternitz, the great advocate of the theory of Kauṭalyaism = Machiavellism has agreed as regards the position accorded to the Purohita in the Arthaśāstra (vide Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur, vol. III, pp. 523f.). Here the great scholar shows how Kauṭalya has not strayed beyond the sphere of Brahmanical religion and the Brahmanical view of life, and how he accepts the floating tradition of his religion entirely and on that lays the foundation of the State.

To add to this Kauṭalya has recommended a number of Vedic ceremonials, rites and sacrifices towards the welfare of the State, and these bear the weight of the inference that the remarkable statesman has not in any way minimised the value and importance of the established theological interests or religious practices. In the face of these facts could we still continue to maintain that the Arthaśāstra elevates Artha at the expense of Dharma? To hold such a view is to misunderstand the Hindu view-point wherein Artha is inseparably bound with Dharma.

Again Prof. Sarkar's theory that the Arthaśāstra is merely 'a treatise of political philosophy, and not the document of an actual constitution' is one that has no legs to stand on. For there are outstanding facts which falsify this argument. There is strong evidence which demonstrates the fact that at least to one monarch the treatise proved a practical guidance in the carrying on of his administration. This monarch was the great Candragupta Maurya. In support of this view we have the more reliable evidence of the Greek ambassador Megasthenes' records, fragments of which have been translated by McCrindle from the original Greek. He was a foreign traveller who happend to visit the great emperor's court. His record is one of inestimable value. What all he has noted as regards the civil and military administration of Candragupta, well nigh agrees with the recommendations of the Arthaśāstra. There is another piece of evidence that corroborates this view. The aim and purpose of the treatise are explicitly set forth by the author himself. He did not

write this work for the mere sake of a work. But he did this for the use of नरेन्द्र, the king-emperor Candragupta, so that he might reign and rule according to the letter and spirit of the established law (शासनस्य विधिः). If this position were granted, undoubtedly Kauṭalya himself regarded his work as a practical manual.

The assumption that Kauṭalyaism is Machiavellism, though ingenious, is not a tenable one. We agree with Dr. K. D. Nag who remarks rightly, "In ethical concepts Kauṭalya is far removed from Machiavelli with whom he has been compared in a superficial manner" (Diplomatic Theories of Ancient India and the Arthaśāstra, p. 112). Here is an estimate of the great literary historian, Lord Macaulay, on our Italian author. "We doubt whether it would be possible to find in all the many volumes of his compositions, a single expression indicating that dissimulation and treachery had ever struck him as discreditable. Two characters altogether dissimilar are united in him. It is therefore in the state of moral feeling among the Italians of those times that we must have seen for the real explanation of what seems most mysterious in the life and writings of this remarkable man."

From this it is obvious that contemporary events and incidents left an indelible stamp on the writings of Machiavelli. There is reason to believe that these facts had influenced his writings to a large measure. Do Kauṭalya's writings betray any such influence? The answer is in the negative. Further there is no comparison between the age of Machiavelli and that of Kauṭalya so far the political and social conditions which prevailed in Italy and India in their respective periods were concerned. Indian history and culture, it needs no stretch of imagination to understand, are peculiar to themselves, and in comparing them with any other civilisation and culture of the world, ancient or modern, due allowance must be made for the peculiarities of position and environment. Kauṭalya's theories of administration and laws of war are not certainly influenced by contemporary facts. These India knew long before the author of the Arthaśāstra was born. Not only has India known them but there is evidence of their having been in practice in Vedic India. Under these circumstances no true purpose is served by propounding 'white-washing' theories and arguments.

It would not be out of place to refer to one other assumption of Dr. Nag with which we cannot agree. He says, "But the fact is that India has rejected the way pointed out by Kauṭalya-Cāṇakya to enter that of Dharmakesu." This is only misreading Indian historical literature and tradition. No emperor, be he Buddhist, Jain or Hindu,

has rejected Kauṭalya's theories of the State. Even Asoka who is supposed to have chalked out a new line could not be said with any definiteness to have abandoned Kauṭalyan doctrine in his civil administration. And if only he had embarked on an active military policy, it is quite probable and even possible that he would have pursued the laws of war as recommended by Kauṭalya himself. That Kauṭalya has been accorded a celebrated place with no less distinguished teachers of Hindu polity than Bṛhaspati and Śukra by a writer of the eighteenth century (Śivatatvaratnākara, a recently published work in Madras), is eloquent of the fact that his canons and principles have never been rejected by the Hindu politicians following the Indian tradition. Says the author

गुरुशुक्रमतेऽप्येते चाणक्यादिमते तथा। kallola 5, taraṅga 7, śl. 17.

Prof. Sarkar is certainly right when he remarks "Kauṭalyaism first, Kauṭalyaism second, Kauṭalyaism always has remained the motto of the Hindus as of other pillars of the state." Undoubtedly Kauṭalya 'is an inveterate trait of the Hindu genius' but he or his work has nothing to do with Machiavelli or Machiavellism.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKHSITAR

The Malla Era of Visnupur

There is an era current in Viṣṇupur in the district of Bankura in Bengal and its neighbourhood. It is one hundered and one year behind the Bengali era called the *San.* But the *San* is not an independent era. It is an era dependent on the *Hijri.* Akbar at his coronation in 1560 changed the *Hijri* into this new era by adding solar calculation to the existing year of the *Hijri* and the subsequent years. In the three hundered and sixty-six years intervening between Akbar's accession in 1560 A.D. and the present year 1926 there is a difference of 12 years between the *Hijri* and the *San,* the *Hijri* being now 1345 and the *San* 1333. So by saying that the *Mallābda* is one hundred and one year behind, we do not say much to clear the ground. It does not give us the initial year of the era for certain.

There is a manuscript in the Library of the ASB. (No. 10,816) of Goyicandra's commentary on Jumaranandin's work, the copyist of which gives the following synchronism of the Śaka and Malla eras,

श्रीरस्तु मयि लेखके ।
अङ्काम्बरयुते मेर्वे शाके शुक्लाष्टमीतिथौ (१७०९) ।
अद्वैतेन प्रलिखिता दीपिकेयं (कायां) प्रयत्नतः ॥
नेत्राग्निहयुते खाब्धे मल्लाब्दे मासि श्रावणे (१०९३) ।
ह्लादन्तदीपिकालेखि खपाठाय द्विजन्मना ॥

This shows that the 1709th year of the Śaka era was the 1093rd of the Malla era, i.e., the initial year of the Malla era is 1709—1093 =616 Śaka, i.e. 616+78=694 A.D.

Mr. L. S. O'Malley in his Gazetteer of the District of Bankura (p. 23) says that a prince of northern India made a pilgrimage in the year 695 (?) A.D. to the shrine of Jagannātha at Puri. His wife was with him and in the deep jungle of Bankura his wife gave birth to a child. The prince however left her and the child in charge of a Brāhmaṇa named Pañcānana and a Kāyastha named Bhagīratha Guha. The child grew up and was the founder of the Malla dynasty. He reigned for 33 years and greatly extended his dominion in the neighbourhood. His son Jayamalla continued the victorious career of the Malla family and made Viṣṇupur his capital.

The history of this family is compiled from an account prepared at the request of the District Officer from papers kept by the royal family. Forty princes of the Malla family reigned at Viṣṇupur. They extended their dominion on all sides and consecrated a large number of temples and images. The forty-ninth prince Dhara Hāmbīra acknowledged the suzerainty of the emperor of Delhi. His son Vīra Hāmbīra was well-known in the Vaiṣṇava literature as the decoit chief who plundered the manuscript treasures of Śrīnivāsa, Narottama and Śyāmadāsa and at last became a disciple of Śrīnivāsa Ācārya.

The era is still locally current in Viṣṇupur but its currency is being daily circumscribed.

HARAPRASAD SASTRI

Patañjali and his Knowledge of Science

It is very natural for a scholar who has made a special study of an author to find in him all knowledge. Dr. Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti's interesting paper on Patañjali that has been published serially in the Indian Historical Quarterly shows this weakness. In the section on "Scientific Theories in the Mahābhāṣya" (I.H.Q., vol. II, no. 4, pp. 738-742), Dr. Chakravarti has cited as instances of Patañjali's scientific knowledge several views, most of which belong to the

region of everyday experience or are far from scientific. It is difficult to see what knowledge of Zoology is involved in the statement "gomayād vṛściko jāyate" ('scorpions grow from cowdung'). [Śaṅkarācārya makes the same unscientific statement in his comments on Vedānta Sūtras, 11-1-6, and here he probably follows the traditional interpretation]. The other instances of Dr. Chakravarti are mostly of this type.

But one statement of Dr. Chakravarti deserves special comment. As the seventh instance of "scientific theories in the Mahābhāṣya," the writer tells us, "Patañjali has more than once referred to the movement of the Sun. The Sun has its motion, though it is not perceptible to our naked eyes. There might be some bigger luminous bodies around which the Sun would be moving, just in the same way as the earth moves round it." Here again one fails to understand the science that is involved. Patañjali seems most obviously to hold the unscientific and incorrect popular view that the Sun goes round the earth, a view which though ably controverted by Āryabhaṭa some eight centuries after Patañjali, has not lost adherents among even astronomers of India. Dr. Chakravarti's assumption that Patañjali believes the Sun to be going round, not the earth but, a luminary bigger than itself is altogether gratuitous. The actual movement of an animal or a bird is visible to the naked eye. Not so is the case with the apparent or real movement of the Sun or the Moon. We see these luminaries in different parts of the heaven in different times from which we infer that they have changed places by movement. The early Naiyāyikas call this sort of inference a *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa anumāna*. Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-bhāṣya on Gautama Sūtra 1-1-5 gives just this illustration:

"Sāmānyato dṛṣṭaṃ vrajyāpūrvakam anyatra dṛṣṭasya anyatra darśanam, yathā ādityasya, tasmād asty apratyakṣā' py ādityasya vrajyā iti."

Compare also Gauḍapāda's Bhāṣya on Sāṃkhyakārikā, under v. 5 : *"Sāmānyato dṛṣṭaṃ deśād deśāntaram prāptaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ gatimaccandratārakaṃ Caitravat, yathā Caitranāmānaṃ deśād deśāntaraṃ prāptam avalokya gatimān ayam iti, tadvac candratārakam iti,"* also Śabara on Mīmāṃsā Sūtra, 1, 15. *"Sāmānyatodṛṣṭasambandhaṃ yathā Devadattasya gatipūrvikāṃ deśāntaraprāptim upalabhya ādityagatismaraṇaṃ"* (Chowkhamba edition, 1910, vol. I, p. 8). Is it therefore right to maintain that Patañjali supposed the Sun to go round another invisible luminary?

K. CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA

Did Madhvācārya tour in Bengal?

Of the Vaiṣṇava apostles of mediæval India, Śrī Madhvācārya holds a unique place. The life he lived and the age in which he lived were both momentous. Those were the dark days of early Pāthān rule when invasions and depredations were the order of the day. Hindu Vedāntism and Buddhistic Tāntrikism were at work to sap the life-energy of the people, so that national existence, not to speak of national expansion, was at stake. "Hindu India appeared to be crumbling down, but he had fought the theory of illusion, raised the value of the individual, given the motive force of the ideals of faith and hope and progress." The foundation of neo-Vaiṣṇavism was laid by him. His last message to his disciples was in the word of the *Aitareya Upaniṣad* that "it was not sufficient to understand Him and sit still. It was necessary to advance, to go forth, preach." It was this progressive view that in later years gained ground in the great Hindu empire of Vijaynagar and the Bengal of that period, while Madhvācārya himself was honoured by the ruler of the Kākatiyas of Warangal, who perhaps was Rudrambā, one of the great women rulers of India.

A word as to the date in which Madhvācārya lived is here necessary. He has generally been placed at the end of the 12th century A.D. But according to the work on his life and teachings by Mr. C. M. Padmanābhācārya, who has adduced some additional reasons. not given before, his time has been fixed as 1238-1317 A.D. We are here not concerned with all his other activities. His probable Bengal tour may be based on the works of Muslim historians, such as Ziāuddin Bārni's *Tarīkh-i-Firoz-shāhi*, and on a Sanskrit work called *Madhvavijaya* which describes his life and activities.

Now, on two different occasions did Madhvācārya go on tour to Northern India. According to the *Madhvavijaya* and the *Jayatīrtha-vijaya*, he returned from his first tour to Badri in about 1262 A.D. We have nothing to do with this first tour of the Vaiṣṇava apostle.

The second tour of Madhvācārya is believed to have begun before 1266 A.D. After leaving the territory of Mahādeva, the king of Devagiri who ruled from 1262 to 1271 A.D. he reached the shores of the Ganges. It is recorded in the *Madhvavijaya* that in 1266 A.D. there was warfare at those quarters. It is stated in the *History of Hindusthan* by Alexander Dow (vol. I) that in 1266 A.D. the Emperor Ghiyāsuddin Balban of Delhi "sent an army down between

the Ganges and the Jumna, to suppress some insurrections in those parts." So, according to Mr. Venkoba Rao, in his *Life of Śrī Vyāsarāja*, Madhvācārya met Sultan Ghiyāsuddin Balban after he left Mahārāṣṭra in 1266 A.D., and that the Emperor treated the Ācārya very well." He crossed the Ganges and went to his destination.

On his return journey when he had to recross the Ganges, there took place an incident which was important on both political as well as religious account. It was about 1280-81 A.D. At that time Sultan Ghiyāsuddin Balban went on an expedition against Mughīsuddin Toghral Khan, who had been the Governor of Bengal, but who at that time declared himself independent. When the Sultan reached Bengal he made an alliance with Danuj Rai, the king of Suvarṇagrām in East Bengal so that the rebel Toghral may not escape by that way (R. D. Bannerjee's *Bāṅgālār Itihās*, vol. II). Danuj Rai seems to be a powerful king and possessed a strong flotilla, so his help was assured by the Sultan to guard the escape of Toghral by water.

We now come to our main point of discussion. It has been suggested that this Danuj Rai was the king who is said to have shown honour to the Vaiṣṇava saint from Southern India. Mr. B. Venkoba Rao, in his work already mentioned, says that "there is reason to believe that it is this Danuj Rai that received Śrī Madhvācārya, and sent boats for his party to cross the Ganges. The following śloka in the tenth *sarga* of *Madhvavijaya* clearly applies to an Indian prince, and not a Mussalman sovereign.

पदं पशोर्वा विनतातनूज
स्तीर्त्वा नदीं तावददीनसत्त्वः ।
अनार्द्रवासास्मकृतूहलार्द्रं
नृदेव भूदेवसुखैर्ववन्दे ॥

If it was Danuj Rai that met Śrī Madhvācārya, it shows that the latter was then touring in Bengal."

Considering the fact that the neo-Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal took its cue from the school founded by Śrī Madhvācārya, and that many well-known personages of his time were connected with Bengal, e.g., Viṣṇu Purī, who compiled the *Bhaktiratnāvalī*, Mādhavendra Purī, the mystic, and Vyāsarāya, the guru of the kings of Vijayanagar and of writer *Viṣṇu Saṃhitā* (according to the *Gauragaṇoddeśadīpikā* of Kavi Karṇapūra), this tour of the founder of the sect in Bengal in the 13th century is of considerable importance. If this fact can be established beyond any doubt by means of other evidences we shall be in a position to trace the original influence which shaped the Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal.

RAMES BASU

Jātaka Representations in Siam

The article of Dr. Barua on the *Multiplicity of Jātakas* and his reference to the Barhut Jātaka-scenes tempt me to write a brief note on the Jātaka representations in Siam. Not only are the Jātaka-scenes sculptured on the gates of Barhut, but also in Siam. Just as the Barhut Jātaka-scenes bear the names of the Jātakas in the Asokan character, so these Siamese representations also contain the names of the Jātakas in Thai character. So we have 51 Thai inscriptions with an equal number of Jātaka representations in Siamese sculpture. Thanks to the industry of M. Fournereau, these 51 Thai inscriptions have been deciphered and the Jātaka-scenes identified. These sculptures are placed to the year 1357 A.D. during the reign of Śrī Sūrya Vaṃśa Rāma Mahādharmarājādhirāja, the last of the famous kings of the royal dynasty of Sukhodaya in Siam. We get the following Jātaka stories represented in the Siamese sculpture:—

1	Serivānija	Jātaka No.		3	24	Sakuṇa	Jātaka No.		36
2	Cullakaseṭṭhi	,,	,,	4	25	Tittira	,,	,,	37
3	Taṇḍulanāli	,,	,,	5	26	Baka	,,	,,	38
4	Devadhamma	,,	,,	6	27	Nacca	,,	,,	32
5	Kaṭṭahāri	,,	,,	7	28	Kapota	,,	,,	42
6	Makhādeva	,,	,,	9	29	Veḷuka	,,	,,	43
7	Nigrodhamiga	,,	,,	12	30	Makasa	,,	,,	44
8	Kaṇḍina	,,	,,	13	31	Rohiṇī	,,	,,	45
9	Sukhavihāri	,,	,,	10	32	Ārāmadūsaka	,,	,,	46
10	Tittha	,,	,,	25	33	Vāruṇi	,,	,,	47
11	Lakkhaṇa	,,	,,	11	34	Vedabbha	,,	,,	48
12	Vātamiga	,,	,,	14	35	Nakkhatta	,,	,,	49
13	Kharādiya	,,	,,	15	36	Dummedha	,,	,,	50
14	Tipalloka	,,	,,	16	37	Mahāsīlava	,,	,,	51
15	Mālulā	,,	,,	17	38	Cūḷajanaka	,,	,,	52
16	Matakabhatta	,,	,,	18	39	Puṇṇapāti	,,	,,	53
17	Āyācitabhatta	,,	,,	19	40	Phala	,,	,,	54
18	Naḷapāna	,,	,,	20	41	Pañcāvudha	,,	,,	55
19	Kuruṅgamiga	,,	,,	21	42	Kañcaṇakkhandhā	,,	,,	56
20	Kukkura	,,	,,	22					
21	Bhojājānīya	,,	,,	23	43	Tayodhamma	,,	,,	58
22	Gajājānīya	,,	,,	24	44	Bherivāda	,,	,,	59
23	Vaṭṭaka	,,	,,	35	45	Saṃkhadhamana	,,	,,	60

46	Asālāmanta	Jātaka No. 61	49	Kālakaṇṇi	Jātaka No. 83
47	Nanda	„ „ 39	50	Atthassadvāra	„ „ 84
48	Khadiraṅgāra	„ „ 40	51	?	Jātaka

These Jātaka scenes offer an interesting study to the students of Buddhism. Not only do we find these Jātaka representations on the Barhut pillars in India, but also in Siam as well as in Java and Burma. With the spread of Buddhism in Siam, Java and Burma, the Jātaka stories became popular in those countries and were represented also in sculpture.

PHANINDRA NATH BOSE

Date of Accession of King Lakṣmaṇasena

The date when king Lakṣmaṇasena of the Bengal Sena dynasty ascended the throne has not as yet been determined with any amount of certainty. Various theories have from time to time been propounded with regard to the question of which the two most important and most generally accepted are (1) that he succeeded his father Ballālasena in the year 1119-20 A.D. and celebrated his coronation by the introduction of a new era in his name known in later times as *La-sam, Lakṣmaṇābda* or *Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat*,[1] (2) that he was made king by his father sometime after 1168-69, the date given by *Adbhutasāgara* and *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena[2].

The correctness and accuracy of both these views have been questioned. There was for long a controversy as to the identity of the founder of the era known as *La-sam*. According to the upholders of the first theory given above the first year of the reign of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal would synchronise with the initial year (1119-20 A.D.) of *La-sam* though this would go against the statements of the *Adbhutasāgara* and *Dānasāgara* according to which king Ballālasena was ruling as far as 1168-69 A.D.[3] Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury however has disproved

1 *JASB.*, vol. XLVII, p. 398; *Ep. Ind.*, vol. I, p. 306; *JASB.*, vol. LXV, p. 31; *Bāṅgālār Itihās* (R. D. Banerji), 2nd ed., pp. 323-328.

2 *JASB.*, 1905, p. 47; *Gauḍa Rājamālā* (R. Chanda), p. 65; *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Jubilee Commemoration Volumes*—Orientalia, pt. II, p. 2.

3 *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 1887-91, R. G. Bhandarkar, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.

with good reasons any possible association of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal with the era called *Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat*, the originator of which in his opinion has to be identified with Lakṣmaṇasena, founder of the Sena dynasty of Pīṭhīl Behar.[1]

Thus the first theory is of very little help now for the correct determination of the actual date when Lakṣmaṇasena came to the throne.

The second theory is based on some verses to be found in some manuscripts of the *Adhutasāgara* and *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena. From two verses found in some manuscripts of the former we learn that the book was begun (by Ballālasena) in 1090 *Śaka* (i.e. 1168 A.D.) but the king raised his son to the throne and died before he could complete it.[2] And one verse in the latter work points to the year 1091 *Śaka* i.e. 1169 A.D., when the book was composed by king Ballālasena.[3] It is argued from these that Lakṣmaṇasena must have come to the throne some time after 1168—69 A.D. though the exact date of his coronation is not known. The objection raised by some scholars against this view is based on the supposition that the verses in question did not originally form part of the works of Ballālasena as they are not found in all manuscripts.[4] Neither is it possible, even on the assumption of the genuineness of the verses in question, to arrive at the real date of accession of king Lakṣmaṇasena as they merely say that Ballālasena put his son on the throne before he died but they do not tell us anything about the exact date when he was made king.

But we have now some definite evidence with regard to this date from the colophon of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa, a contemporary of Lakṣmaṇasena, being the son of Vaṭudāsa, a *Mahāsāmantacūḍāmaṇi* and friend of the king. It can thus claim to be regarded as contemporary evidence and be taken as reliable in the

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1 *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Jubilee Commemoration Volumes* (Orientalia), pt. II, pp. 1-5.

2 *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1887-91), R. G. Bhandarkar, p. lxxxv.

3 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, Eggeling, p. 545.

4 *Bāṅgālār Itihās* (R. D. Banerji), 2nd ed., p. 321; *Ind. Ant.*, 1913, p. 185; *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 171-7.

absence of anything found contrary to it. It has this further advantage that far from clashing with any known data it is in full agreement with the disputed dates found in the *Adbhutasāgara* and *Dānasāgara* which in their turn are confirmed by it.

Now the colophon[1] on a collation of the different manuscripts can be put thus:—

Śāke[2] sapta-viṃśaty-adhika-śat-opeta-daśa-śate[3] śaradām
Śrīmal-Lakṣmaṇasena-kṣitipasya ras[4]-aikaviṃśe-bde[5]/
Savitur-gatyā Phālguna-viṃśeṣu parārtha-hetave kutukāt
Śrīdharadāsenedaṃ Saduktikarṇāmṛtaṃ cakre//

It can be translated thus:—"In *Śaka* 1127, in the year 27 of king Lakṣmaṇasena, on the 20th of Phālguna (calculated in terms of) the movements of the Sun, was composed this Saduktikarṇāmṛta by Śrīdharadāsa for the benefit of others."

The year of Lakṣmaṇasena referred to in the above colophon must needs be taken as having reference to his reign. For, if we refer it to *Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat*, the initial year of which, as is now admitted on all hands, was 1119-20 A.D., this 27th year would point to 1146-47 A.D. (1068-69 *Śaka*) as its equivalent and not *Śaka* as we find it

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1 I am indebted to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar for having kindly procured for me the text of the colophon from Pandit Rāmāvatāra Śarmā who is editing the book in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series*. As a matter of fact, this paper is the result of a discussion which I had with Prof. Bhandarkar on this particular colophon.

The text of Pandit Śarmā is based on two manuscripts *R.* (belonging to one Pandit Ramānātha Tarkaratna) and *S.* (manuscript of the Serampore College Library, Bengal). I had occasion to collate two other manuscripts of the work for this purpose :—(1) *Sa.* (manuscript of the Government Sanskrit College Library of Calcutta), (2) *A* (manuscript of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal). I further consulted the colophon as read by R.L. Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, vol. III, no. 1180.

2 -tra (Śarmā), ca (R), simply *Śāke* (Sa, A, Mitra). *Śāketra* or *Śāke ca* would spoil the metre.

3 *śate* not found in Śarmā's text. It is found in *Sa*, *A* and Mitra.

4 rabdaik (Mitra, *Sa*, *A*.).

5 -bde omitted in *Sa*, *A*, Mitra.

specified in the colophon in question. Now, as the 27th regnal year of king Lakṣmaṇasena is found to correspond to 1127 *Śaka*, the first year of his reign must necessarily have been 1100 *Śaka*, or 1178 A.D. This date of his accession is not in opposition to, but on the contrary, entirely agrees with, the information supplied by the much disputed verses of the *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* from which we know this much that Lakṣmaṇasena came to the throne after 1168-69 A.D. On the other hand its indirect support of the dates contained in the above-mentioned works may reasonably be supposed to be sufficient to dispel all doubts as regards their authenticity.[1]

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

On some Methods and Conclusions in Hindu Politics

II

Dr. Ghoshal admits my charges

We have noticed above that the author wanted to consider "at a later place, the scope of an historical investigation of political theories." He seems at last to come to this point and devotes two paragraphs.

Speaking about my remarks on his rather one-sided treatment of the problems of the state in post-Vedic times he says:—"The critic's charges on this point indicate nothing so much as his tendency to mis-state facts and to shut his eyes to the positive evidence of texts." Let us see how his facts have been mis-stated by me. My remarks may be given as follows: Dr. G. fails for the Vedic ages to take cognizance of anything but the king and the priest. "The same

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1 If the above interpretation of the date given in the colophon be accepted there will be no room for ambiguity in it as was suspected by Manomohan Chakravarti (*JASB.*, 1906, p. 175). His suggested emendations (*loc. cit.*) *rasāśītatame* and *rasaikatriṃśe* (thirty-one) for *rasaikaviṃśe* with a view to refer the year to *Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat* and the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena respectively are not satisfactory on grounds of metre. The latter of the two again does not appear to be a Sanskrit word at all and is based on the gratuitous supposition that Lakṣmaṇasena came to the throne in 1168 A. D.

absence of balance in regard to the problems of political theory vitiates G's treatment of the subject during subsequent periods."

What topics has he ignored? "Neither public finance nor international law (understood of course in pre-Grotian sense) nor jurisprudence nor the theory of war has been touched upon by the author. And he is oblivious, as a matter of course, of the *rāṣṭra* (the territory and people) with its economic factors."

But what has Dr. Ghoshal really discussed in his book? "Instead the author has furnished his readers with a series of theories of kingship and a bundle of ideas on the relations between the king and the priest. An absolutely wrong view has thus been bequeathed on the thoughts of the ancient and mediæval philosophers. ..... The publication is likely to propagate among the readers an one-sided and erroneous judgment on the philosophical worth of the Hindu political theorists."

The author has charged me with the "tendency to mis-state facts etc." But he has failed to challenge my charges. On the other hand he accepts my charges on his limitations in their entirety. For he has to confess unequivocally as follows :—"It is true that none of the component factors save the king has been subjected in the H. P. T. to a detailed treatment." And what else has my poorself said? "It is reasonable to take the book, so runs my judgment, not as a "history of Hindu political theories," as it claims to be but as a "History of Hindu political literature with special reference to kingship."

My friend 'despairs' of me and I am grateful to him for his solicitations. But it should appear even from his self-criticism that I have not mis-stated the facts. And in this connection one is naturally reminded of Dr. Ghoshal's another remark about his work, namely, "to say in the face of this evidence that the H. P. T. is virtually an examination of the theory of kingship is to mis-state facts." In the course of two pages and a half of the rejoinder the author finds himself in an inconsistency regarding the very scope of his own book.

The situation, then, may be summed up as follows : (1) Dr. Ghoshal admits in one place that his book deals chiefly with none of the component factors save the king." (2) In another place he denies this fact. (3) My mis-statement of facts is nil. (4) On the other hand I sized him up thoroughly well just where the author thinks that I was fancying the "limited scope of the work" and "imagining" the "tremendous misconception from beginning to end"—under which the book labours.

The proper jurisdiction of Political Philosophy

Dr. Ghoshal admits my charges about the limited scope of his work. But he says: "This was done deliberately with the object of confining the work to its proper jurisdiction."

He has furnished a reason, and one ought to be satisfied. Because when an author says that he wants to study such and such subjects and exclude such and such other subjects, no reader has any right to demand what he himself wants. But even then Dr. Ghoshal cannot escape so lightly. For he should have made it clear either in the title or in the sub-title or in the preface or in the footnotes or even parenthetically in the body of the text that he is going to exclude almost everything save the king." But he has not done this. Rather he is furious at an honest reader who while reading his book has happened to discover the real worth of its contents.

The question about the limitations of his scope might have been closed here. But Dr. Ghoshal has raised another trouble in the rejoinder. He is talking of the "proper jurisdiction" of a history of Hindu political theories. And he asks: "Will the critic who makes the omission of 'public finance, international law, jurisprudence and the theory of war' from the scope of the H.P.T. the basis of his charge kindly explain why the boundaries of the sciences laid down by a well-established convention should be transgressed in the case of political philosophy ?"

Here it is well to point out that I have no complaint against the omissions in his book as such. Omissions there must be perhaps in every publication. I have only stated what it is and what it is not.

Now, as regards the "proper jurisdiction" of political philosophy or rather of a history of political theories.

Political philosophy to begin with, has absolutely no well-established convention. Of course it deals with the "state", it discusses "politics". But the categories of thought in Aristotle's *Politics* are not identical with the categories of thought in Thomas Aquinas's Government of a Prince. Nor do Leroy-Beaulieu and Treitschke concern themselves with the self-same political categories.

The differences in the categories do not constitute the sole difference in the realm of political speculation between thinker and thinker. Even where the categories are identical the "contents" of those categories, i.e. the "substances of thought" as indicated by the categories may have absolutely nothing in common. Categories

like democracy, republic, law, justice, liberty, intervention, social control and so forth have differed in content or substance from epoch to epoch and of course from philosopher to philosopher.

No philosopher is compelled to think of political problems in the technique, terminology or "form" of another philosopher. Nor is his "matter," substance or content of philosophy bound to follow any well-established convention.

The moral is clear. If you are discussing the political philosophy of Plato you are expected to discuss his category of the "philosopher-king" to mention but one item. But when you are studying Hobbes you have to devote attention, say, to the "state of nature." The subjects that arrested Plato's attention are varied. So are the subjects that arrested Hobbes's attention. Should anybody, therefore, venture on writing a history of political theories, it will not be enough for him to write on the philosopher-king alone in the chapter on Plato. If Hobbes has talked on law, the historian of political philosophy will have to deal with jurisprudence too. If Hobbes has something to say on the relations between nations, well, the historian cannot fight shy of the theory of international law, whatever its worth be.

If, then, there be any "well-established convention" for a historian of political philosophy it consists just in summarizing, reviewing and interpreting all the different phases and items of political thought in which these philosophers were interested. But a historian of political philosophy finds it inconvenient for one reason or another to deal with public finance, international law, etc. He has only to say so and the trouble ceases to exist. But otherwise a reader will expect in the historian's treatment of Montesquieu an analysis of the ideas on climate and its relations with manners. In the treatment of Bodin one can legitimately expect an examination of the revenues, the "nerves of the republic." The law of nature must be examined in the discussion of Stoic politics, war in Machiavelli, and so on.

And in the treatment of Herbert Spencer an examination of the doctrine of the state, viz., individual cannot be avoided.

The "proper jurisdiction" of a history of political philosophy is not what you define it to be according to your convenience but how those political philosophers whom you are studying conceived their own problems. You may be a philosopher, and as such you are at liberty no doubt to write your own political philosophy but then you are not a historian. You are at liberty, also, as historian to single out for

your own investigation in which the philosophers were interested. But you have no right to say that the proper jurisdiction of political philosophy or of the history of political theories is what appears to be convenient to you.

Defects in Dr. Ghoshal's treatment of the Saptāṅga

The defects of Dr. G.'s book will now be apparent to those who,as has been pointed out once before, are conversant with the tables of contents in any of the Hindu political texts. "Political science as *vidyā* was not described by them," as I have said in that footnote to *Hindu Politics in Italian* "as a royal science or a priestly science. They used terms which have nothing to do with the king or the priest." But in Dr. G.'s "proper jurisdiction", the *History of Hindu Political Theories* deals in detail with "none of the component factors save the king," as admitted by himself.

My criticism of the H. P. T. is as follows:—Dr. Ghoshal has not cared to do justice either to *saptāṅga* or to the science of the *saptāṅga* as understood by the Hindu philosophers.

The author believes that since he has somewhere defined the term *saptāṅga* and mentioned all the seven elements of a polity including the king, he has done justice to the doctrine of *saptāṅga*. Similarly he thinks that it is enough to say somewhere that the king is but one of the seven limbs of the body politic.

No. All this is too elementary. When somebody complains that Dr. Ghoshal's book is vitiated by the "absence of balance in regard to the problems of political theory" the defects are deeper than can be whitewashed by such self-defence. As long as the theorists whose thoughts he is studying have made it a point to discuss the theories (whatever be their worth) of public finance, international law, etc.,—integral part of the doctrine of *saptāṅga*, and devote as a matter of course more space to those topics which have been avoided by Dr. Ghoshal than to those which he considers to be the "proper jurisdiction," no excuse on his part can be satisfying to the reader except a clear statement to the effect that he is interested only in certain aspects of Hindu political thought to the exclusion of others.

The author pleads again, that somewhere in his book he has used a word which cannot but "include the people." Further, in one footnote he has pointed out that "at a later stage Hindu political sicence was identified with the institution of monarchy." All this is good but irrelevant to the point in discussion. The sole subject that is being considered here is whether the chapters in the H. P. T. deal with the

different members of the *saptāṅga* as one should expect of a faithful student of the Hindu texts, in the manner, for instance, that Hillebrandt's *Altindische Politik* does. My verdict has been in the negative.

"No justice, no king" in Mediæval European theory

After having done with "the king's divine nature" Dr. G. discusses "the king's duty of protection and the rule of justice." In this connection he quotes Utathya's lecture in the *Mahābhārata* on "Justice or righteousness being the bounden duty of the king" as well as being the "foundation of the ordered existence of the people" (pp. 57, 98-100). Then he comes down to the "right of tyrannicida."

In the course of these pages the author remarks that this concept is "peculiar to Hindu political thought." In the rejoinder he has modified his statement and says "*perhaps* peculiar to Hindu political thoughts." So be it. My reaction to this proposition, extreme or moderate, was worded thus:—"It is a very commonplace item of thought in Stoic and Patristic speculations. It occurs even in the French epic of the thirteenth century *Le Couronnement de Louis.*"

The author has challenged me to cite the "precise counterpart." Here it is. In my *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922), a book which is mentioned in Dr. G.'s Select Bibliography (p. 283) there is a chapter entitled "The Theory of the Constitution in Hindu Political Philosophy." Section 4 of this chapter deals with "kingship, a public office", and section 6 with "right to revolt." These two sections correspond, roughly speaking, with the subjects discussed by Dr. G. in the pages in question. It may be mentioned *en passant* that the substantial portion of these sections appeared in my article in the *Political Science Quarterly* (New York) for December, 1918.

Among the ancient and mediæval European teachers of justice or righteousness as the *sine qua non* of kingship one will find mentioned in my book Seneca the Stoic philosopher of the first century A. C. who exhorts the ruler to remember his responsibility as "one out of all mankind who has been chosen to act in the place of the gods." The book mentions likewise Alcuin and Jonas. The *Couronnement* teaches that the purpose of God in making the king is not to enable him to satisfy his appetite but that he should tread down all wrongs under his feet. One should notice incidentally that even in Europe—among Stoics as well as the Fathers—the divine element is not unknown in

speculations on kingship. Then there is Bishop Hincmar who lectures like Utathya to a king on his duty of governing "according to laws." It is similarly on the bed-rock of justice that John of Salisbury establishes the *differentium* between the legitimate ruler and his opposite, the tyrant, who deserves to be killed.

Indeed the identification of justice and the office of the king is one of the almost inevitable platitudes or pious wishes of entire European political thought in the Middle Ages. The authority of the king is held to be divine because it is his function to secure the establishment and maintenance of justice. Something like "no law, no king" "no justice, no king" etc. has been, so to say, the A. B. C. of political theory since Cicero the Stoic of the first century B. C. lectured on "laws and duties." Nay it goes back to Plato's analysis of "virtue." The English jurist Bracton also is but a traditional justicite of the thirteenth century.

These conventional teachings on justice, righteousness, law, tyranny etc. have all been translated and summarized by the Carlyles in their 3 vols. of *Mediæval Political Theory in the West* (1903-15). Those students of the *nītiśāstras, arthaśāstras, daṇḍa-nīti*, etc. who believe that justice is a monopoly will not be losers if they care to open these books at the following pages: vol. I, pp. 9, 48, 70, 75, 76, 86, 114, 116, 199, 234, 264 ; vol. II, pp. 63-66, 118, 119, 120, 129. vol ; III, pp. 32, 67, 89, 108, 111, 113, 137-140, 145, 181.

And if it is allowable to make any suggestions on allied subjects, it may not be disgraceful on the part of learned scholars to cultivate a little intimacy with the Carlyles before embarking again on claiming certain peculiar features for Hindu theory. Besides for those scholars who have to use the expression "comparative politics" with special reference to the Middle Ages, books like Poole's *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought* (London, 1884), Littlejohn's *Political Theory of Schoolmen and Grotius* (1896), Gierke's *Political Theories of the Middle Ages* (1900), Figgis's *From Gerson to Grotius* (1907) as well as *Divine Right of Kings* (1914) and Woolf's *Bartolus* (1913) may not fail to be eminently illuminating in regard to the proper scientific perspective.

The Theory of Contract—Dr. Ghoshal's stumbling-block

Dr. G. draws the conclusion that my criticism "deserves no notice." I wish Dr. G. had followed his conclusion up by leaving me alone. Because, then, I would have at least been saved the trouble of inflicting

on readers a lengthy reply consisting in extracts from his book, my review as well as his rejoinder in order to show (1) that none of my statements are mis-statements and (2) that if there be inconsistencies and errors in his book somebody other than myself is responsible.

The present occasion of Dr. Ghoshal's impatience is my remark that "the contract theory has proved a veritable stumbling block to the author. Again and again he forces himself into unnecessary self-contradictions over the problem." Dr. G. says that this charge is "unsupported by a single argument."

My position was indicated as follows: 'It is not clear why the author should consider the *Dīghanikāya* theory of contract an isolated phenomenon in the history of Hindu political thought (pp. 121, 135-136)."

My fundamental argument is the following: "From his own references it is evident that the consequences of the theory are embodied in the older *Dharmasūtra* as well as in the later *Nīti* literature in the shape of the notion that taxation is the price of protection."

Further, *Dīgha* postulates the existence of a "state of nature" subsequent to the Saturnian age of no family and no property. The traditional *mātsya nyāya* of Indian speculation after which the election of the first king is said to have taken place is identical in import with this *Dīgha* "state of nature." *Dīgha* does not thus appear to exist in splendid isolation.

Besides, Dr. G. himself says (pp. 120-121): "The contract (*Dīgha*) in other words gives an historical basis in the past to that view of the relation of taxation to protection which we have found to occur in one of the *Drarmasūtras* and which, we think, is one of the root ideas of Hindu political philosophy."

It is clear, then, that what the Buddhist (*Dīgha*) theory of contract gives is a "*basis*" of the "root ideas" of Hindu politics. In that case the Buddhist theory cannot "virtually exist as an isolated phenomenon" in the history of Hindu political thought, as the author alleges.

The above passages indicate that the Buddhist and the other theories were allied to each other and that there is no question of isolation. Dr. Ghoshal contradicts himself, again, in connection with the Kauṭilīya passage on contract in his criticism of Bottazzi's ideas.

Bottazzi has said that Kauṭilya's conception is "peculiar to himself" just as Dr. G. says for the time being that the *Dīgha* is an isolated phenomenon. But Dr. G. criticizes B. almost in the same manner

as I criticize Dr. G. Thus according to Dr. G. "this represents what may be called the current theory of the times rather than an original contribution of Kauṭilya's genius (p. 133)." Again, "this virtually involves a Brahmanized adaptation of the Buddhist theory of contract" (p. 135).

It is not necessary to discuss the worth of Bottazzi's ideas here. But the conclusion is clear: (1) My arguments are supported by evidences put together by himself. (2) My arguments i. e. his own evidences prove that he is inconsistent. (3) His book shows that he has not taken note of the theory of contract in the form or forms in which it appears in ancient and mediæval Indian political literature.

Fresh complications arise because of his inability to manage the "doctrine of divine origin" along with the "democratic theory of contract", both of which are to be found in Indian thought. But that aspect of the question need not be entered into here.

Unjust treatment of Śākya the Buddha's teachings

On p. 123 Dr. G. writes some twenty lines discussing the "seven conditions of welfare" enunciated by Śākya the Buddha. My reaction to these lines has evoked from the author the following rebuke: "In doing this the critic lays himself open to the charge of a positive mis-statement of facts. ... The critic's further statement that the author of the H. P. T. cuts short his examination of Śākya's moralizings on the plea that they do not embody any political theory is pure fiction."

In the first place, "pure fiction it is not, because everybody can see that he has not devoted more than twenty lines, or, at the highest two pages to the Śakyan teachings. In the second place, he has himself said that "these conditions of welfare" involve "a moralist's analysis of republican conditions, not that of a political philosopher strictly so called? In that case he need not get exasperated if I have only said that he considers Śākya the Buddha to be a mere 'moralist' and not a political philosopher strictly so called. He considers this to be "a dangerous and wholly unwarranted generalisation." It appears that I mis-state "a fact simply when I reproduce it verbatim from his own writing and of course indulge in facile generalizations when even his own evidences expose his weaknesses.

Then he asks me if I am "so simple as to think that whatever is attributed in the Buddhist canon to the Buddha must necessarily be the word of the Master." I was not pedantic enough to begin discuss-

ing the "authorship" of Śākya's lectures in a footnote review, not at all archæological or philological as it is, of a book on political theories. And yet my scepticism has found expression in the words, "Śākya or rather the men who collected his sayings," "Śākya and the Śākyan stalwarts." These phrases indicate that at the back of my brain there lurks a shrewd suspicion that not all that is alleged to be the saying of Śākya the Buddha is perhaps genuinely his saying.

My verdict on this portion of Dr. G.'s book remains therefore uncharged. "It is", as I said, "perfunctory and extremely unjust. He considers Śākya to be a mere moralist. Yes, but Socrates was nothing else. And yet historians of the precursors of Plato know how to deal with Socrates and the sophists as philosophers as well as political theorists."

The injustice done to Śākyan teachings would be apparent to readers who notice that the author devotes almost a third of his entire book to the moralizings in the Vedic, Dharmasūtra, Mahābhārata and later literature. For "nearly every pretension of the Brāhmaṇas and the rival claim of the Kṣatriyas on which the author bestows plenty of attention should to a critical and impartial student appear to be nothing but moral sermons administered by each group to its victims."

Relations between Institutions and Theories : another stumbling-block

Dr. G's treatment of Śākya the Buddha is extremely unjust. And he has neglected certain Buddhist sources which, I believe, might be exploited in the interest of political theory. Hence I made the following comment,—"These omissions in the realm of what may with certain reservations be described as the so-called Buddhist political philosophy are undesirable features in a general history of Hindu political ideas."

This remark of mine leads Dr. G. once more to make a disparaging reference to my "curious ideas about the scope of a political theory." And he says : "As the critic seems to stand alone in his conception of the range of an historical account of political ideas, no serious notice of his criticism need be taken." Pray, who wants him to take any notice of my humble self ?

What my conception of the scope of history of political theory is Dr. G. has tried to surmise. He believes that I expect him to "take cognizance of the concrete institutions of ecclesiastical as well as civil bodies and the principles of their working." "How otherwise," asks he, "to account for the critic's insistence upon the treatment of

the statutes of Buddhist ecclesiastical polity and the Aśokan policy of administrative uniformity and paternal rule ?"

The worth of these contentions need not detain us here. But the learned author has rushed so hastily to print that he cannot coolly realize the lines along which an expansion of the horizon of ancient political speculation may be expected. It is not my intention to add to his confusion by asking him (or anybody else who is prone to confusion) to begin studying the institutions along with the theories. Indeed we have once tried to save the learned author from such a confusion while examining his analysis of the "standard Indian polity."

Institutions are indeed distinct from the theories. But institutions can be exploited in order to find out the theories which lie behind, around and within them. For speculative thought plays no inconsiderable part in the making of institutions which may indeed to a certain extent be described as theories embodied. Especially when certain institutions happen to be the nucleus of a rich literature, descriptive or idealistic, the possiblities of finding a theory in them are enlarged.

One wonders what leads Dr. G. to believe that I "stand alone" in a certain conception. Standing alone is of course not necessarily a disgrace. But if he had cared to mention also some of the authorities on political science, Indian or foreign, who would like to excommunicate me and compel me to "stand alone," I might have learnt as to what to guard against.

My ideas in regard to the place of institutions in a history of political theories may or may not be identical with what Dr. G. surmises them to be. But it is strange that in the rejoinder he should suspect certain ideas as my own and condemn me as a "curious" creature fit to "stand alone" on account of them while in the preface to his book he claims the same ideas for himself. Thus, says he (p. ix) about his work : "Hence all that can be attempted is to bring out, as the author has sought to do, the general bearing of institutions upon the growth of ideas." It is evident that he does not intend to boycott institutions from the study of theories.

We need not be hypercritical and wait to examine to what extent his book betrays evidences of a "general" study of institutions as influencing theories. But it is patent that he disparages me for certain things which I am alleged to like but which he himself has "sought" to or at any rate would be glad to do,—another instance of Dr. G.'s rejoinder contradicting his book.

The politics of Vinaya and Edict literature

Now the *Mahāvagga* and the *Cullavagga* are certainly not institutions but constitute a literature about them. In my estimation these treatises deserve therefore a critical analysis from the angle of political speculation. And "although mainly institutional in contents," as I said, this *Vinaya* literature "might be made to yield some of the theories of the Śakyan monks in regard to the problems of authority, justice, liberty, individuality, democracy and so forth."

Evidently in these suggestions regarding certain possibly fresh data for political theory there is no hint, as suspects Dr. G., to the effect that "a history of political theory should take cognizance of the concrete institutions, etc." My own views on this question need not however be discussed here.

Dr. G. considers it "amusing to note" that I am "discretely silent" about the theories that the investigation of institutions might yield. He expects perhaps that a footnote review should not only suggest the lines of advance in scientific research but also establish the system in its entirety.

And yet it appears that my review is not altogether silent as he suspects. "Aśoka's edicts likewise," as has been pointed out by myself, "should demand the attention of the student of political theory. For Aśoka has undoubtedly a great place in political philosophy."

It need be observed that the Edicts like the copper-plate inscriptions are, first and foremost, specimens of literature. And although institutional in origin, this literature can be made to yield theories. My judgment on the Aśokan literature is as follows : "In the midst of the ethical propaganda one can discover certain ideas that are no mean contributions to the world of political thought. The 'problem of the empire,' i.e., imperial nationalism is manifest in Aśoka's solicitation for administative uniformity. A second contribution of Aśoka to political philosophy consists in the formulation of the doctrine of enlightened despotism in the manifesto which compares the subjects to the children and son."

It will be noticed that I am not talking here of Aśoka as statesman but of Aśoka as political thinker.

Kauṭilya's scope and province misunderstood by Dr. Ghoshal

"A large measure of attention" is alleged by Dr. Ghoshal to have been bestowed by me upon his chapter on Kauṭilya. The statement is inaccurate. No, some twenty lines only have been devoted to it.

My object in this rather very short reference was chiefly twofold. First, it was my intention to tell the readers that Dr. Ghoshal's chapter on K. (pp. 124-158) has degenerated into a summary of the translation of certain selected topics, which, again does not rise above the conventional. My second object consisted in pointing out in a general manner Dr. Ghoshal's shortcomings in regard to the Kauṭilya question. The province of political philosophy i. e. field of topics as conceived by K. has been misunderstood by the author, for he has sedulously avoided just those contributions which constitute the greatness of the *Arthaśāstra* in the history of politics, namely, the superb Kauṭilyan thoughts on finance, *maṇḍala*, strategy and tactics. His treatment is one-sided and leaves the major portion of Kauṭilyaism untouched.

We shall now take the word "scope" and define it in a manner different from the one in which the word "province" is used. The scope, i.e., the scientific nature, character or object of the Kauṭilyan treatise is as a rule mis-understood by indologists because of its institutional references and practical associations. Dr. Ghoshal also does not properly handle the scope of the *Arthaśāstra*, or at any rate fails to make a legitimate use of its correct scope in his dissertation.

It is the tendency to ignore the fact that the *Arthaśāstra* is *Kauṭilya-darśanaṃ* (Kautilyan philosophy). It is in other words a theoretical, speculative treatise and not a historical work designed to portray the actual constitution of a particular state or states.

Dr. Ghoshal is not clear on the question of "scope" as he is not comprehensive in regard to the "province." "The *Arthaśāstra* deals not with the theory of the state," says he (H. P. T., p. 126) "but with the art of government." In reality the *Arthaśāstra* deals with both but with each in a "philosophical" manner.

It need be observed that the 'art of government' itself has a theoretical, speculative, philosophical, i. e., *darśanaṃ* aspect. And it is this philosophical treatment of the "art of government" together with the discussions on the "theory of the state" that constitutes the totality of the Kauṭilyan complex as it is. Dr. Ghoshal's dissertation deals with certain topics of only one part in the vast system of *Kauṭilya darśanaṃ*.

Art of Government vs. Theory of State

This is why my review had to say that Dr. Ghoshal has been shunted off the right track by an unwarrantable, wrong attitude in

regard to K. *Arthaśāstra* is not chiefly a book of practical guidance for statesmen, not more at any rate than any philosophical work on the theory of the state or on the art of government can be. A correct judgment, as conceived by myself, should be as follows: Kauṭilya's book is political philosophy, science or theory *par excellence*. One of its sources of strength consists undoubtedly in the wealth of concrete illustrations drawn from statecraft such as are unknown even in the *Mahābhārata*. The author or authors of the Kauṭilyan cycle have endowed their philosophical investigations with plenty of realistic data. It is while presenting this my view of the Kauṭilyan treatise that a statement had to be made to the effect that the book must not be described as a mere handbook on the art of government meant for the ministers, the bureaucracy, etc.

It has been indicated above that a philosophical treatise on politics may comprise theories on the art of government as well as theories on the state. Theories on the constitutions, administration, etc., belong as much to political philosophy as theories on sovereignty, law, justice and so forth.

But it is apparent from Dr. Ghoshal's analysis that as far as the scope of political philosophy is concerned, one group of items excludes the other. In his estimation, it should appear, there is no political philosophy on "the art of government."

And here it is perhaps that one finds the explanation of the author's difficulties with Kauṭilya. We have just noticed that according to him the *Arthaśāstra* "deals not with the theory of the state but with the art of government." We are to understand thereby that the book is not theoretical or philosophical. In that case the book might as well be almost left out of consideration in a history of political theories.

In the passage in question Dr. Ghoshal has made a categorical negative proposition in regard to the "theoretical" character of the *Arthaśāstra*. But perhaps he does not mean it. For in that case he would have to contradict his position as indicated on pages 76-77 (H. P. T.). There he makes it clear that the book embraces a "mass of abstract speculation within its orbit," "inquires into the essential nature of the state institutions" and deals with "abstract questions."

Let us concede that he does not intend to appear inconsistent. We are therefore forced to conclude from his treatment of the subject that Kauṭilya's "abstract speculations" and "inquiries into the essential nature of the state institutions" touch only certain political problems

to the exclusion of others. But this is not a correct view of the Kauṭilyan treatise. Dr. Ghoshal's chapter on Kauṭilya has therefore appeared to me to be "poor in quality and disappointing."

Secular and democratic strands in the Mahābhārata and Manu[1]

We have noticed on a previous occasion that the alleged divinity of the king in any significant sense cannot be substantiated by the Vedic passages on which Dr. Ghoshal defends. The author finds himself in difficulties as well as inconsistencies on the same question while discussing (pp. 180-181, 184-186, 277) the passages in the *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti, LXVIII*) and *Manu* (*VII, 5*).

a. The metaphorical sacredness of sovereignty

The texts are well known. They indicate, as suggested in my review, "a metaphorical assimilation of the king's functions with those of the specified deities." The king is said to burn like the Sun and do something else like the Moon and so on. These analogies bring out, if anything, the supreme importance of "majesty" as an abstract attribute of the king. In other words, the "secular" character of kingship is not inconsistent with these parallelisms with the functions of the powers of Nature. And Dr. Ghoshal is prepared at one point to accept the materialistic interpretation of the metaphorical sacredness of sovereignty (p. 180).

But if at another point (p. 277) he does not set much store by the same interpretation, ordinary logic can only explain the phenomenon by the author's inconsistency. In the rejoinder, however, he wants the readers to believe that I have coolly suppressed the conceit about Viṣṇu's entering the person of the king. Nothing of the kind. I have conceded in so many words that the myth may have been deliberately created in order to strengthen the principle of authority. But all the same, the secular strands of thought, wherever and in whatever form they occur in Hindu political theorizing, cannot be neutralized by

1 See the references in the section on "the doctrine of resistance in Hindu thought" in my *Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, vol. II, part I, Allahabad (1920) as well as the sections on "kingship—a public office," "right to revolt" and "taxes as wages and prices" in the chapter on the "theory of the constitution" in my *Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig, 1922).

such stuff. Secularism must get its due wherever it is to be found and we are not reluctant to render unto theocracy the things are legitimately its own in Indian speculation.

b. Viṣṇu enters the king but makes him the people's servant

This conceit regarding Viṣṇu must therefore have to be explained and judged on its own merits. Let us admit that there is a theocratic touch in this passage. But these and other non-secular ideas have almost invariably another quite a powerful "divine" sanction attached to them. And here we confront the democratic elements in Hindu thinking which militate against the monarchizing tendencies of the philosophers.

Dr. Ghoshal is not unaware of these "popular" strands of thought (H.P.T., pp. 184-186) in Hindu politics which teach that the "duty of protection is imposed on the king by God Himself." Both *Mahābhārata* and *Manu* enunciate a doctrine of reciprocity. The duty of the people towards the king is not an isolated item in all these postulates. It is balanced on the strength of divine injunctions themselves, by the duty of the king towards the people. Naturally therefore, in the scheme of social philosophy the status of the *prakṛti*, people, is no less "divine" or God-ordained (whatever it may mean) than that of the king.

c. Hindu reciprocity = Buddhist contract (within limitation)

These passages have been cited by Dr. Ghoshal as illustrations of "counteracting principles," i.e., as militating against the authoritarian doctrines. And yet if he is willing to ignore, belittle or misinterpret their significance in an analysis of the theocratic elements in Hindu thinking, it is his judgment that is responsible and not the person who tries to understand the writing on the strength of its data.

It is clear on Dr. Ghoshal's own evidence that the *Mahābhārata* atmosphere is not entirely undemocratic. The author should therefore have no reason to believe, that the Buddhist theory of contract is "incongruous" with the Hindu (*Mahābhārata* or *Manu*) doctrine of reciprocity. But if he chooses to do so (p. 135), it cannot be helped.

That there is no incongruity has however been categorically admitted by himself. "The Buddhist theory of contract, as we have observed in another place," says he (H.P.T., p. 172), "tended to strength-

en a notion already familiar to Hindu political theory, namely, that the king was an official paid by his subjects for the service of protection." The Buddhist thus echoes the Hindu, to say the least.

A reader can but feel that the alleged divinity of the king and the democratic contract theory have proved veritable stumbling blocks to the author. Those who care to stick to the literary evidences epoch by epoch will have to conclude as follows :—Pragmatically speaking, the older Buddhist, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Dharmasūtra*, as well as the Kauṭilyan and the later *Manu* and *Mahābhārata* theories, in so far as they have popular and democratic leanings, should appear to be identical. It need be pointed out, however, that nothing more than fractions of the contract idea are perhaps to be discovered in each text for the time being. Call it reciprocity, call it contract, the democratic tradition in Indian theorizing is a solid fact of political philosophy.

Pluralities in Hindu political philosophy

The position, then, is not monistic. We find ourselves in the midst of a multiplicity of tendencies in Hindu political thinking. And these tendencies, whatever be their strength or mode of expression, have been more or less existent in the diverse periods of Indian literary history. To accept or pounce upon any one bunch of ideas and describe it as the characteristic product of India is but to ignore the diversity and pluralism in the philosophical universe of India.

It is from this standpoint that phrases like "Hindu mind," "Hindu view, etc." used by Dr. Ghoshal (H. P. T., pp. 266-270) are objectionable. One cannot plead as excuse my own slips of language in this respect, should there be any. And yet the phrases "Vedic thought," "Vedic politics", etc. used by me are nowhere descriptive of phenomena in the singular number. Besides, Dr. Ghoshal is not also at liberty to believe, as he does, that the titles of the books by Taylor, Merz and Leslie Stephen are intended to ignore or overlook the diversities in the thought world with which each deals. One has likewise to be fully conscious that there were minds and minds in Hindu India and that it would not be quite philosophical except for an unrealistic mystical thinker to postulate or adumbrate a Hindu mind in the monistic manner.

Western and Hindu parallels

In the rejoinder Dr. Ghoshal asks me one or two questions in regard to the parallels between western and Hindu political philosophy.

He wants to know if there is any agreement between Hobbesian absolutism and Hindu absolutism. The answer is to be found in the data furnished in the author's own book. Only one has to know to what length one is entitled to go in the analysis of agreements and differences between two thinkers.

a. The problem of limitations

For the present, my answer may be indicated once more in terms of what has already been recorded in the review, as also on other occasions. The Hindu theories of contract cannot be demonstrated on the strength of evidences unearthed up till now, to have attained to the development they acquired in Hobbes and others. Dr. Ghoshal is not unaware of this fact (H. P. T., pp. 274-275). And he admits also that as in Europe in India too certain thinkers conceived the state of nature to be a state of war and certain others something else (p. 135).

Within these limitations one should not be at a loss to find an agreement between the Hobbesian absolutism and those strands in Hindu theories which promulgate obedience to the king on the basis of the contract. Besides, my review has distinctly laid it down also that a "verbal identity is the least to be expected in philosophical speculation." My ideas on this subject have been detailed in regard to the Italian researches on Hindu political theory.

The conclusion in that connection may also be cited here. The Italian authors have tried to indicate not only the parallels and resemblances of a general character but very often the verbal identities. The attempts must be regarded as in the main quite successful. But it may be noted that for purposes of comparison such literal analogies or identites are not always necessary and as a matter of fact not feasible. It is enough if the conspicuous trends of thought can be proved to be the same or similar. All that is wanted is the discovery of the 'nearest appoaches or closest neighbours'.

One special difficulty in the present instance has also been noted in my review. The ideological material from the Indian side is fragmentary and scrappy. And whenever the differences between the Hindu and the Western strands of thought are detected the "diversity is very often due to the fact that some of the items (on the Western side) are but more developed forms, representing the later stages in the growth of the specimens under observation." But so far as the genus, type or tendency group is concerned the Hindu and the Western are alike, if not identical.

b. Resistance based on contract[1]

Now contract→ authority→ obedience do not constitute the sole form of ideological complex in philosophical morphology. Quite the contrary, namely revolution←contract, is also another form well established in the tradition of political thought. And specimens of this form of philosophical complex happen to be well distributed throughout Hindu political literature and are invariably associated with the "reciprocity" doctrine. The formula may be thus indicated :

Negligence in protection = breach of contract→resistance.

This equation with its logical consequence is known in one form or another in Dr. Ghoshal's book at various points (H. P. T., pp. 64-65, 184-186, 258, etc). The traditional Hindu theory of taxation would indeed be meaningless without this postulate. The author is not unware of all this. And yet he is not prepared, as a rule, to admit the rights of the people against the king (H. P. T., pp. 188, 276). That is why my review considers his attitude to be arbitrary, for he refuses to identify the cult of tyrannicide, resistance to the king, the desertion of a ruler by his subjects, etc. with these strands of social contract theory in Europe which inculcate revolution and expulsion of the ruler. Dr. Ghoshal will perhaps plead excuse on the ground that he has not been able to discover a "well-developed system." But, as has already been pointed out, well-developed systems are the farthest to seek for quite a long time yet in Indian political speculation. For the present we are interested mainly in strands, tendencies, and trends of thought. If he were out to present a "system" he should have refrained from writing a thesis on the history of Hindu political theories.

c. A unilinear evolution

The situation then is this. The data collected by Dr. Ghoshal point invariably to substantial identities or analogies between the East and West. Phrases like "probably in no other system" (H. P. T., p. 27) or "peculiar to Hindu political thought" (H. P. T., p. 99) can be used only by those persons who are not adequately oriented to "other systems" and who do not care to investigate whether the alleged peculiarities of one system may not with justice be claimed as important characteristics of other systems as well.

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1 See the footnote at p. 203.

Ghoshal's evidences work, therefore, directly against his on" and "appendix" (H. P. T., pp. 264-278) in so far as they ings on the questions of comparative politics. In the "preface" nas a word about the "multilinear evolution of social organiza- But his entire book should appear to persons well up in the of "other systems," for instances as discussed in Poole's *ns of the History of Mediæval Thought*, that the Hindu items hey go, i. e., in their undeveloped and semi-developed forms, hat the historic processes in Europe together with the historic In India constitute broadly speaking, but a unilinear and ilinear system of evolution. (But see section *d*.)

efor a reader should have felt that Dr. Ghoshal's conclusion been, like a part of the preface and the appendix, an "after possessing hardly any organic connection with the ideas n the book itself, the reader's judgement should deserve ittle notice. The author's rejoinder has of course condemm- deserving the slightest notice.

d. Question of differences

peaking of the unilinear evolution of mankind in the East uring certain historic periods of philosophical speculation, writer must not be misunderstood as unconscious of the in some of the forms of the development. In the first uestion of Hindu thought as representing undeveloped or categories and contests of political philosophy has already ted. In the second place, the differences in the West itself ignored.

ew has left no vagueness on this aspect of the question. en two European thinkers, who in general features may be belonging to the same type of theory, one must be prepared es in methodology and conclusions. Not all the "divine Europe have philosophized alike, nor have all the Western actists" thought out their problems along the same grooves. sible to think of the entire West under a single category. important differences between three Englishmen, Hooker Locke, say, on the subject of contract. Thus considered, ical philosophy will have to be regarded as pluralistic or There are so many Englands, so to say, so far as this item is Then, take Suarez the Spaniard, Grotius the Dutchman the Frenchman. These three "Europeans" differ from

one another as well as from the three Englishmen. Naturally, therefore, there is no Europe but so many Europes. Here, again, we have to confront a pluralistic or multilinear evolution.

Those philosophers or sociologists who are used first to thinking of the West as one homogeneous lump and secondly to placing side by side in contrast to it another lump known as the East will here find their function gone. It is against such dogmatists that my review or for that matter the general trend of my investigations poses the doctrine of "unilinear evolution," i. e., of identity or similarity between the East and the West.

One does not know as yet if Dr. Ghoshal's postulate of "multilinear evolution" implies this pluralistic development not only in Europe as a continent but in single countries like England, and France. But his book uses the words West, Western political theory, etc., in the singular number and does not make it clear whether in spite of this language he is a pluralist in substance. My review has therefore found it necessary to condemn his sociology or comparative culture-history, conventional as it seems to be in the attempts to emphasize the contrast between the Eastern and the Western theories.

The correct attitude should consist in visualizing and appreciating the contrasts according to the individual personalities in the same region or race itself. Once this atomistic psychology of pluralism and philosohpical individualism be admitted in regard to the Western theories and theorists, it will not be difficult, as my review concludes, to detect hundreds of points of contact between the diverse tendencies in Asia and as many diverse trends of thought in Eur-America with special reference to the ancient and mediæval, generally speaking, "pre-industrial" epochs.

Machiavellism in Hindu thought

Up till now Dr. Ghoshal's rejoinder had been fighting me in my footnote which is a review of his book. Now he comes to my text which discusses his examination of Machiavellism in Hindu politics.

Machiavelli's precursors and Kauṭilya's successors

Dr. Ghoshal has discovered a contrast between Machiavelli and Kauṭilya on the ground that K. was "preceded by a long line of teachers of the *Arthaśāstra*" (H. P. T., p. 155). To this thesis an objection has been taken by myself in the following queries: "Is not

M. also the last of an old series like K.? Or again, is not K. also like M. the first of a new series?" In the rejoinder the author asks me "How, pray?"

The answer is very simple.

Machiavelli as a lecturer on *rājadharma* or duties of princes had a "long line of teachers." To mention only a few among the Italians, there was Aquinas in the thirteenth century and there was Patrizi in the fifteenth. And so far as European tradition in this sort of lectures to rulers is concerned the names are legion. There are John of Salisbury for the twelfth century and Occleve for the fourteenth.[1]

As for Kauṭilya, Dr. Ghoshal himself is aware of the "long line of teachers of the *Arthaśāstra*." Besides, K. is also the "first of a new series," because, as the author admits, the true nature of K's achievement consisted in effecting "a virtual reconstruction of the science of *Arthaśāstra*." Dr. G. has cared also to indicate several directions along which Kauṭilyaism influenced subsequent thought (H. P. T., p. 156).

b. The extent of Machiavelli's studies and writings

Another contrast between M. and K. consists according to Dr. Ghoshal in the fact, we are told, that K's work embraces the "branches of civil law and military science as well as that of public administration." (H. P. T., p. 155). My reaction to this judgment was as follows: "But was M. less encyclopædic? In the rejoinder Dr. Ghoshal answers: "Perhaps no."

But my explanation has already been given in *Hindu Politics in Italian*. M. is the author not only of the *Prince* but of *Discourses in the First Ten Books of Livy's History of Rome* and *History of Florence*. He is, besides, the writer of a socio-political report on French affairs (*Ritratti delle cosi della Francia*) which he prepared while he was a political agent at the court of Louis XII, something like Megasthenes's *Indika*. A treatise on war *L'arte della Guerra* also comes from M's pen.

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[1] My estimate of Machiavelli in the historical perspective has been indicated, among other places, in *The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology*, vol. II, part I (1921), pp. 25-26, etc. It would appear that Machiavelli was as much the last of the mediævals as the first of the moderns.

But indologists are likely to be misled when they have to deal with European books. Simply because the old Sanskrit treatises happen to be libraries in nutshell, one must not, while instituting comparisons with the works of European authors, ignore the multiplicity of treatises written by a single literary man. For instance, taking a case from ancient Greece it would not be right to mention only the *Laws* of Plato and exclude his *Statesman* and *Republic* while forming an estimate of his contributions to political thought.

In regard to Machiavelli also he has a right to be heard in his entirety. Dr. Ghoshal's rejoinder claims, however, that in M's time there was an "enormous progress in the specialization of studies." But in view of the actual fact that M., versatile as he was, cared to exhibit his literary or philosophical talent in diverse fields, the author's rejoinder should be regarded as irrelevant; M. must get his due as no less encyclopædic than Kauṭilya in political learning.

c. Territorial aggrandisement

According to Dr. Ghoshal, Machiavelli is the philosopher of "territorial aggrandisement" and thus differs from Kauṭilya whose goal is alleged to be first, "security of the state" and secondly, "the achievement of political influence over the circle of states" (H. P. T., p. 156).

Here, again, the contrast is non-existent, as has been pointed out in my paper. Besides, it is possible to demonstrate the exact opposite of what Dr. Ghoshal wants us to believe.

For, the "security of the state" is the fundamental thought in Machiavelli. His *Prince* discusses the ways and means of saving his fatherland from the *imminente pericolo delle usurpazioni straniere* (imminent danger of foreign usurpation). The last chapter of this book tells its own tale in the very tale viz. *Esortazione a liberare l'Italia da Barbari* (Exhortation to liberate Italy from the Barbarians). M. was thus quite a mild teacher of self-defence, if one would like to plead for him from this angle. And as for Kauṭilya, the gospel of territorial aggrandisement constitutes his very life-blood. The doctrines of *maṇḍala*, extirpation of thorns, etc. are not unknown to Dr. Ghoshal.

Dr. Ghoshal wants us to believe that K. "reserves his immoral state-craft in general for extreme cases." My review says "as if M. does something else!" Some of the references cited from the *Prince* in the following discussion will indicate under what conditions Machiavelli would recommend cruelty. For the present, chaps. XVII-XIX may be singled out. Further, Kauṭilya's analysis of "six expedients" and

discussion of treaties in which the alleged Machiavellian wickedness is embodied belong to his "general" political philosophy and cannot be explained away as exceptional. This furnishes the very foundation of the Kauṭilyan structure.

d. The Morals of Machiavelli

Dr. Ghoshal cites in the rejoinder one or two fine phrases from Kauṭilya as evidence of the "milk of human kindness" with which the *Arthaśāstra* is overflown. The H. P. T. contains also certain similar passages with more or less humane sentiments (pp. 145-146, 149-150). Kauṭilya teaches us, we are told, that "unscrupulous methods" may be adopted in order to replenish the treasury but this "only once." (*Artha.*, v, 2). We are also taught that if a fort can be captured by other means, inflammable materials should not be used because fire cannot be trusted and it destroys life and property.

Fortified with these bits of humanitarianism from the *Arthaśāstra* Dr. Ghoshal asks me the following question: "Will the critic kindly quote similar instructions from the works of Machiavelli ?"

The challenge is very acceptable. Even the *Prince*, the alleged Bible of Satanic wickedness and devilish immorality of the blackest dye, can be quoted, chapter by chapter, in evidence of Machiavelli's regard for almost all the leading moral or humane principles of life. And those passages strung together might make a striking array of respectable dimensions. In Machiavelli Dr. Ghoshal will encounter once in a while even the literal paraphrases of Kauṭilyan sentiments. But the students of logic as well as mental and moral philosophy compel me to unearth Italian phrases or sentences that might be the exact translations (in positive or negative form, and in active or passive voice) of the Sanskrit sayings.

Let us begin psycho-analyzing the mental complex of Machiavelli with a passage from Ch. VIII of the *Prince*. It runs thus: "To slaughter fellow-citizens, to betray friends, to be devoid of honour, pity and religion cannot be counted as merits, for these are merits that may lead to power but confer no glory". Ch. IX contains the following passage: "It is essential for a prince to be on a friendly footing with his people. Since otherwise he will have no resource in adversity". In Machiavelli's *Discourses* (III, v) the princes have been taught to "learn that from the hour they violate those laws, customs, and usages under which men have lived for a great while, they begin to weaken the foundations of their authority."

This is the Kauṭilyan recipe in regard to the respect for established customs and the considerate treatment of subjects (H. P. T., pp. 146-147). In Kauṭilya's political psychology if a crime be committed only once it is pardonable, as Dr. Ghoshal has made it clear. Machiavelli also curiously enough can be quoted for an identical moral formula. In ch. VIII cited above, he is discussing *scelleratezze*, the villainous and heinous means, by which Agathocles became sovereign, and trying to explain how it is that inspite of infinite treacheries and cruelties, rulers like him can maintain their position undisturbed. The explanation is to be found in the fact, says M., that the *crudelta* was perpetrated *ad un tratto* (but once) for one's self-defence but not persisted in or repeated afterwards *(di poi non vi s'insiste dentro)*.

Ch. XVII of the *Prince* is devoted exclusively to cruelty and mercy. M. discusses whether it is better to be more loved than feared or more feared than loved. The essay begins with the "Machiavellian ideal" as follows :—"Every prince should desire to be regarded as kind and not cruel. But one must see to it that the kindness be not abused." Another principle of morality inculcated by M. can be cited from the same chapter. The prince has been advised to behave in such a manner that if he does not win the love of the people he may at least avoid their hatred. And in order to realize this situation he has but to abstain from robbing the subjects and committing violence on their women, killing people unnecessarily and confiscating their property. The prince has been taught to remember that the "occasion for expropriation or committing violence on other people's properties can come very often, and that if one commences by rapine one will always find pretexts for plunder."

The *Leit motif* of ch. XIX is identical. We are told that nothing renders a prince so contemptible as violence on the property and women of the subjects. The morals of Machiavelli seem to be humane, after all.

In ch. XVIII, M's morality teaches that there are two methods of combat, the one by law, and the other by force. The first is proper to men, the second to beasts. Even a little statement like this should shock the prejudices of those who are used to the equation, Machiavelli = Avatāra of beastliness, force, fraud, rapine and violence.

In ch. XXI, the ruler is taught to assure his subjects that they may live in peace and pursue their occupations without let of any sort or fear of increased and arbitray taxes. The people are also to be enter-

tained by feasts and sports. Nay, the ruler should respect even the different *arti* and *tribu*, groups, wards or gilds (?) into which a city is divided and sometimes appear before them in a friendly social capacity. We are reminded once more of Kauṭilya's sentiments as discussed in H. P. T. (pp. 146-147).

One need not be cynical enough to believe that all these sentiments are but mostly "pious wishes" or diplomatic dodges. But it would appear that Kauṭilya's morality is neither different in kind from nor superior in quality to that of Machiavelli. Generically speaking, Kauṭilyaism and Machiavellism are on a par in the realm of morals, manners and sentiments.

One word more

Dr. Ghoshal has made it a point, unprovoked, to use abusive language at almost every sentence in the eleven pages of his rejoinder. He has concentrated his venom in the concluding paragraph. Let me apologize to the readers for my incapacity to treat the learned author in his own coin, as I am not used to dipping my pen in dirt. Indeed it was not necessary for me to undertake writing a reply to the questions with which Dr. Ghoshal has challenged me, for they have been met in my main essay. But as I felt that perhaps some fresh light might be thrown on certain interesting problems of political science with special reference to Hindu India I have considered it desirable to take part in the discussion.

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

The Family-seats of the Candras of Bengal and of the (so-called) Tuṅgas of Orissa

Mr. N. G. Majumdar in his note on 'Rohitāgiri of the Rāmpāl copper-plate' summarily dismisses my rather long article with a few general remarks.

I had discussed at great length Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's so-called 'tentative' readings, interpretations and especially his far-reaching conclusions, and I had unfortunately to differ from him on many points, e.g., (a) the descent of Suvarṇa Candra from a low stock, (b) the identification of

Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atīśa with the 2nd son of Kalyāṇaśrī, (c) the identification of रोहितागि[रि*] with Rohtāsgaḍh, (d) the synchronism of Kāntideva and Śrī Candradeva, (e) the later identification of the रोहितागि[रि*] with the Lālmāi (लालमाइ) hills, (f) the interpretation of *Kakuda-cchatra*, etc. But I had agreed with Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin, e.g., in (a) taking Śrī Candra to be a Buddhist monk and (b) rejecting the identification of *Vardhamānapura* with Burdwan. But, I had differed or agreed only on good grounds. Imagination has practically little scope in all exact sciences. Mr. Majumdar notices my great pains to criticise the 'tentative' readings alone of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin but does not seem to take note of my interpretations and conclusions, which are both so entirely different. Moreover, I was unable to differentiate much between the 'tentative' readings, etc. of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin, which were mostly untenable, and his final ones. For I find some of them to appear in almost identical or similar forms, in both these versions [cf. *I.H.Q.*, vol. II, pp. 318 and 336 footnotes]. My original article was prepared and submitted much earlier than and independently of Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's English version [vide *I.H.Q.*, p. 314 footnote], but as my article had to appear finally subsequent to the *Ep. Ind.* version, I took due note of the latter. If there were some points of agreement, they resulted inevitably.

Among the many questions involved and the many issues raised in Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin's paper, Mr. Majumdar actually confines himself to only a single one, viz., the identification of Rohitāgi[ri]. He now proposes to place this site at Rohtāsgaḍh on the one hand, and also identifies it with the family-seat of the (so-called) Tuṅgas of Orissa. It is useless to repeat the arguments *in full*, as they should have been reasonably done by Mr. Majumdar, against. Rohtāsgaḍh. On the one hand, Rohitāgi[ri*] should be easy of access from Harikela and Candradvīpa where the chief possessions of the Candras lay. While if it be identical with the family-seat of the 'Tuṅgas,' Rohtāsgaḍh (=Rohitāgi [ri*]) must be accessible from Orissa also, and this is a most difficult proposition to prove. For communication by land between Rohtāsgaḍh and Orissa was always most difficult, if not impossible.

To the west of Rohtāsgaḍh within Baghelkhand, stretch the Kāimurs. Further south lies the Māikal range ending in the Amarkaṇṭak plateau and to the S.E. is the plateau of Chattisgaḍh. From Rohtāsgaḍh to the borders of Orissa stretched vast unexplored tract which was almost *terra incognita* to the Musalmans, among

whom it was known as Jharkhand,[1] i.e., the forest land. The Chota Nagpur plateau is a rugged region of inequalities, consisting of a succession of plateaus, hills and valleys, drained by several large rivers. The land is still largely covered by forest, and is thinly peopled, mainly by primitive tribes. 'There is no wilder or less known part of India than the interminable forests south-east of Nagpur towards the sea.'

Moving westwards from Rohtāsgaḍh, one had first to descend into the Narbada basin and thence reach the valley of the Mahānadī wherefrom Orissa was more easily accessible. But the first was always a most difficult task to accomplish. The eastern route, however, from Rohtās was more practicable but nevertheless any considerable body of people must have had to make wide detour in order to avoid the forest tracts of Jhāḍa-khaṇḍa. Except in the course of military campaigns by conquerors on rare occasions, this inhospitable hill tract of extensive area was hardly ever penetrated by the Aryans sufficiently. This is very conclusivly proved by the paucity of ancient sites especially in the area bounded by the *Śavarī Nārāyaṇa*, on the Mahānadī, on the south ; the *Causaṭyoginī*, at Bherāghāṭ, on the Narbada, to the west, with *Amarkaṇṭak* (containing the sources of the Narbada and the Son) and *Rāmgarh* hills in the middle, Rohtāsgaḍh and Sassaram to the north-east and on the east by the sites of *Vaidyanāth*, and *Pareśnāth* hill (on the common boundary of Manbhum, Hazaribagh District). Roughly speaking, the area between latitudes 21½°—24½° N. 81°—85°E. is almost devoid of ancient Aryan sites. The natural obstacles of forests and inhospitable hill tracts, coupled with the ethnic barrier of wild primitive tribes, seem always to have made communication between Rohtāsgaḍh and Orissa as almost improbable.

Also, there are strong reasons against regarding the 'so-called' Tuṅgas, as the Orissan princes of the Rohitāgiri house are styled,

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1 The copper-plate grant of Narasiṃhadeva II (*JASB.*, pl. III, 1896) mentions the donated land as situated in the (Southern) Dakṣiṇa Jhāḍakhaṇḍa, which means as is well known in Oriya, a 'forest region', corresponding to 'kāntāra' in Sanskrit. The Vizagapatam Agency (containing the land) is 'Dakṣiṇa-jhāḍa-khaṇḍa' while the Ganjam Agency tract must correspond to 'Uttara-jhāḍa-khaṇḍa. Mr. G. Rāmdās considers this region to be the 'Mahā-kāntāra' of Samudra Gupta's Allahabad Pillar Inscr., *I.H.Q.*, vol. I, no. 4.

to be Northerners. Moreover, as the appellation 'Tuṅga' was not a distinctive one confined to the princes of this particular house alone, it would consequently be a misnomer to call them by such name. We meet with proper names (or *Birudas*) with the appellation 'Tuṅga' among such Southern kings as the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (cf. Śubhatuṅga and Jagattuṅga) and the Cālukya-Coḷas (cf. Kulottuṅga I and II) or among the Kālācuris of Tripuri (cf. Mugdhatuṅga). All these kingly families belonged to Dakṣiṇā-patha. For roughly speaking most of their possessions lay to the south of the Vindhyas. It is not impossible that these Rohitāgiri princes might turn out to be belonging to some minor branches of any of these families and that this Rohitāgiri should be probably sought for in or near Orissa itself.

Regarding the correct form of the place-name of the family-seat of the Candras of Bengal, it must be pointed out that the reading Rohitāgi°[ri°?] is extremely uncertain and conjectural. First, the last *akṣara* of the name, *viz.*, 'रि' does not exist in the original plate of Śrī Candra, while Professor Rādhā Govinda Vasāk at first read the *akṣaras* as 'रोहिता[ ]त्वि (?) भुजाश्वङ्गे' and suggested the emendation 'रोहितावनि-भुजां' in the Bengali article published by him [in साहित्य।२४ वर्ष।५सं भाद्र १३२०।]. Mr. Śivacandra Śīl in a subsequent issue of the same periodical [चैत्र। १३२०।] first suggested the reading and the restoration 'रोहितागि[रि] भुजां' thus supplying the *akṣara* 'रि' on the assumption that the preceding *akṣara* was 'गि,' which was however read by Prof. Vasāk as त्वि and also regarded to be the last *akṣara* of a *śabda*. Mr. Majumdar does not seem to give due credit to fit persons for the proposed reading and restoration, when he writes, 'the last letter of the word ... is supplied by Prof. Basak (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII).' I had mentioned about the part Mr. Śīl played but Mr. Majumdar seems to ignore it.

Having had occasions to handle almost every exhibit in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society during my sojourn there and also to refer to the original Rāmpāl plate in question a few dozen times, and being in possession of my own estampages of nearly all epigraphs in the aforesaid Museum, I was able to examine most closely the much controverted line in question. I must now pronounce my confident opinion that the reading त्वि or गि for the *akṣara*, in point, is most doubtful and consequently, it would be very hazardous to build a theory on such doubtful data, regarding the location of a place, the name of which is uncertain and which also seems to change positions from

Sāhābād District in the N.W. to Lālmāi hills in the S.E. The only part of the compound word, which can be read with certainty, is 'रोहित+': लोहित 'red' and as it certainly referred to some royal seat, it was not improbably fortified—it could easily be a mountain fastness and then, if the 'red' colour seem to be at all meant, the soil or the hill might have been 'ochrous.'

Considering that Rohitāgi° [ri°?] must be accessible from both, Candra-dvīpa and Harikela, and that it might have been of rocky or ochrous structure, it must be located iu Eastern Bengal and is probably to be placed near about Rakta-mṛttikā, for reasons already stated. Certainly, Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin, on whose behalf Mr. Majumdar speaks was more logical in putting the site [रोहित+?] in E. Bengal. Only that Mr.Bhaṭṭasālin narrowly missed the mark by placing it at the Lalmaī hills, which lacks the necessary and sufficient conditions for such identification. I would regard the 'so-called, Tuṅgas', as belonging to an entirely different family and to be South Indians; consequently their connection with E. Bengal is also excluded, though communication especially between Orissa and Central Bengal, even Tripurā, is conclusively proved by inscriptions, e.g. Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva's Bhuvaneśvara Praśasti is well known and if the information be authentic, there is also an inscribed pillar pedestal mentioning a Tripurā prince, in the museum of Bāripada, the capital of the Mayūrbhañja state. The family-seat of the Candras of Bengal—'Rohitāgi°[ri°?]' or more correctly 'Rohita+?' or whatever it might have really been, was thus entirely different from the 'Rohitagiri' of the Orissan copper-plates of Gayāḍa-tuṅga and of Vinītatuṅga II respectively, as also different from Rohtāsgaḍh.

In his attempt to support Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālin in an identification which he has since given up reasonably, Mr. Majumdar hopelessly mixes up the Candras with the 'so-called Tuṅgas. His theses are entirely untenable and his position is delicate.

HARIDAS MITRA

REVIEWS

NALAVILĀSA-NĀṬAKA.—Gaekwad's Oriental Series. Central Library, Baroda, 1926, (40+91 pp.).

Nalavilāsa is a Sanskrit drama by Rāmacandra Sūri, a Jain poet of great ability. The work has been published for the first time in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series under the joint editorship of Messrs G. K. Srigondekar and Lalchandra B. Gandhi. In the prologue of the drama, we are told by the poet himself that he was a disciple of Ācārya Hemacandra, the celebrated Jain scholar of the 12th century A. C. Although a work of so late a date one is agreeably surprised to find in it a marked absence of the tedious and artificial style of the compositions of later periods. The source of the plot is the well-known Nala episode of the *Mahābhārata* which has been a favourite subject with the Sanskrit poets for all ages. The story has been treated by different authors variously in the shape of *kathā*, *campū*, *nāṭaka* and *mahākāvya* showing a great diversity of styles, but little originality of conception. As far as the action in the drama is concerned, our author too cannot be credited with much fertility of invention and the poet himself seems not to be unaware of this fact, because he anticipates public criticism, which, according to him, is bent upon accusing poets of plagiarism (p. 2). He protests against being called a follower of others' footsteps (*parādhvādhvanya*), as he believes, or strictly speaking wants his readers to believe that he is not indebted either for the theme (*padārtha*) or for the language (*pada*) of the *Nalavilāsa* to any other source than his own *prajñā*.

In spite of these statements the poet does not introduce any new incidents in the plot of the drama. But we must not fail to accord our sense of appreciation of the poet for his attempt to give the whole story a human interest and bring it, to a great extent, within the bounds of probability. In this respect the *Nalavilāsa* marks a departure from other works on the Nala episode. In the Mbh. story it is a swan that inspires Damayantī with a passion for Nala, but in the drama under review, Kalahaṃsa and Makarikā, two human figures, are introduced one in the role of Nala's companion and the other in that of his female attendant, who are finally instrumental to effect the marriage. Again in the original story, the gods even stand in the way of Nala's love-pursuits, while in the drama, the rivalry for the hand of Damayantī has

been kept confined to the mortal beings. Further in the original story Kali, a mythological personage with supernatural powers, has been made the root of all the misfortunes of Nala while in the *Nalavilāsa*, it is king Citrasena, a disappointed lover, who works, out of jealousy, for the ruin of his successful rival. In these points the play is certainly an improvement upon its predecessors.

The poet true to his declaration in the opening verse (*vaidarbhīm rītim ahaṃ labheya*) abides throughout the seven acts of the drama by an easy-flowing Vaidarbhī style highly commended in the works on poetics. The poet's great power of representation has been fully manifest in the description of Damayanti's svayaṃvara which has been so charmingly delineated in the drama that even an able writer like Somaprabha has been led to imitate it closely in his *Kumārapāla-pratibodha*.

A considerable mass of information regarding the poet has been marshalled by Mr. L. B. Gandhi, one of the editors, in the Sanskrit introduction to the play. A complete list of works in Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, constituting a large literature on the Nala episode as also a short discussion of the merits of the present play have also been supplied in the Introduction.

D. BHATTACHARYYA

ĀŚCARYA-CŪDĀMAṆI of Śaktibhadra, edited by Mr. C. Sankara Rama Sastri, M. A., B. L., with an Introduction by Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M. A. Srī Balamanorama Series, Mylapore, Madras.

Thirty-four years ago, a Malayalam rendering of this play by that gifted and versatile poet, the late Kunhi Kudtan Tampuran of Cranganore was published from Trichur. This is the first time that the original drama is printed in Devanāgarī characters. Mr. Sankara Rama Sastri is to be congratulated for selecting this work for publication, and for the intelligent and critical way in which he has edited it, while the Srī Bālamanorama Press is responsible for its neat format. If anything enhances the value of the publication, it is the excellent, appreciative and informing introduction which that eminent Sanskrit scholar, Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, has contributed to it.

"It may not be an extravagant claim in favour of the *Cūḍāmaṇi*", says Professor Sastri, "to say that it is the best of the Rāma-plays,

perhaps barring Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāma-carita* in certain respects," and the commentary to it is "a scholarly and lucid" one, and "elucidates in an able manner several charming passages and situations in the text."

Śaktibhadra does not seem to be the real name of the author. Either it is a pseudonym, as in the case of Lakṣmīdāsa, the author of *Śuka-sandeśam*, who, it is now more or less known, was a member of the Kurtangampilli Nampūtiri illom in the Cochin State, or, it may be that it is the name he took when he became a *Sannyāsin*. The tradition is that his name was Śaṅkara, and that his *illom*, for he was a potti (a Nampūtiri), was in Vanamali, a village on the southern bank of the Pamba river in the Chengannūr taluk, in the Quilon division of the Travancore State. His house stood a mile away from the Chengannūr temple. No vestiges of the *illom* (house) are now seen there, and the compound is now in the possession of the Uralaṭṭu Potti of the adjacent Maṇṇaṭi deśam. Chengannūr (Śoṇācalagrāmam) and Tiruvalla (Vallabhagrāmam) were and still are strongholds of these pottis. About Tiruvalla the following reference occurs in *Śuka-sandeśam* :

वन्यस्कन्दोरहसि विहरन् वल्लभग्रामवासी
कैशिध्वंसी निजपदजुषां क्लेशहन्ता निषिद्यः ।

Śaktibhadra was, so the tradition goes, a disciple of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya. Śaktibhadra read out to his master his *Cūḍāmaṇi* when it was completed. But Śaṅkarācārya, with an effort,—for he soon realised that he was being treated to a wonderful work—did not evince any expression of his supreme satisfaction, as he thought that his *celā* prided over his poetical accomplishments and had to be taught the great virtue of humility. The conduct of the master had the desired effect ; for Śaktibhadra, soon after the departure of the great *Sannyāsin*, destroyed his manuscript and reduced it to ashes. When Śaṅkara, during one of his tours, again happened to meet his *śiṣya*, asked him अपि कुशलं भुवनभूत्यै ? Śaktibhadra at once knew that this question had reference to the following *ślokam* of his drama :

त्रिभुवनरिपुरस्या रावणः पूर्वजस्ये दसुलभ इति नूनं विश्रमः कार्मुकस्य ।
रजनिचरनिबद्धं प्रायशो रमितङ्गवतु भुवनभूत्यै सर्वरचोवधेन ॥

Then the pupil explained to the master the genesis of his conduct on the former occasion. Śaṅkarācārya, before he left Śaktibhadra, asked him to write out the drama to his dictation, and he recited the whole of it from his prodigious memory. Thus the drama

possesses the unique merit of having been purified by the mind of one of the greatest teachers of the world.

Kūttu and Kūṭiyāṭṭam are institutions peculiar to Kerala. By Kūttu (Kathāprasaṅga) is meant the narration by a certain class of people, called Cakkyars, of Paurāṇic stories in an impressive way to the large audience who assembled to hear them. "They amuse and entertain their hearers by their wit, or move them to laughter or to tears by their eloquence." They are permitted to make the defects and bad traits of the community the butt of their sarcasm and satire which often-times operated as a wholesome corrective. To help these Cakkyars, the great Meppattūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri, the author of the Nārāyaṇīyam, composed a great number of *prabandhas*. In Kūṭiyāṭṭam certain Sanskrit dramas are staged. These are generally *Nāgānanda*, *Subhadrādhanañjaya*, *Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa*, *Cūḍāmaṇi* and *Mattavilāsa*; and of these *Cūḍāmaṇi* is the most important "All the characters appear on the stage, the male parts being taken by Cakkyars and the female parts by the Nangyars. The characters, except Vidūṣaka, never speak but only use the gesture language, which is greatly helped by the expressiveness of the eyes and the face. The main function of the Vidūṣaka is to recite for the benefit of the masses a vernacular translation of every verse the hero utters." Near the place where according to tradition the palace of the Perumals stood in Tiruvañcikulam in the Cochin State, there is a compound still called Kūṭṭuparamba from where Kūttu and Kūṭiyāṭṭam were performed.

The *Nāgānanda* is supposed to be the work of Śrī Harṣa, the next two were composed by Kulaśekhara Varman, one of the Perumal rulers of Kerala, and the last one by one Mahendra Varman. *Cūḍāmaṇi* is another and, perhaps, the most important play that used to be, and is still being staged by the Cakkyars, and its *aṣokavanikāṅka* is considered as a crucial test to determine the ability of an acting Cakkyar. It may be that the so-called Bhāsa plays or, at any rate, some of them, might be the works of Śaktibhadra who, after trying his hand at these, might have produced this work of outstanding merit. I believe it is no heresy now to say that, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the late Gaṇapati Sāstri, it has been made abundantly clear that these could not have been the works of the great Bhāsa himself.

I shall not here repeat what has been so ably said by Prof. Kuppuswami Śastrī and Mr. A. Krishna Pisharoti about *Cūḍāmaṇi* and the Bhāsa plays. But, before I conclude this, I would like just to make a passing reference to the tone adopted by Śaktibhadra in

introducing his play to the audience, as that might throw a little light on the age of the author. When Sūtradhāra refers to *Cūḍāmaṇi* as a drama that has come from the south, the Naṭī, perhaps with a scornful smile, says, "if a drama will come from the south, the sky will flower and oil will begin to be extracted from sand." And her crest-fallen partner has to discover a way out of the difficult situation by suggesting that

"Provenance tells not ; nor does aught else ;
But sterling worth it is that tells."

Those who are conversant with the history of Kerala will readily find out from this dialogue that Śaktibhadra must have been an early poet. Otherwise, this apologetic tone would not have been necessary. For, from the days of Śaṅkarācārya, the output in that country in every department of knowledge, literary or scientific, theoretical, temporal or spiritual, began to grow in volume ; and Śaktibhadra, if he were modern, could very well have retorted the Naṭī with a smarting reply.

Uddaṇḍa Śāstrin, an erudite scholar and gifted poet, speaks very highly in his *Kokila-sandeśam* of the cultural greatness of Kerala. The age of Śāstrī is easily ascertained : for he and Chennas Nampūṭiripad were great friends, and there is a *śloka* by Śāstrī in the *Tantrasamuccayam* written by Nampūṭiripad. The Kali year in which this work was completed is given in it, from which it is seen that it was in A. D. 1427. Long before this, as is obvious from the tenor of the above verses, Kerala must have built up a cultural tradition of which any country might well have been proud.

There is nothing improbable in Śaktibhadra composing a drama to be staged in the royal theatre at Tiruvañcikulam. For, it is recorded, that a Cheraman Perumal constructed a Śiva temple at Trikkandiyūr in his own Chengannūr taluk at about 823 A. D. I do not hold with those who think that the rule of the Perumals closed with the passing away of him the period of whose death is expressed by the chronogram स्वर्गं सदेह प्राप (September, 427 A. D.) For the evidence is overwhelming to show that, even after that, there were Perumal rulers in Kerala (*Travancore Arch. Series*, vol. v, pt. ii).

T. K. KRISHNA MENON

STUDIES IN HINDU POLITICAL THOUGHT By Ajit Kumar Sen, M. A. Calcutta, 1926. 179 pp.

The book comprises seven independent articles published in journals at different times. There is no thread of connection running through them except that they treat of the different aspects of ancient Hindu politics. The author commences his book opposing the general occidental opinion about Hindu politics viz. "that the Oriental Aryans never freed their politics from the theological and metaphysical environment in which it is embedded today". Since the publication of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra many writers of note have tried by their publication to remove this erroneous conception about Hindu politics. The present writer has utilised these writings, and through them, the necessary Sanskrit and Pāli passages to show clearly that Hindu politics was as secular as it was in any country of the West of the corresponding epoch. As one of the illustrations he refers to the doctrine of Puruṣakāra in the famous passage of the Kauṭilīya deprecating too much reliance upon destiny (artho hy arthasya nakṣatraṃ kiṃ kariṣyanti tārakāḥ). In the second chapter the author has dealt with the nature and scope of Hindu political literature pointing out how the Rājadharma sections in the Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras gradually gave rise to the secular literature of the Arthaśāstric school. He also points out a defect of the ancient writers on politics, inherited by them from their predecessors, namely, that all of them have concerned themselves with problems of government from the standpoint of the king only and not from that of the people and their rights, which latter loom large in European works on politics. In the third chapter, the author gives an exposition of the Hindu view of the state of nature, and shows that the Hiudu conception of Mātsyannyāya was more realistic and less theoretical than the conception of the state of nature of some of the renowned European political philosophers. In the fourth chapter on the origin of kingship, he has assimilated the various discussions of the theories of the present day Indian scholars and systematised them thus : Kingship had human origin, but gradually with the association of rituals on the occasion of coronation and with the attribution of temporary divinity during Rājasūya and Vājapeya sacrifices the kingship came to be divine, but the author asserts that the person of the king was never considered divine. In the fifth chapter on checks to tyranny on Hindu political thought, he shows that the Indian method of checking tyranny was quite different from the European or the American. The ideal of education imparted to an ancient Indian prince and the various forms

of religious and political checks prevented a king from becoming a tyrant. Then there were fines, deposition and even tyrannicide to serve as checks upon the power of a king. In the chapter on "The Concept of Law and the Early Hindu View" the author has first dealt with the definitions of law as offered by the various European jurists. He divides Law into two classes, viz., (1) Non-human origin—theological, metaphysical and custom (2) Human origin—custom, rules of non-sovereign societies and positive laws. From this view-point he proceeds to examine the various views re. concept of law propounded in the ancient literature of India commencing from the Ṛg-veda. He concludes therefrom that the Hindus also classify their law into secular and sacred, and that the Hindu speculations were much influenced by "Varṇāśrama on the one hand and by the fact of *pluralism* (viz., economic, social and territorial corporations) coupled with the predominance of custom and ācāra on the other." The last chapter on the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and the Nītiśāstra of Śukra is a detailed treatment of the scope of the two treatises. The author proceeds to define the scope of the Arthaśāstra and Nītiśāstra by discussing Kauṭilya's and Sukra's conception of the Rājanīti. He concludes that the categories of thought and topics dealt with by the two authors are more or less same, but Śukra's work is more comprehensive. In fact 'it is social philosophy and sociology in its most comprehensive sense" while Kauṭilya's work is more "of a manual of statecraft and administration for the king" than a political, sociological or economic treatise. This comparative study of the two writers on Hindu polity is interesting. The author deserves praise for the way in which he has assimilated the large number of books that have recently been written upon ancient Hindu polity and for the just estimate he has made of eachof them.

The spelling of Sanskrit words ought to have been in conformity with the rules of transliteration of Sanskrit words.

N.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, vol. viii, pt. iii

HUCHARAO GURURAO BENGERI.—*The Main Outlines of the History of Dāsakūṭa.*

M. E. SENART.—*Introduction to the French Translation of the Bhagavadgītā* (translated by S. K. Belvalkar). Differing from those who believe that the contradictory and incoherent ideas that have been recorded in the *Bhagavadgītā* could not have from the first belonged to one work, the author is of opinion that the work presents thought that is not yet settled and consistent. The process and history of the evolution of the doctrines of the *Gītā* have also been discussed in the paper.

Indian Antiquary, February, 1927

HELLEN M. JOHNSON.—*Śvetāmbara Jaina Iconography.*

M. H. GOPAL.—*The Date of Asoka's Rock Edicts.* The view that the Rock Edicts of Asoka are later in date than his Pillar Edicts has been opposed here.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, September, 1926

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—*The Original Rāmāyaṇa.* From a study of the recently edited fasciculi of the North-Western recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the author of the paper contends that the view that an *ādi Rāmāyaṇa* referred to in some Mahratti works has been the original of the several recensions is wrong and that the texts have been handed down by word of mouth, the oral versions being, at a later period, reduced to writing according to local authorities.

Ibid., December, 1926

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.—*On Vedic Dhénā, "Prayer," "Song."*

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December, 1926

H. HERAS.—*Relations between Guptas, Kādambas and Vākāṭakas.*

A. BANERJI-SASTRI.—*Asura Institutions.* The writer of this article suggests that some of the customs of the Asura tribes have played a great part in transforming the original Indo-European institutions in India, particularly the position of women in the Aryan families.

MANMATHANATH RAY.—*Ostracism in Indian Society.* The paper refers to the nature of the offences that led to excommunication in ancient Indian society and describes the disabilities and restrictions imposed upon the guilty person and also the ceremonies connected with his excommunication as well as re-admission.

H. R. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR.—*Vādavidhi.* It is argued here that as the *Vādavidhi* referred to by Uddyotakara is a work of Vasubandhu and cannot be identified with the *Vādanyāya* of Dharmakīrti, Uddyotakara is not necessarily a contemporary of Dharmakīrti and a late date should not be assigned to the former on that ground.

Rūpam, July-December, 1926

P. MASSON-OURSEL.—*A connection between Indian Æsthetics and Philosophy* (translated by A. Coomaraswamy). From a comparison of the meanings of the word *pramāṇa* found both in the æsthetic as well as philosophical treatises, the writer comes to the conclusion that both the artists and the metaphysicians of India paid attention more to abstract types, whether types of being or types of knowledge, than to material objects.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. vi, no. i.

A. HILLEBRANDT.—*Die Anschaungen über das Alter des Ṛgveda* (Observations on the age of the Ṛgveda). After considering the views of Max Müller, Jacobi, Tilak, Abinas Chandra Das as well as those of Halévy, Hüsing and Hertel, the opinion is expressed that the only reliable method of solving the problem is through the Buddhist and the grammatical literature which furnish us at least with the *terminus ad quem.* References in Pāli Buddhist works and the works of grammar especially those of Pāṇini who flourished in the 5th century B.C. and Yāska who flourished before his

time show that the Vedic period was completed in the fifth century B.C. The *terminus a quo* remains in darkness, but the astronomical data of the Jyotiṣa (a Vedāṅga work) lead to the period of 1000—1200 years as the approximate date of the Brāhmaṇa literature. For the age of the Ṛgveda, Thibaut's view extending it from 1200 to 1800 B.C. is too wide. Excavations and cuneiform characters can help us only to fix this period. The startling discoveries at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa would appear to lift the curtain from the oldest civilisation of India. This article is to be continued. (U. N. G.)

The German Orientalists' Day (28th September—2nd October, 1926). At the sitting of the section on the culture and languages of India and Iran (including Central Asia), the following among other important papers were read. H. Meyer, speaking on Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā and its sources held that the Śakuntalā legend rested on an old Indo-Germanic story-motif of the forgotten bride; its most original and complete form was presented in the drama of Kālidāsa. Sten Konow, speaking on the linguistic and literary affinities in the Kharosthi inscriptions, showed *inter alia* that (a) the dialect of the Kharosthi manuscript of the Dhammapada should probably be localised in Taxila, (b) a Buddhist canonical literature probably belonging to the Sarvāstivādins apparently existed at first in the language of the inscriptions and perhaps during the last years of Kaniska the corresponding Sanskrit canon came into existence. Otto Stein, in his paper on *India in the Oxyrrhynchos-Papyri*, showed that the so-called Mimus of Oxyrrhynchos does not settle any South Indian materials while another of the manuscripts contradicts the theory of an Isis cult in India. E. Leumann contributed a paper on the *Goddess Aditi and the Vedic Astronomy* proving that the term 'Aditi' should be understood with reference to the unfixed course of certain stars and the expression 'sons of Aditi' was metaphorical like the son of Craft and the like; this lent confirmation to Oldenberg's theory of a connection between the seven sons of Aditi and the Vedic astronomical notions. (U. N. G.)

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Obituary Notices

The late Mr. S. M. Edwardes

The loss to Indian historical scholarship from the recent deaths, coming in quick succession, of workers like Mr. Edwardes and Mr. Rajwade, Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. Pargiter, is great indeed. And it is a particular sense of sadness to us that Mr. Edwardes should have been cut off by death while still in the prime of life and at the comparatively early age of 54. The son of an English clergyman and an Oxford don, Mr. Edwardes studied at Eton and later at Oxford, successfully passing the examination for the Indian Civil Service in 1894. He entered service in the Bombay Presidency and became closely associated with the city, rising to be its Commissioner of Police and subsequently its Municipal Commissioner. He was thoroughly conversant with the manners and peculiarities of the heterogeneous elements of the city population and wrote a number of books and papers on them which enabled him to become in the words of Sir Richard Temple "the greatest authority of his time on that famous city." He edited the *Bombay City Gazetteer* (1906-10) and the *Bombay Census Report of 1901* and wrote in 1924 an interesting historical sketch on the growth of the *Bombay City Police* wherein he clearly traced the great difficulty, always experienced, in maintaining order in that city. He was the President of the Bombay Anthropological Society for a time; and the excellence of his work in that connection is testified to by scholars like Dr. J. J. Modi. He wrote two good books on the city besides—*The Rise of Bombay* and *the Byways of Bombay*, which lifted the veil from many dark corners of the city's labyrinths and nightside and clearly illuminated the dark steps in its expansion. He was thus an acknowledged authority of the details of the evolution of the city's revenue and other administrative organisation. He received high encomiums on his work as an administrator from Lords Sydenham and Willingdon and fitting marks of recognition in a C. V. O., and a C. S. I., relatively early in his official career.

In 1918 after two years of office as Municipal Commissioner of the city, Mr. Edwardes retired from service, owing to ill health which continued to trouble him greatly till his death. But he heroically kept

up his active literary habits and intellectual vigour. For a time he assisted Lord Sydenham as Secretary to the Indo-British Association which was formed to oppose the grant of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms to India. And he served besides as one of India's representatives, in 1921, at the Geneva Conference on Traffic in Women and Children.

He was chosen by the veteran oriental scholar and worker, Sir Richard Temple, Bart., to assist him as Joint Editor of *The Indian Antiquary* from the beginning of 1923, and during the short period he was connected with that Journal, he showed himself indefatigable in his writings and contributions, taking up besides a large portion of the reviewing work. The Oxford University Press entrusted him with the onerous task of revising for a fourth edition, the Late Dr. V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*—a task which involved the sifting of materials accumulated since 1914, the date of the previous edition and the preparation of additional notes and amendments. Likewise he revised in 1923, Dr. Smith's *Oxford History of India*—correcting some errors and adding new information, particularly in the British period, with the aid of Dr. Crooke and Sir William Foster. For the same publishers Mr. Edwardes edited, in two volumes, with additions and a little fresh matter, J. G. Grant-Duff's standard work—*The History of the Mahrattas*. Even a little while before his death, he wrote a new book—*Babur, Diarist and Despot* (published by A. M. Philpot, 1926) which is an entertaining sketch of the founder of the Mughal Empire, primarily based on the English translation by Mrs. A. S. Beveridge of that monarch's famous Turki autobiography (published by the R. A. S). Mr. Edwardes was well conversant with the folk-lore and the historical episodes of Western India and particularly of Mahārāṣṭra—on which he wrote a number of articles like an account of Umaji Naik, a Ramusi chief of Purandhar Fort. His was an active life till almost the day of his death ; and particularly the last years of his life witnessed a rapid and continuous output of books, reviews, articles and monographs from his pen on subjects of Indian historical interest. While only a few months before his demise he took up the Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society in which he would have done excellent work, had he been spared to us.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

The Late Mr. Nundolal Dey

It is with a heavy heart that I have to record the death of a silent but indefatigable worker in the field of oriental researches—Mr. Nundolal Dey. He passed away from our midst on the 1st of January, 1927, at his residence at Chinsurah. He was born in 1849. It was his unquenchable thirst for knowledge that prompted him to leave the trodden path of the members of his family and avail himself of the benefits of University education in a larger measure.

Some time after the completion of his college career he joined the Bengal Judicial Service in which he rose to the position of a Sub-Judge about the time of retirement. Amidst his arduous official duties, his great inclination for historical researches prompted him to snatch out time for studies relating to the history of this country. During this period he accumulated historical materials, portions of which were published as articles in the oriental journals. Some of these articles may be mentioned here :

(i) The Vikramaśilā Monastery (*JASB.*, 1909).
(ii) Notes on the History of the District of Hughly or the Ancient Rāḍha (*JASB.*, 1910).
(iii) Notes on Ancient Aṅga or the District of Bhagalpur (*JASB.*, 1914).
(iv) The Early Course of the Ganges (Indian Antiquary, 1921).
(v) The Kaluha Hill in the District of Hazaribagh (*JASB.*, 1901).
(vi) Notes on Chirand in the District of Saran (*JASB.*, 1903).
(vii) Rāḍha or the Ancient Gaṇgā Rāṣṭra (to be shortly published in this Journal).

In 1899 was published his principal work the *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*. The most favourite subject of his investigations lay in the identification of names of places mentioned in the Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina scriptures as well as secular works of ancient times with their modified or mutilated forms of the present day and also in the location of the sites bearing the ancient names. Many of his restorations of mutilated names and identifications of places have received the approval of oriental scholars. From the time of retirement from service up to the last, he continued with zeal his labours in this field of study which was so dear to him. As the result of his investigations much materials accumulated requiring incorporation in the *Geographical Dictionary*. The second edition of the work that has been published as a Supplement

to the Indian Antiquary and is shortly expected to be out in book-form has utilised these materials. In connection with the names of places he has tried to bring together all the available information and to weave into them the local traditions that have made the places important in the eye of the Hindus, Buddhists or Jainas.

In his recently published, interesting work the *Rasātala or the Under-world*, he has tried to show that Rasātala, the Sapta Sāgaras, the Rākṣasas, Garuḍas, etc. are not the products of mere imagination but realities over which the lapse of time has thrown a thick coating of fanciful stories by which they have been defaced beyond recognition. It is indeed a great loss that he has not lived to see how his theories are received by the world of scholars.

One other book from his pen remains to be mentioned and that is his *Civilization in Ancient India* published so for back as the seventies of the last century as articles in the Bengal Magazine over the pseudonym 'Una.'

It was the editor of the Magazine Rev. Lal Behary De, who while at Chinsurah, used to meet Mr. N. Dey very often and on these occasions asked him to contribute articles to the Magazine. Though Mr. N. Dey brought out his first literary production under the inspiration of the veteran writer, it was Sir Roper Lethbridge who actually taught him the method of historical investigations while Mr. N. Dey was an M. A. student under him at the Hughly College.

Mr. Dey was of a very amiable and cheerful disposition. Though an old man past three scores years and ten, he was as buoyant as a child. Such a temparament stood him in good stead, as the many cares and sorrows of life through which he had to pass could not upset him on account of the natural strain of cheerfulness in his disposition.

N. Dutt

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mātā Ānandatthero Channo Kaṇṭhako Nidhikumbhiyo[1] Mahābodhi Kāḷudāyī ti imāni satta sahajātāni. Mahāpuriso ca uttarāsāḷhanakkhatte yeva mātukucchiyam okkami, Mahābhinikkhamanaṃ nikkhami, Dhammacakkaṃ pavattesi, Yamakapāṭihāriyam akāsi. Visākhanakkhattena jāto ca abhisambuddho ca parinibbuto ca. Māghanakkhatten' assa sāvakasannipāto ca ahosi, āyusaṃkhārossajjanañ ca. Assayujanakkhattena devorohaṇan ti ettakam āharitvā dīpetabbaṃ. Ayaṃ Sambahulavārapariccheda nāma.

Idāni 'atha kho tesaṃ bhikkhūnan' ti ādīsu te bhikkhu āvuso pubbenivāsassa nāma ayaṃ gati yaṃ[2] pan' idaṃ cutito paṭṭhāya paṭisandhi-ārohaṇaṃ, yaṃ pana idaṃ paṭisandhito paṭṭhāya pacchāmukhaṃ ñāṇaṃ pesetvā cutiṃ gantabbam idam atigarukam ākāse padaṃ dassento viya Bhagavā kathetī ti ativimhayajātā hutvā 'acchariyam āvuso' ti ādīni vatvā puna aparaṃ pi kāraṇaṃ dassento 'yatra hi nāma tathāgato' ti ādim āhaṃsu.

Tattha *yatra hi nāmā* ti acchariyatthe nipāto. Yo nāma Tathāgato ti attho. *Chinnapapañce* ti ettha papañcā nāma taṇhā māno diṭṭhī ti ime tayo kilesā. *Chinnavaṭume* ti ettha vaṭuman ti kusalākusalakammavaṭṭaṃ vuccati. *Pariyādinnavaṭṭe* ti tass' eva vevacanaṃ. Pariyādinnasabbakammavaṭṭe ti attho. *Sabbadukkhavītivatte* ti sabbaṃ vipākavaṭṭasaṃkhātaṃ dukkhaṃ vītivatte. *Anussarissatī* ti idaṃ 'yatra'[3] hi ti nipātavasena anāgatavacanaṃ. Attho pan' ettha atītavasena veditabbo. Bhagavā hi te buddhe anussari, na 'dāni anussarissatī ti.

Evaṃ sīlā ti maggasīlena phalasīlena lokiya-lokuttara-sīlena 'evaṃ sīlā'. *Evaṃ dhammā* ti ettha samādhipakkhā va dhammā adhippetā. Magga-samādhinā phalasamādhinā lokiya-lokuttara-samādhinā 'evaṃ samādhino'[4] ti attho. *Evaṃ paññā* ti maggapaññādi-vasen' eva 'evaṃ paññā'.

Evaṃ vihārī ti ettha pana heṭṭhā samādhipakkhānaṃ dhammānaṃ gahitattā vihāro gahito va, puna kasmā gahitam eva gaṇhātī ti ce? Na idaṃ gahitam eva. Idaṃ hi nirodhasamāpatti [5]paridīpanatthaṃ vuttaṃ. Tasmā evaṃ nirodhasamāpattivihārī te Bhagavanto ahesun ti evam ettha attho daṭṭhabbo.

Evaṃ vimuttā ti ettha vikkhambhanavimutti-tadaṅgavimutti-samucchedavimutti-paṭippassaddhivimutti-nissaraṇavimuttī ti pañcavidhā vimutti. Tattha aṭṭhasamāpattiyo sayaṃ vikkhambhitehi nīvaraṇādīhi vimuttattā vikkhambhanavimuttī ti saṃkhaṃ[6] gacchanti. Aniccānu-

1 B. -kumbho 2 B. & Si. yad 3 B. & Si. yatrā ti 4 B. samādhayo ; Si. samādhinā
5 B. & Si. omit pari 6 S. spells saṃkhyaṃ throughout

passanādikā satta anupassanā sayaṃ tassa tassa paccanīkaṅgavasena paricchinnattā tehi niccasaññādīhi vimuttattā tadaṅgavimuttī ti saṃkhaṃ gacchanti. Cattāro ariyamaggā sayaṃ samucchinnehi kilesehi vimuttattā samucchedavimuttī ti saṃkhaṃ gacchanti. Cattāri sāmaññaphalāni maggānubhāvena kilesānaṃ paṭippassaddhante uppannattā paṭippassaddhivimuttī ti saṃkhaṃ gacchanti. Nibbāṇaṃ sabbakilesehi nissaraṇattā apagatattā dūre ṭhitattā nissaraṇa-vimuttī ti saṃkhaṃ gacchatī ti imāsaṃ pañcannaṃ vimuttīnaṃ vasena evaṃ vimuttā ti ettha attho daṭṭhabbo. *Paṭisallānā vuṭṭhito* ti ekībhāvā vuṭṭhito.

16. *Ito so bhikkhave* ti kā anusandhi. Idañ hi suttaṃ 'tathāgatass' ev' esā bhikkhave dhamma-dhātu suppaṭividdhā' ti ca 'devatā pi tathāgatassa etam attham ārocesun' ti ca imehi dvīhi padehi āraddhan[1] ti. Tattha devatā ārocanapadaṃ suttantapariyosāne devacārikāya kolāhalaṃ dassento vicāressati. Dhammadhātupadānusandhivasena pana ayaṃ desanā āraddhā.

17. Tattha 'khattiyo jātiyā' ti ādīni ekādasapadāni nidānakaṇḍe vuttanayen' eva veditabbāni. *Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī bodhisatto* ti ādīsu pana Vipassī ti tassa nāmaṃ. Taṃ ca kho vividhe atthe passanakusalatāya laddhaṃ.

Bodhisatto ti paṇḍitasatto bujjhanakasatto. Bodhisaṃkhātesu vā catūsu maggesu satto āsatto laggamānaso ti bodhisatto. *Sato sampajāno* ti ettha sato ti sati yeva sampajāno ti ñāṇaṃ. Satiṃ [2]supaṭṭhitaṃ katvā ñāṇena paricchinditvā mātukucchim okkamī ti attho. *Okkamī* ti iminā cassa okkantabhāvo va pāḷiyaṃ dassito na okkamanakkamo. So pana yasmā aṭṭhakatham āruyho tasmā evaṃ veditabbo.

Sabbabodhisattā hi samatiṃsapāramiyo pūretvā pañcamahāpariccāge pariccajitvā ñātatthacariyā-lokatthacariyā-buddhacariyānaṃ koṭiṃ patvā Vessantara-sadise tatiye attabhāve ṭhatvā sattamahādānāni datvā sattakkhattuṃ paṭhaviṃ kampetvā kālaṃ katvā dutiyacittavāre Tusitabhavane[3] nibbattan ti. Vipassī bodhisatto pi tath' eva katvā Tusitapure nibbattitvā saṭṭhisatasahassādhikā sattapaññāsavassakoṭiyo tattha aṭṭhāsi. Aññadā pana Dīghāyukadevaloke nibbattā bodhisattā na yāvatāyukaṃ tiṭṭhanti. Kasmā? Tattha pāramīnaṃ duppūraṇiyattā. Te adhimuttikālakiriyaṃ katvā manussapathe yeva nibbattanti. Pāramiyo pan' assa yathā[4] idāni eken' attabhāvena sabbaññutaṃ uppādetuṃ[5] sakkonti evaṃ sabbaso pūritattā

1 B. & Si. āvaddhaṃ 2 B. supaṭi- 3 Si. -pure
4 Si. & B. pāramīnaṃ pūrento pana yathā 5 Si. & B. upanetuṃ

tadā Vipassī bodhisatto tattha yāvatāyukam aṭṭhāsi. Devatānaṃ pana manussānaṃ gaṇanavasena idāni sattahi divasehi cuti bhavissatī ti pañcapubbanimittāni uppajjanti, mālā milāyanti, vatthāni kilissanti, kacchehi sedā muccanti, kāye dubbaṇṇiyam okkamati, devo devāsane na saṇṭhāti.

Tattha mālā ti paṭisandhiggahaṇadivase pilandhitamālā. Tā kira saṭṭhisatasahassādhikā sattapaṇṇāsavassakoṭiyo amilāyitvā tadā milāyanti. Vatthesu pi es' eva nayo. Ettakaṃ pana kālaṃ devānaṃ neva sītaṃ na uṇhaṃ hoti. Tasmiṃ kāle sarīrā bindu-bindu-vasena sedā muccanti. Ettakañ ca kālaṃ tesaṃ sarīre khaṇḍiccapāliccādivasena vivaṇṇatā na paññāyati. Devadhītā soḷasavassuddesikā viya,[1] deva-puttā visativassuddesikā viya khāyanti. Maraṇakāle pana tesaṃ kilantarūpo attabhāvo hoti. Ettakañ ca tesaṃ kālaṃ devaloke ukkaṇṭhitā nāma natthi. Maraṇakāle pana nissasanti vijambhanti sake āsane nābhiramanti. Imāni pana [2]pañcapubbanimittāni yathā loke mahāpuññānaṃ rājarājamahāmattādīnaṃ yeva ukkāpātabhūmicāla-candaggāhādi-nimittāni paññāyanti, na sabbesam, evam eva mahesak-khānaṃ devatānaṃ yeva paññāyanti, na sabbesaṃ. Yathā ca manus-sesu pubbanimittāni nakkhattapāṭhakādayo va jānanti na sabbe, evaṃ tāni pi na sabbadevatā jānanti paṇḍitā eva pana jānanti. Tattha ye mandena kusalakammena nibbattā devaputtā te tesu uppannesu idāni ko jānāti kuhiṃ nibbattissāmā ti bhāyanti. Ye mahāpuññā te amhehi pi dinnadānaṃ rakkhitasīlaṃ bhāvitabhāvanam āgamma uparidevalokesu sampattim anubhavissāmā ti na bhāyanti.

Vipassī bodhisatto pi tāni pubbanimittāni disvā idāni anantare attabhāve buddho bhavissāmī ti na bhāyi. Athassa tesu nimittesu pātubhūtesu dasasahassacakkavāḷadevatā sannipatitvā 'mārisa, tumhehi dasapāramiyo pūrentehi na Sakkasampattiṃ na Māra[3] na Brahma na Cakkavattisampattiṃ patthentehi pūritā, lokanittharaṇatthāya pana buddhattaṃ patthayamānehi pūritā, so te idāni kālo, mārisa, buddh-attāya samayo mārisa buddhattāyā' ti yācanti.

Atha Mahāsatto tāsaṃ devatānaṃ paṭiññam adatvā va kāla-dīpa-desa-kula-janetti-āyupariccheda-vasena pañcamahāvilokanaṃ nāma vilo-kesi. Tattha kālo nu kho na kālo ti paṭhamaṃ kālaṃ vilokesi. Tattha vassasatasahassato uddhaṃ vaḍḍhita-āyukālo kālo nāma na hoti. Kasmā? Tadā hi sattānaṃ jātijarāmaraṇāni na paññāyanti. Buddhā-naṃ ca dhammadesanā nāma tilakkhaṇavinimuttā natthi. Tesaṃ dukkham-aniccam-anattā ti kathentānaṃ kiṃ nāmetaṃ kathentī ti neva

1 B. adds khāyanti 2 B. omits it 3 B. omits it

sotuṃ na saddahituṃ maññanti. Tato abhisamayo na hoti. Tasmim asati aniyyāṇikaṃ[1] sāsanaṃ hoti tasmā so akālo. Vassasatato pana[2] ūna-āyukālo pi kālo na hoti. Kasmā? Tadā hi sattā ussannakilesā honti. Ussannakilesānañ ca dinno ovādo ovādaṭṭhāne na tiṭṭhati udake daṇḍarāji viya khippaṃ vigacchati tasmā so pi akālo. Vassasatasahassato paṭṭhāya heṭṭhā vassasatato paṭṭhāya uddham āyukalo kālo nāma. Tadā ca asītivassasahassāyukā manussā. Atha Mahāsatto nibbattitabbakālo ti kālaṃ passi.

Tato dīpaṃ vilokento saparivāre cattāro dīpe oloketvā tīsu dīpesu buddhā na nibbattanti Jambudīpe yeva nibbattantī ti dīpam passi. Tato Jambudīpo nāma mahā dasayojanasahassaparimāṇo, katarasmiṃ nu kho padese buddhā nibbattantī ti desam olokento majjhimadesaṃ passi. Majjhimadeso nāma puratthimāya disāya Kajaṅgalaṃ nāma nigamo ti ādinā nayena Vinaye vutto va. So āyāmato tīṇi yojanasatāni, vitthārato aḍḍhateyyāni, parikkhepato nava yojanasatānī ti. Etasmiṃ hi padese buddhā paccekabuddhā aggasāvakā asītimahāsāvakā cakkavattirājāno aññe ca mahesakkhā khattiyabrāhmaṇagahapatimahāsālā uppajjanti. Idaṃ cettha Bandhumatī nāma nagaraṃ tattha mayā nibbattitabban ti niṭṭham agamāsi.

Tato kulam anuvilokento buddhā nāma lokasammate kule nibbattanti, idāni ca khattiyakulaṃ lokasammataṃ tattha nibbattissāmi. Bandhumā nāma me rājā pitā bhavissatī ti kulaṃ passi.

Tato mātaraṃ vilokento buddhamātā nāma lolā surā dhuttā na hoti kappasatasahassaṃ pūritapārami jātito paṭṭhāya akhaṇḍapañcasīlā hoti ayaṃ ca Bandhumatī nāma devī idisā ayaṃ me mātā bhavissatī ti. Kittakaṃ panassā āyū ti āvajjanto dasannaṃ māsānam upari satta divasāni passi.

Iti idaṃ[3] pañcamahāvilokanaṃ viloketvā kālo me mārisā buddhabhāvāyā ti devatānaṃ saṅgahaṃ karonto paṭiññaṃ datvā 'gacchatha tumhe' ti tā devatā viyyojetvā[4] Tusitadevatāhi parivuto[5] Tusitapure Nandavanaṃ pāvisi. Sabbadevalokesu hi[6] Nandavanam atthi yeva. Tatra naṃ devatā ito cuto sugatiṃ gacchā ti[7] pubbe katakusalakammokāsaṃ kārayamānā vicaranti. So evaṃ devatāhi kusalaṃ sārayamānāhi parivuto tattha vicaranto yeva cavi. Evaṃ cuto ca cavāmī ti jānāti cuticittaṃ na jānāti paṭisandhiṃ gahetvā pi jānāti paṭisandhicittam eva na jānāti imasmiṃ yeva[8] ṭhāne paṭisandhigahitā ti evaṃ pana

1 B. niyyāṇikam
2 S. Paṭṭhāya ona
3 Si. imāni.....vilokanāni; B. ime.....vilokane
4 Si. & B. uyyojetvā
5 Si. parivārito
6 S. pi
7 Si. omits it
8 Si. & B. add me

jānāti. Keci pana therā āvajjanapariyāyo nāma[1] laddhuṃ vaṭṭati dutiya-tatiyacittavāre eva jānissatī ti vadanti. Tipiṭakamahāsivatthero panāha[2]. 'Mahāsattānaṃ paṭisandhi na aññesaṃ paṭisandhisadisā, koṭippattaṃ pana[3] tesaṃ satisampajaññaṃ, yasmā pana ten' eva cittena taṃ cittaṃ kātuṃ[4] na sakkā tasmā cuticittaṃ na jānāti, cutikkhaṇe yeva[5] pana cavāmī ti jānāti paṭisandhicittaṃ na jānāti asukasmiṃ me[6] ṭhāne paṭisandhi gahitā ti jānātī ti. Tasmiṃ kāle dasasahassīlokadhātu saṃkampatī ti. Evaṃ sato sampajāno mātukucchim okkamanto pana ekūnavisatiyā paṭisandhicittesu mettāpubbabhāga-somanassasahagata-ñāṇasampayutta-asaṃkhārika kusalacittasadisamahāvipākacittena paṭisandhiṃ gaṇhi. Mahāsivatthero pana upekkhāsahagatenā ti āha. Yathā ca amhākaṃ bhagavā evaṃ so pi āsāḷhīpuṇṇamiyam uttarāsāḷhanakkhatten' eva paṭisandhim aggahesi.

Tadā kira pure puṇṇamāya sattamadivasato paṭṭhāya vigatasurāpānaṃ mālāgandhādivibhūsaṇa[7]sampannaṃ nakkhattakīḷam anubhavamānā bodhisattamātā sattame divase pāto vuṭṭhāya gandhodakena nhāyitvā sabbālaṅkāravibhūsitā varabhojanaṃ bhuñjitvā uposathaṅgadhiṭṭhāya sirigabbhaṃ pavisitvā sirisayane nipannā niddam okkamamānā imaṃ[8] supinam addasa. Cattāro kira naṃ mahārājāno sayanen' eva saddhim ukkhipitvā Anotattadahaṃ netvā nhāpetvā dibbavatthehi[9] nivāsetvā dibbagandhehi vilimpetvā dibbapupphāni pilandhitvā[10] tato avidūre rajatapabbato tassa anto kanakavimānam atthi tasmiṃ pācīnato sīsaṃ katvā nipajjāpesuṃ. Atha bodhisatto setavaravāraṇo hutvā tato avidūre eko suvaṇṇapabbato tattha caritvā tato oruyha taṃ rajatapabbatam abhirūhitvā kanakavimānaṃ pavisitvā mātaraṃ padakkhiṇaṃ katvā dakkhiṇapassaṃ phāletvā kucchiṃ paviṭṭhasadiso ahosi. Atha pabuddhā devī taṃ supinaṃ rañño ārocesi.

Rājā vibhātāya rattiyā catusaṭṭhimatte brāhmaṇapāmokkhe pakkosāpetvā haritupattāya[11] lājādīhi katamaṅgalasakkārāya bhūmiyā mahārahāni āsanāni paññāpetvā tattha nisinnānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ sappīmadhusakkarābhisaṃkhatassa varapāyasassa suvaṇṇarajatapātiyo pūretvā suvaṇṇarajatapātīh' eva paṭikujjitvā adāsi, aññehi ca ahatavatthakapilagāvīdānādīhi tesaṃ santappeti. Atha nesaṃ sabbakāmasantappitānaṃ taṃ supinam ārocetvā kiṃ bhavissatī ti pucchi. Brāhmaṇā āhaṃsu 'mā cintayi mahārāja deviyā te kucchimhi gabbho patiṭṭhito,

1 S. omits it
2 Si. omits āha
3 Si. omits it
4 Si. & B. ñātuṃ
5 Si. & B. pi
6 B. omits it
7 Si. & B. vibhūti
8 Si. & B. idaṃ
9 Si. & B. -vatthaṃ
10 Si. -dhetvā
11 S. -palittāya

so ca kho purisagabbho na itthīgabbho putto te bhavissatī'ti so sace agāram ajjhāvasissati rājā bhavissati cakkavattī dhammiko[1] dhammarājā[2], sace agārā nikkhamma pabbajissati buddho bhavissati loke[3] vivaṭacchado ti. Ayaṃ tāva mātukucchim okkamī ti ettha [4]atthavaṇṇanākkamo.

Ayam ettha dhammatā ti ayam ettha mātukucchim okkamane dhammatā. Ayaṃ sabhāvo ayaṃ niyamo ti vuttaṃ hoti. Niyāmo ca nāmesa kammaniyāmo utuniyāmo vījaniyamo cittaniyāmo dhammaniyāmo ti pañcavidho. Tattha kusalassa iṭṭhavipākadānam akusalassa aniṭṭhavipākadānan ti ayaṃ kammaniymāo. Tassa dīpanatthaṃ 'na antalikkhe' ti gāthāya vatthūni vattabbāni. Api ca ekā kira itthī sāmikena saddhiṃ bhaṇḍitvā ubbandhitvā maritukāmā rajjupāse[5] gīvaṃ pavesesi. Aññataro puriso vāsiṃ nisedento[6] taṃ[7] disvā rajjuṃ chinditukāmo 'mā bhāyi mī bhāyī' ti taṃ samassāsento upadhāvi. Rajju āsiviso hutvā aṭṭhāsi. So bhīto hutvā palāyi. Itarā tatth' eva mari. Evam ādīni cettha vatthūni dassetabbāni.

Tesu tesu janapadesu tasmiṃ tasmiṃ kāle ekappahāren' eva rukkhānaṃ pupphaphalaggahaṇādīni, vātassa vāyanaṃ avāyanaṃ, ātapassa tikkhatā mandatā, devassa vassanaṃ avassanaṃ, padumānaṃ divā vikasanaṃ rattiṃ sammīlanan ti evam ādi utuniyāmo.

Yaṃ pan etaṃ sālivījato sāliphalam eva madhurato madhurarasaṃ yeva tittato tittarasaṃ yeva phalaṃ hoti ayaṃ vījaniyāmo.

Purimā purimā cittacetasikā dhammā pacchimānaṃ pacchimānaṃ cittacetasikānaṃ dhammānam upanissayapaccayena paccayo ti evaṃ yad etaṃ cakkhuviññāṇādīnam anantarā sampaṭicchannādīnaṃ nibbattanam ayaṃ cittaniyāmo.

Yā pan esā bodhisattānaṃ mātukucchim okkamanādīsu dasasahassīlokadhātukampanādīnaṃ pavatti ayaṃ dhammaniyāmo nāma. Tesu idha dhammaniyāmo adhippeto. Tasmā tam ev' atthaṃ dassento dhammatā esā bhikkhave ti ādim āha.

Tattha *kucchim okkamatī* ti ettha kucchim okkanto hotī ti ayam attho. Okkante hi tasmim evaṃ hoti na okkamamāne. *Appamāṇo* ti vuḍḍhippamāṇo vipulo ti attho. *Uḷāro* ti tass' eva vevacanaṃ. 'Uḷārāni uḷārāni khādanīyāni khādantī' ti ādīsu hi madhuram uḷāran ti vuttaṃ. 'Uḷārāya khalu bhavaṃ Vacchāyano samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ pasaṃsāya pasaṃsatī' ti ādīsu seṭṭhaṃ uḷāran ti vuttaṃ. Idha pana vipulam adhippetaṃ. *Devānaṃ devānubhāvan* ti ettha devānam ayam ānubhāvo.

1 & 2 Si. & B. omit them
3 Si. vivatta-
4 Si. & B. omit attha
5 Si. -pāsehi
6 Si. & B. nisento
7 B. adds itthikammam

Nivatthavatthassa pabhā dvādasa yojanāni pharati, tathā sarīrassa, tathā alaṃkārassa, tathā vimānassa, tam atikkamitvā ti attho.

Lokantarikā ti tiṇṇaṃ tiṇṇaṃ cakkavāḷānam antarā ekekā lokantarikā hoti tiṇṇaṃ sakaṭacakkānaṃ vā tiṇṇaṃ pattānaṃ vā aññamaññam āhacca ṭhapitānaṃ majjhe okāro viya. So pana lokantarikanirayo vitthārato aṭṭhayojanasahassāni[1] honti. *Aghā* ti niccavivaṭā. *Asaṃvutā* heṭṭhā pi appatiṭṭhā. *Andhakārā* ti tamabhūtā. *Andhakāratimisā* ti cakkhuviññāṇuppattinivāraṇato andhabhāvakaraṇatimisena samannāgatā. Tattha kira cakkhuviññāṇaṃ na jāyati. *Evaṃ mahiddhikā* ti candimasuriyā kira ekappahāren' eva tīsu dīpesu paññāyanti evaṃ mahiddhikā. Ekekāya disāya nava nava yojanasatasahassāni andhakāraṃ vidhamitvā ālokaṃ dassanti evaṃ mahānubhāvā. *Ābhāya nānubhontī* ti attano pabhāya nappahonti. Te kira cakkavāḷa-pabbatassa vemajjhena vicaranti. Cakkavāḷapabbataṅ ca atikkamma lokantarika-nirayo[2] tasmā te tattha ābhāya nappahonti.

Ye pi tattha sattā ti ye pi tasmiṃ[3] lokantarika[4] mahāniraye sattā uppannā. Kiṃ pana kammaṃ katvā tattha uppajjantī ti? Bhāriyaṃ dāruṇaṃ. Mātāpitūnaṃ dhammikasamaṇabrāhmaṇānañ ca upari aparādham aññañ ca divase divase pāṇavadhādi sāhasikakammaṃ katvā tattha[5] uppajjanti. Tambapaṇṇidīpe Abhayacora-Nāgacorādayo viya. Tesam attabhāvo tigāvutiko hoti. Vaggulīnaṃ viya dīghanakhā honti. Te rukkhe vagguliyo viya nakhehi cakkavāḷapabbate[6] lagganti. Yadā te[7] saṃsapantā aññamaññassa hatthapāsaṃ gatā honti atha bhakkho no laddho ti maññamānā tattha dhāvantā[8] viparivattitvā lokasandhārakodake patanti. Vāte paharante pi madhuka[9] phalāni viya chijjitvā udake patanti. Patitamattā va accantakhāre udake piṭṭhapiṇḍaṃ viya vilīyanti. *Aññe pi kira bho santi sattā* ti bho yathā mayaṃ mahādukkham anubhavāma, evam aññe pi kira sattā idaṃ dukkham anubhavanatthāyā idh' uppannā ti taṃ divasaṃ passanti. Ayaṃ pana obhāso ekayāgupānamattam pi na tiṭṭhati; accharā saṃghāṭamattam eva vijjobhāsaṃ viya niccharitvā kim idan ti bhaṇantānaṃ yeva antaradhāyati.

Saṃkampatī ti samantato kampati. Itara dvayaṃ purimapadass' eva vevacanaṃ. Puna 'appamāṇo cā' ti ādi nigamanatthaṃ vuttaṃ.

Cattāro naṃ devaputtā catuddisaṃ rakkhāya upagacchantī ettha cattāro ti catunnaṃ mahārājānaṃ vasena vuttaṃ. Dasasahassacakka-

1 B. & Si. -sahasso
2 B. niraya
3 Si. tattha
4 Si. omits -ika
5 Si. & B. omit it
6 Si. -pāde
7 Si. & B. omit it
8 B. & Si. vāvaṭā or vyāvaṭā
9 B. -pakka-

vāḷesu pana cattāro cattāro katvā cattālīsasahassāni honti. Tattha imasmiṃ cakkavāḷe mahārājāno khaggahatthā Bodhisattassa ārakkhaṇatthāya upagantvā sirigabbhaṃ pavisitvā[1] itare gabbhadvārato paṭṭhāya avaruddhake[2] paṃsupisācakādiyakkhagaṇe paṭikkamāpetvā yāva cakkavāḷā ārakkhaṃ gaṇhiṃsu.

Kimatthāya panāyaṃ rakkhā nanu paṭisandhikkhaṇe kalalakālato paṭṭhāya sace pi koṭisatasahassa Mārā koṭisatasahassam pi Sinerum ukkhipitvā Bodhisattassa vā Bodhisattamātu vā antarāyakaraṇattha āgaccheyyuṃ sabbe antarāyā antaradhāyeyyuṃ. Vuttam pi cetaṃ Bhagavatā [3]ruhiruppādavatthusmiṃ 'aṭṭhānam etaṃ bhikkhave anavakāso yaṃ parūpakkamena Tathāgataṃ jīvitā voropeyyuṃ,[4] na parūpakkamena bhikkhave tathāgatā parinibbāyanti gacchatha tumhe bhikkhave yathāvihāraṃ, arakkhiyā bhikkhave tathāgatā' ti evam eva parūpakkamena na tesaṃ jīvitantarāyo atthi. Santi kho pana amanussā virūpā duddasikā bheravarūpā[5] migapakkhino yesaṃ rūpaṃ vā disvā saddaṃ vā sutvā Bodhisattamātu bhayaṃ vā santāso vā uppajjeyya tesaṃ nivāraṇatthāya ārakkham[6] aggahesuṃ.

Api ca Bodhisattassa puññatejena sañjātagāravā attano gāravacoditā pi te evam akaṃsu. Kiṃ pan' ete antogabbhaṃ pavisitvā ṭhitā cattāro mahārājāno Bodhisattassa mātuyā attānaṃ dassenti na dassentī ti? Nahānamaṇḍanabhojanādi sarīrakiccakāle na dassenti, sirigabbhaṃ pavisitvā varasayane nipannakāle pana dassenti. Tattha kiñcā pi amanussadassanaṃ nāma manussānaṃ sappaṭibhayaṃ hoti. Bodhisattassa mātā pana attano ceva puttassa ca puññānubhāvena te disvā na bhāyati. Pakatiantepurapālakesu viya assā tesu cittam uppajjati.

18. *Pakatiyā sīlavatī* ti sabhāven' eva sīlasampannā. Anuppanne kira buddhe manussā tāpasaparibbājakānaṃ santike vanditvā ukkuṭikaṃ nisīditvā sīlaṃ gaṇhanti. Amhākaṃ[7] Bodhisattassa mātā pi Kāladevilassa[8] isino santike gaṇhāti. Bodhisatte pana kucchigate aññassa pādamūle nisīdituṃ nāma na sakkā. Samanāsane nisīditvā gahitasīlam pi [9]avamaññakaraṇamattaṃ hoti tasmā sayam eva sīlam aggahesī ti vuttaṃ.[10]

19. *Purisesū* ti Bodhisattapitaram ādiṃ katvā kecisu[11] manussesu purisādhippāyacittaṃ na uppajjati. Bodhisattamātu rūpaṃ pana kusalā pi sippikā potthakammādīsu pi kātuṃ na sakkonti. Taṃ disvā

1 B. & Si. paviṭṭhā
2 Si. avaruddha-
3 Si. rudhira-
4 Si. & B. -peyya
5 Si. -rutā
6 Si. rakkham
7 Si. & B. omit it
8 Si. -devala
9 Si. avañña-; B. āvajjana-
10 B. adds hoti
11 B. kesuci; Si. keci

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Maskarī as an Epithet of Gośāla

The chief figure and striking personality in the history of the Ājīvikas is Gosāla or Gośāla. He is described in Pāli as a Makkhali, and in ardha-Māgadhī as a Maṃkhaliputta. Buddhaghoṣa has fancifully traced the origin of the epithet Makkhali to a warning expressed in the words "Mā khali," "See that you do not stumble."[1] He has related also a story to give his etymological ingenuity a stamp of truth, and the story related by him about Gośāla is suggestive of a second etymological derivation of Makkhali from "Maṃkhali," "One who stumbled upon a muddy ground." Gośāla was a slave, we are told, in the household of a rich man. He, while walking on a muddy ground with an oil-pot in his hands, stumbled through carelessness and began to run away in fear of his master. The latter, pursuing him, caught the edge of his garment, and he letting go his cloth, fled away naked (acelako hutvā). He walked carelessly in spite of his master's warning "Tāta, mā khali," "My dear man, take care lest you stumble."[2]

Gośāla as he stands in Ājīvika history. Buddhaghoṣa explains the origin of his epithet Makkhali.

1 Manoratha-Pūraṇī, Siamese edition, part I, p. 523 : *Makkhaliti* "Mā khalî" ti vacanam upādāya evam laddhanāmo titthakaro

Explanation of Gośāla's epithet Maṃkhaliputta.

The Jainas, notably the commentators of the Bhagavatī-Sūtra, keep the ardha-Māgadhī Maṃkhali phonetically unchanged in Sanskrit, Maṃkhaliputta being in their opinion the same as Maṃkhaliputra. They agree to interpret Maṃkhali as a personal name of Gośāla's father, who is said to have been a Maṃkha by profession.[1] For in the Sūtra itself Gośāla is represented as the son of a Maṃkha, Maṃkhali by name.[2] Maṃkhali or Maṃkhali-Maṃkha was his father.[3]

Why the Jainas retain the ardha-Māgadhī Maṃkhali in Sanskrit.

Supposing Maṃkhali was truly a personal name of Gośāla's father, there must have been a good reason for keeping it phonetically unchanged in Sanskrit. The conceivable reason is either that to the knowledge of the Jainas Maṃkhali is the same word with the same meaning in both ardha-Māgadhī and Sanskrit, or that Maṃkhali being a meaningless name, should be kept as it is also in Sanskrit, or that Maṃkhali is a name of which the meaning is unknown to them, or that Maṃkhali and Maṃkha are etymologically the same word. Apparently verbal affinity between Maṃkhali and Maṃkha has been taken for granted and what is more, unconsciously the similarity of sounds in ardha-Māgadhī has been relied upon as a ground for the identity of two words, the upshot being: Gośāla's father came to be known by the name of Maṃkhali because he adopted the profession of a Maṃkha.

tion of the Uvāsaga-Dasāo, App. II, p. 29; Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 301.

1 Maṅkhalyabhidhāna-Maṅkhaputraḥ. See Ṭīkā on the Bhagavatī-Sūtra, XV, I.

2 Bhagavatī-Sūtra, Benares ed., XV, I, leaf 1204: Gosālassa Maṃkhaliputtassa Maṃkhaliṇāmaṃ Maṃkhe pitā hotthā.

3 Ibid., leaf 1204: Se Maṃkhali-Maṃkhaṇāmaṃ: tassa ṇaṃ

The Bhagavatī-Sūtra, otherwise known as the Vyākhyā-Prajñapti, is no less a commentary in ardha-Māgadhī than its Ṭīkā in Sanskrit and Bhāṣā in Hindi or Gujarati. It need not therefore make the reader fight shy of detecting many after-thoughts and later unfounded conjectures therein. One may boldly ask: Does the compound *Maṃkhaliputta* contain at all a reference to Gośāla's father and father's name? Whether it does or not depends entirely upon the context. As expounded in the Bhagavatī-sūtra and its commentaries, it does. But this is just one of the three ways of expounding such a compound. According to the other ways, the compound may be so expounded as to yield a reference to Gośāla's father's status and not to his father's name, or as to yield a reference to himself, his own status or career as a member of the male sex as distinguished from a female. Gośāla Maṃkhaliputta is a full name similar to those of two contemporary teachers: Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Niganṭha Nātaputta as mentioned in Pāli. Here two compounds used as epithets yield each the name of a clan determining father's, so one's own, family status as a Belaṭṭhi or a Nāta. See how Gośāla has been mentioned differently in Pāli, ardha-Māgadhī and Sanskrit Buddhist works:—

Is the Jaina explanation at all correct?

(1) In Pāli literature, invariably as Makkhali Gośāla;
(2) In ardha-Māgadhī texts, invariably as Maṃkhaliputta Gosāla;
(3) In the Divyāvadāna, as Maskarī Gośālīputra;[1]
(4) In the Mahāvastu, (a) as Maskarī Gośālī,[2] and (b) as Maskarī Gośālīputra.[3]

In the usage of the Mahāvastu there is no difference in meaning between Gośālī and Gośālīputra. If a particular deity is mentioned as a *devaputta* (lit. the son of a god), the

1 Divyāvadāna, pp. 143-144.
2 Mahāvastu, I, p. 256. 3 *Ibid.*, I, p. 252.

object is to signify that the deity concerned is a male god as distinguished from a *devadhītā* or a goddess (lit. the daughter of a god). Thus following this line of interpretation one may proceed to show that the compound Maṃkhaliputta implies no more than that Gośāla himself, as a member of the male sex, as belonging to the manly section of humanity, and apart from any reference to his father, was a Maṃkhali. In face of the evidence that Makkhali in Pāli is invariably the same epithet as Maṃkhaliputta or Maṅkhaliputra in Jaina literature, one cannot help thinking that Gośāla himself was a manly Makkhali or Maṅkhali apart from any consideration of his father's name, family status or professional career.

Criticism of Buddhaghoṣa's explanation.

Coming back to Buddhaghoṣa's explanation of the origin of Gośāla's epithet Makkhali, one has to note that he had no earlier authority to rely upon. His explanation is born of fancy. Gośāla was called Makkhali because he stumbled upon a muddy ground in walking carelessly with an oil-pot in his hands in spite of his master's timely warning, "Tāta, mā khali," "My dear man, see that you do not stumble." Such is the curious lucubration when a commentator depending entirely on a fantastic etymology and without knowing the simple fact of history, tries his skill in devising a plausible or seemingly convincing account of the origin of an epithet. Buddhaghoṣa was not aware of the fact that Gośāla's epithet was known as Maskarī to the compilers of Sanskrit-Buddhist works. The Pāli equivalent of Maskarī would be either Makkhari or Makkari. Makkhali or Maṃkhali was evidently an earlier Prakrit equivalent retained or surviving in Pāli and ardha-Māgadhī. Ṛṣigiri appears in the Mahābhārata list of five hills surrounding the city of Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha. The Pāli equivalent of Ṛṣigiri would be Isigiri. The Isigili-sutta in the Majjhima-Nikāya gives the name of the hill as Isigili simply because the local people pronounced it so. The name Isigili as locally pronounced had to be retained in Pāli for a very special reason, which is clearly stated in the

Buddhist Sutta. With the phonetic change the name acquired locally a new fanciful etymological derivation. "Isi gilatî ti Isigili", "We call the hill a Hermit-swallower because it swallows the hermits". In order to translate Isigili into Sanskrit or Pāli preserving in tact the implication of the local etymological derivation, a translator must coin a longer descriptive name Ṛṣigili-giri to substitute for quondam Ṛṣigiri or Isigiri. If without knowing the fact that Makkhali or Maṃkhali was a phonetic variation of Maskarī a commentator proceeds to divine an etymology, the result, as expected in the case will be "we call him a Makkhali because he fell down on a muddy ground heedless of his master's warning Mā khali", or "we call him a Maṃkhaliputta because his father was a Maṃkhali or professional Maṃkha" —a fancy-born etymology typified by the classical "Isi gilatî ti Isigili." The fact simply is that Gośāla was known to his contemporaries as a Maskarī.

Why Gośāla was called a Maskarī.

Let us enquire why Gośāla was called a Maskarī. In the Harṣacarita,[1] the Maskaris are mentioned as representatives of a class of *religieux* identified in the commentary with the parivrājakas. The Amarakoṣa[2] counts the Maskaris among the five classes of Saṃnyāsins. Pāṇini's Sūtra, VI. 1. 154, contains the following description of the Maskaris :—

"Maskara-Maskariṇau Veṇu-Parivrājakayoḥ." "The Maskarī who carries the *maskara* is the Parivrājaka who carries the bamboo-staff."[3]

The import of Pāṇini's grammatical aphorism is clear. "The Maskarī is the parivrājaka or Indian wanderer who carries the *maskara* or bamboo-staff about him." Now comes the turn of the commentators, of Patañjali, Kaiyaṭa and Vāmana-Jayâditya to make comments and glosses bringing

1 Harṣacarita, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press ed., VIII, p. 265.

2 Amarakoṣa, VII, 5, 42.

3 The literal rendering of the Sūtra would be: "*Maskara* and Maskarī respectively denote *veṇu* and parivrājaka".

out a new fact, as is the usual way with the scholiast, under cover of an ingenious etymology or a verbal jugglery. First, Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya, says: "How does a Parivrājaka come to be known as a Maskarī? The epithet Maskarī cannot be grammatically derived by means of the affix *ini* in the sense of *matup* which conveys such meaning as 'having,' 'possessing.' What is then the explanation? A Parivrājaka is called a Maskarī not because he has as an external sign a *maskara* or bamboo-staff, but because he teaches the people, saying, 'you had better not perform actions, since quietness is deserving of greater consideration in your judgment."[1]

Secondly, Kaiyaṭa in his Pradīpa, says: *Maskara* is a shortening from the saying 'Mā kṛta,' 'Don't get things done.' Maskarī is an instructor of the doctrine, teaching the people, saying, to begin with, 'Don't get this done,' 'Don't get this done', and to conclude with, ' 'tis better for you to undergo the loss in effects of a desired action than foregoing the bliss of peace.' Maskarī is to be derived by means of the suffix *ini* added to *maskara* which is a shortening from the negative imperative particle *mā* (don't) preceding *karoteḥ* (to be done), with the euphonic advent of *s*-sound before *k* and the consequent shortening of the long vowel *ā* in *mā*."[2]

Thirdly, Vāmana and Jayâditya in their Kāśikā, say: "The words *maskara* and maskarī in Pāṇini's aphorism occur in the same order as *veṇu* and parivrājaka following them.

1 Katham Maskarī parivrājaka iti? Ininaitan matvarthīyena siddham: Maskaro' syāstî ti Maskarī. Na vai maskaro yasyāstî ti, Maskarī parivrājakaḥ. Kim tarhi? "Mā kṛta karmāṇi, śāntir vaḥ śreyasî" ty āhâto Maskarī parivrājakaḥ. Pāṇini's Sūtra is quoted together with this and other comments, and discussed, though not sufficiently critically, by D. R. Bhandarkar in his interesting short paper on the Ājīvikas, Indian Antiquary, vol. XLI, 1912, p. 270.

2 *Maskara* 'Mā kṛte'ti. 'Ayaṃ mā kṛta, ayaṃ mā kṛte' ty upakramya śāntitaḥ kāmya-karma-parihāṇir yuṣmākaṃ śreyasî" ty upadeṣṭā Maskarî ty ucyate. Māṅ-pūrvāt karoter iniḥ. Suṅ-āgamo. Māṅo hrasvaś ca nipātyete.

The word *maskara* is an underived substantive. With the euphonic advent of *s* sound combined with *ka* following it, the word comes to mean a bamboo-staff, and with the suffix *ini* added to *maskara*, into which it is changed, it means a parivrājaka or an ascetic of the Wanderer class. Thus *maskara* means a bamboo-staff, and *maskarī*, a parivrājaka. 'A maskarī is a wanderer who carries the bamboo-staff about him'—what is meant by this dictum ? Makara denotes the swallower. Makarī denotes the sea. Some among the grammarians seek in this case to explain *maskara* as a shortening from the negative particle *mā* (not) preceding the verbal expression *karoteḥ* (to be done thereby), with the euphonic advent of *s* sound and the consequent shortening of the long vowel in *mā*. The upshot of it is that a bamboo staff is called a *maskara* because nothing is to be done thereby. It may be shown that elsewhere, too, *maskara* is used as a synonym of *daṇḍa* (rod or staff). In the same way one can explain the formation of Maskarī in the sense of parivrājaka, with suffix *ini* added to *maskara*. The upshot of it will be that an ascetic is called a Maskarī because he habitually teaches, 'Don't do,' and is called a parivrājaka because he cries down actions. He teaches indeed, saying, 'Do not perform actions, since quietness is better for you.' "[1]

"Maskara is that by which nothing can be done." "Maskarī is the Wanderer who dissuades men from actions,

1 Maskara-maskarin ity etau yathāsaṃkhyaṃ veṇau parivrājake ca nipātyete. Makara-śabdo hy avyutpannam pratipādikam. Tasya veṇāv abhidheye *suṭ* nipātyate, parivrājake tv inir iti. Maskaro veṇuḥ, Maskarī parivrājakaḥ. Veṇu-parivrājakayor iti kim ? Makaro grāhaḥ, Makarī samudraḥ. Kecit punar atra *mañy* upapade karoteḥ karaṇe *ac*-pratyayam api nipātayanti *māñaś* ca hrasvatvaṃ *suṭ* ca. Mā kriyate yena pratisidhyate sa maskaro veṇuḥ. Veṇugrahaṇaṃ ca pradarśanârtham anyatrâpi bhavati 'maskaro daṇḍa' iti. Parivrājake 'pi *māñy* upapade karotes tācchīlya inir nipātyate, *māño* hrasvatvaṃ, *suṭ* ca tathaiva. Mākaraṇa-śīlo Maskarī, karmāpavāditvāt parivrājaka ucyate. Sa tv evam āha: "Mā kuruta karmāṇi, śāntir vaḥ śreyasî" ti.—Kāśikā on

saying to them, 'Do not trouble yourselves, do not trouble yourselves, because peace is preferable to you.'" According to a famous dictum in the Manu-Saṃhitā, "Meat is that which being eaten by me here, will eat me hereafter."[1] Such are the sudden lapses of the sublime into the ludicrous. Pāṇini's commentators have, one and all, lost sight of the fact that *maskara* originally meant something producing a cracking sound, the onomatopoetic *mas*, and that this was the propriety of denoting by *maskara* the bamboo-pole, the bamboo-staff, or the bamboo-rod. The quoted Sūtra of Pāṇini enables us to ascertain that Gośāla was called a Maskarī because he was a wandering ascetic who carried the bamboo staff about him.

How can it be maintained that Gośāla as an Ājīvika leader was a Maskarī in the sense of a parivrājaka or Indian wandering ascetic who carried the bamboo-staff, or simply the staff, about him? The quoted Sūtra of Pāṇini and its comments leave us wholly in the dark as to the historical connection of the Ājīvika with the Maskarī. What is evident therefrom is that Maskarī is a synonym of parivrājaka. The commentator of the Harṣacarita frankly identifies the Maskaris with the Parivrājakas.[2] In the Araṇyakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāvaṇa is said to have concealed himself in the guise of a *raktāmbaradhara* Parivrājaka, or an Indian wandering ascetic putting on red garment.[3] In the Bhaṭṭikāvya where we have a longer

Is it correct to say that Gośāla as an Ājīvika leader was a Maskarī in Pāṇini's sense?

1 Manu-Saṃhitā, V.55: "Māṃ sa bhakṣayitā'mutra, yasya māṃsam ihādmy aham."

2 Comments on the Harṣacarita list of representatives of Indian religion and thought.

3 Rāmāyaṇa, III. 49. 8-9:

Daśāsyo viṃsatibhujo babhūva kṣaṇadācaraḥ /
Sa Parivrājakacchadma mahākāyo vihāya tat //
Pratipede svakaṃ rūpaṃ Rāvaṇo rākṣasādhipaḥ /

description of his disguise, Rāvaṇa is represented to have approached Sītā in the garb of an ascetic with the vow of the Maskarī, the expression Maskarī-vrata being explained by Mallinātha as meaning Parivrājaka-niyama, the rule of the Parivrājaka. The personal characteristics of the ascetic mentioned in the Kāvya go to show that he appeared in the garb of a typical Parivrājaka of the Tridaṇḍī class. The description runs as follows :

"After Lakṣmaṇa had gone off, Rāvaṇa with his body purified by ablution, with cleansed teeth, with a *śikhā* or top-knot in which his hair-locks were fastened, muttering spells, having the garlands of *akṣa*, holding up an earthen gourd-shaped bowl, carrying an old water-jug, with a bright head, clad in a *lākṣika-vastra* or lac-dyed garment, with a load of requisites suspended on one side, provided with the *daṇḍa* or staff, reading the books of the knowledge of self, taking the vow of the Maskarī, making the gesticulation of many fingers while talking and casting glances at, showed himself as a figure roving in the dark night, and approaching in a crooked manner, addressed Sītā, saying, 'Be happy.'"[1]

In a similar description in the Jānakī-haraṇa of Kumāradāsa (A. D. 725), Sītā is said to have seen in the hermitage a Maskarī who was a vaunting Ājīvika with his head adorned with high-bound matted hair.[2]

1 Bhaṭṭikāvya, V. 61-64 :
Gate tasmin jala-śuciḥ śuddhadan Rāvaṇaḥ śikhī /
Jañjapūko' kṣamālāvān dhārayan mṛdalābunaḥ //
Kamaṇḍalu-kapālena śirasā ca mṛjāvatā /
Saṃvastrya lākṣike vastre mātrāṃ saṃbhāṇḍya daṇḍavān //
Adhīyan nātmavid vidyāṃ dhārayan Maskari-vratam /
Vadan bahvaṅguli-sphoṭaṃ bhrūkṣepaṃ ca vilokayan //
Saṃdidarśayiṣuḥ sāma nijuhnūṣuḥ kṣapāṭatām /
Caṅkramāvān samāgatya Sītām ūce 'sukhā bhava' //

2 Jānakī-haraṇa, X. 76 :
Dambhājīvikaṃ uttuṅgajaṭā-maṇḍita-mastakam /
Kañcin Maskariṇam Sītā dadarśāśramam āgatam //

Thus we see that the Parivrājaka who is described in the Rāmāyaṇa as a *raktāmbaradhara* or wearer of red garment is represented in the Bhaṭṭikāvya as an ascetic with the vow of the Maskarī, with hair-locks fastened in a top-knot (śikhī), clad in the lac-dyed garment (lākṣika vastre), provided with the staff (daṇḍavān), and reading the books of the knowledge of self (adhīyan ātmavid-vidyām) or studying, as explained by Mallinātha, the texts of the Upaniṣad, and in the Jānakīharaṇa as a Maskarī who was a vaunting Ājīvika with high-bound matted hair (uttuṅga-jaṭā). In commenting upon verses of the Bhaṭṭikāvya containing the description of Rāvaṇa's disguise Mallinātha points out that the ascetic concerned was, and must have been, a Parivrājaka of the Tridaṇḍī or Triple-staff class, characterised by the *śikhā*, and could not have been one of the Ekadaṇḍī or One-staff class[1] as the latter had no *śikhā* for a characteristic external sign. Co-ordinating these descriptions with Mallinātha's comments we find that Ājīvika was a synonym of Maskarī in the same way that the latter was a synonym of Parivrājaka of the Tridaṇḍī, and not of the Ekadaṇḍī class.

The Rāmāyaṇic *raktāmbaradhara*, meaning the wearer of red (lac-dyed) garment, is verbally the same expression as *raktapaṭa*, meaning one of scarlet robe. In Kālakācārya's first list quoted by Utpala for explaining Varāhamihira's list in his Bṛhajjātaka, the Raktapaṭa as a class of ascetics is distinguished from the Tāpasika, the Kāpālika, the Ekadaṇḍī, the Yati, the Caraka and the Kṣapaṇaka.[2] In Varāhamihira's own list, the Ājīvika is distinguished from the Śākya (Buddhist), the Bhikṣu, the Vṛddhaśrāvaka, the Caraka, the Nirgrantha (Jaina) and the Vanyāśana.[3] Utpala identifies the Ājīvika in Varāhamihira's list with the Ekadaṇḍī, the Śākya with the Raktapaṭa, the Bhikṣu with the Saṃnyāsī, (and according

1 *Daṇḍavān* tridaṇḍīty arthaḥ, athavā śikhīty uktam, ekadaṇḍinaḥ śikhābhāvāt.

2 & 3 Bṛhajjātaka, XV. 1. See the extract quoted by D. R. Bhandarkar, together with Utpala's comments, in I.A., 1911, p. 287.

to another reading, with the Parivrājaka or Yati), the Vṛddhaśrāvaka with the Kāpālika, the Caraka with the Cakradhara, the Nirgrantha with the Nagna Kṣapaṇaka and the Vanyāśana with the Tapasvī (Tāpasa).[1] Śīlāṅka, in his commentary on the Sūtrakṛtāṅga, represents the Ekadaṇḍī or Single-staff Indian ascetic as an opponent of the Jaina thinker and ascribes to him, as noticed by Prof. Jacobi, the views of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.[2]

It may be inferred from Patañjali's and others' comments on the quoted Sūtra of Pāṇini that a Maskarī was a Parivrājaka who carried about him a bamboo-staff, or simply a staff, as a symbol of non-action or rest, which is to say, that a Maskarī was a Parivrājaka of the Ekadaṇḍī or Single-staff class. The Parivrājaka of the Tridaṇḍī or Triple-staff class, according to his description in the Manu-Saṃhitā,[3] was a Brahmanist ascetic who carried about him the *tridaṇḍa*, the first daṇḍa as a symbol of regulation of the body, the second one as a symbol of regulation of the speech, and the third one as a symbol of regulation of mind. The Ājīvika cannot be mistaken for the Parivrājaka of Ekadaṇḍī or Tridaṇḍī class, and that for the following reasons:—

Ājīvika cannot be identified with Parivrājaka.

(1) The Parivrājaka of Ekadaṇḍī or Tridaṇḍī class is the orthodox ascetic from the Brahmanist standpoint, while the Ājīvika is the heterodox. In the Kauṭilīya or Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra, the Śākyas (Buddhists), the Ājīvikas and the like

1 Śākyo raktapaṭaḥ.....Ājīvikaś caikadaṇḍī.....Bhikṣur bhavati Saṃnyāsī jñeyaḥ.....Vṛddhaśrāvakaḥ Kāpālī.....Carako Cakradharaḥ .....Nirgrantho Nagnaḥ Kṣapaṇakaḥ.....Vanyāśanaḥ Tapasvī.

2 Comments on the Sūtrakṛtāṅga, I. 1. 3. 14, 11. 6. 46. Jacobi's Jaina-Sūtras, part II, pp. 245, 417, foot notes.

3 Manu-Saṃhitā, XII. 10-11:

Vāgdaṇḍo' tha manodaṇḍaḥ kāyadaṇḍas tathaiva ca/
Yasyaite nihitā buddhau Tridaṇḍīti sa ucyate//
Tridaṇḍam etan nikṣipya sarvabhūteṣu mānavaḥ/

are classed as *vṛṣala-pravrajitas*, untouchable runaways, contaminated by law-contact.[1]

(2) In the Sāmaññaphala Sutta, Gośāla himself is represented as distinguishing, in his own words, the Ājīvikas from the Parivrājakas.[2]

(3) In the Aṅguttara Nikāya list the Ājīvika or Ājīvaka is mentioned apart from the Paribbājaka (Parivrājaka) and the Tedaṇḍika (Tridaṇḍī), as also from the Niganṭha (Jaina), the Muṇḍasāvaka, the Jaṭilaka, the Māgaṇḍika, the Aviruddhaka, the Gotamaka and the Devadhammika.[3]

(4) In the Culla-Niddesa list, where just five names of the Aṅguttara-Nikāya list find mention, the Ājīvika is distinguished from the Paribbājaka (Parivrājaka), as also from the Nirgrantha, the Jaṭila and the Aviruddhaka.[4]

(5) In Mādhavacandra's commentary on the Trilokasāra, a later Jaina work written in the Canarese country, the Parivrājakas are distinguished, according to their external characteristics, as Ekadaṇḍī and Tridaṇḍī,[5] while in the text itself the Carakas and the Parivrājakas are distinguished from the Ājīvikas as persons striving for the Brahma state from those striving for the Acyuta.[6] In Vīranandi's Ācārasāra, another later Jaina work written in the Canarese country, we read: "The Parivrāṭ (Parivrājaka) aspires to

1 Arthaśāstra, p. 199: Śākyâjīvakādīn vṛṣala-pravrajitān.

2 Dīgha-Nikāya, I, p. 54: ekūṇa-paññāsa Ājīva-sate (Ājīvaka-sate), ekūṇa-paññāsa Paribbājaka-sate.

3 Aṅguttara Nikāya, III, p. 276, quoted and discussed by T. W. Rhys Davids in his Dialogues of the Buddha, II, pp. 220-222, as also in his Buddhist India; and with new identifications in Barua's History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, part III.

4 Culla-Niddesa, pp. 173-174. The list really contains six names as will be shown *passim*.

5 Comments on the Triloka-Sāra, verse 545: Ekadaṇḍi-Tridaṇḍilakṣaṇāḥ, quoted by Pathak in I.A., 1912, p. 91.

6 Triloka-Sāra, verse 454, quoted by Pathak in I.A., 1912, p. 91: Carayā ya Parimbajā Bambo' ti, Amcuda-padomti Āīvā.

go as far as Brahmakalpa, the Brahma-realm, in spite of his austerities, while the Ājīvika, who is repulsive to human sight, aspires to go up to Sahasrārakalpa, the Sahasrāra-realm (which is but another name of Acyutapada or Acyutakalpa").[1] Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on the Culla-Sīhanāda-Sutta, records this interesting information: "The ultimate of the Brahmins (Brahmanists) is Brahmaloka, the Brahma-world; that of the Tāpasas (Hermits), Ābhāsvaraloka, the Radiant-world; that of the Paribbājakas (Parivrājakas), Śubhakṛtsnaloka, the dazzling-world; that of the Ājīvakas (Ājīvikas), Anantamānasa, the Infinite world of Mind, an unconscious existence of soul while Arahatship is the highest achievement to those who are in the Buddha's order, that is, to the followers of the Buddha."[2]

(6) In Sarojavajra's Dohākoṣa, which is a treatise on the Buddhist Sahajiyā doctrine written in about the 10th century A.D., the Ekadaṇḍis and the Tridaṇḍis are treated as two main divisions of the Bhagavats and the Haṃsas, or, as the commentator Advayavajra puts it, of the Bhagavats and the Paramahaṃsas, or, more accurately, of the Haṃsas and the Paramahaṃsas, the Haṃsas being unable to obtain knowledge, the knowledge of the self, until they become the

1 Ācāra-sāra, VI. 127, quoted by Pathak in I.A., 1912, p. 89:
Parivrāṭ Brahmakalpāntaṃ yāty ugrācaravān api/
Ājīvikaḥ Sahasrārakalpāṃtaṃ darśanojjhitaḥ//

2 Papañca-Sūdanī, Siamese Edition, part II, p. 13: Brāhmaṇānaṃ hi Brahmaloko niṭṭhā ekā nibbatti; Tāpasānaṃ Ābhassarā; Paribbājakānaṃ Subhakiṇhā; Ājīvakānaṃ Anantamānaso' ti evaṃ asaññi-bhavo. Imasmiṃ sāsane pana Arahattaṃ niṭṭhā. We are indebted to Mr. Charandas Chatterjee for drawing our attention to this passage. Note that in the Pāli Ariya-Pariyesaṇa-Sutta and other Pāli accounts of the chance-meeting of the Buddha with Upaka the Ājīvika on the former's way to Benares from Bodh Gaya, the latter is represented as a worshipper of Anantajina. Here, perhaps, one may trace the origin and antiquity of Ananta-vrata prevalent now-a-days among the Hindus.

Paramahaṃsas by abnegating all that they have.[1] Here the Haṃsas and the Paramahaṃsas are to be taken as representatives of two grades of the Parivrājakas.

(7) Buddhaghoṣa in his comments on the Aṅguttara Nikāya list of *religieux*, distinguishes the Ājīvaka from the Parivrājaka as the *naggapabbajita* or naked retirer from the *channa-paribbājaka* or clothed wanderer.[2] The Buddhist commentator elsewhere represents the Ājīvaka as the *naggasamaṇaka* or naked recluse.[3]

(8) According to the description of Rāvaṇa's disguise in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Parivrājaka is *raktāmbaradhara* the wearer of red garment. The Bhaṭṭikāvya, as explained by Mallinātha, represents the Maskarī as the Tridaṇḍī Parivrājaka, clad in lac-dyed garment. The Bengali Prakṛtivād-Abhidhān quotes a Sanskrit śloka, in which both the Haṃsa and the Paramahaṃsa are described as *raktavasana*, the wearer of red garment.[4] The distinction between the Ekadaṇḍī and the tridaṇḍī with regard to their external characteristics lies, according to Mallinātha, in the fact that the latter has *śikhā*, while the former has not. From these we can infer that whether Ekadaṇḍī or Tridaṇḍī, whether in the Haṃsa or the Paramahaṃsa stage, the Parivrājaka is the clothed orthodox Indian ascetic. On the other hand, in a passage of the Aṅguttara-Nikāya, the Ājīvika is represented as the Acelaka[5]. By Acelaka Buddhaghoṣa understands *niccela* or *nagga*, one without clothes, the naked one.[6] In the Lomahaṃsa-Jātaka

1 Sarojavajra's Dohākoṣa: Ekadaṇḍi-Tridaṇḍi bhavaveseñ viñuā hosa Hañsa uvesañ. Advayavajra says: Ekadaṇḍi-Tridaṇḍi Bhagavavesaṃ bhavati.....yāvan na Paramahaṃsa-veśaṃ bhavati tāvaj jñānaṃ na labhyate sarvasannyāsāt.

2 Manoratha-Pūraṇī, Siamese Edition, part III, p. 103.

3 Papañca-Sūdanī, Siamese Edition, part I, p. 209: *Ājīvako'* ti nagga-samaṇako.

4 Prakṛtivād-Abhidhān, *sub voce* Haṃsa.

5 Aṅguttara-Nikāya, III, pp. 383-4. Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, I, p. 162.

6 Papañca-Sūdanī, Siamese ed. II, p. 6

we read that on being initiated into recluse life according to the Ājīvika mode of initiation, a man became an *Acelaka*.[1] That the Ājīvika or Ājīvaka was once known as the prototype of Indian naked ascetics is clearly hinted at in two Buddhist anecdotes. One of them as noted by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, records an instance, where a maid servant of Viśākhā's household, who was sent to the Jetavana monastery to inform the Buddha that meal was ready, concluded from the Buddhist Bhikṣus remaining naked, divesting themselves of their robes and exposing their bodies to rain, that they were Ājīvikas.[2] The other records another instance, where the Buddhist Bhikṣus themselves seeing the Bhikṣus of their own order coming naked to Śrāvasti, waylaid by robbers and deprived of their robes, mistook them for the Ājīvikas as they were unclothed.[3] We have seen that in the story related by Buddhaghoṣa, Gośāla is said to have fled away naked, which may here be taken to mean that he came away from the bondage of household life to become a naked ascetic.[4]

(9) Kumāradāsa in his Jānakī-haraṇa, represents the Ājīvika as the Maskarī with high-bound matted hair (uttuṅga-jaṭā.) In the Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya, the Maskarī, in whose garb, Rāvaṇa approached Sītā, is described as *śikhī*, one with a śikhā whereby Mallinātha distinguishes the Tridaṇḍī Parivrājaka from the Ekadaṇḍī. According to Mallinātha, a Tridaṇḍī has *śikhā*, while an Ekadaṇḍī has not. On the other hand, the Ājīvika is characterised by Buddhaghoṣa as *nagga-pabbajita*, naked retirer, as *nagga-samaṇa*, naked recluse. The evidence of the Vasala-Sutta conclusively proves that in the eye of an orthodox Brahmanist, such as Aggika-Bhāradvāja, Bhāradvāja, the fire-worshipper, the

1 Jātakatthavaṇṇanā, edited by Fausböll, I, p. 390: Ājīvika-pabbajjaṃ pabbajitvā Acelako ahosi.

2 Vinaya, Mahāvagga, VIII. 15.2-6; I.A., 1912, pp. 288-289.

3 Sutta-Vibhaṅga, Nissaggiya, VI. 2; I.A., 1912, p. 289.

4 *ante*, p. 235.

recluse was the shaveling and the heterodox.[1] In the Jaina Aupapātika-Sūtra, the Ājīvika is described as *muṇḍiya-muṇḍa*, one with shaven head, and as *ghara-samudāṇiya-samaṇa*, the recluse begging alms from house to house, from door to door.[2]

Arguments as to why Ājīvika must be somehow classed with the Parivrājaka.

The fact that the Ājīvika has been classed with the Acelaka or Unclothed does not imply that he did not belong to the category of the Parivrājaka. There is evidence to prove that, as a matter of fact, he belonged to this category. The distinction between the Acelaka (Ājīvaka) and the Parivrājaka (Parivrājaka) is brought out thus in the Vinaya-Sutta-Vibhaṅga: "The Acelaka is the naked ascetic belonging to the category of the Parivrājaka. The Paribbājaka is the (clothed) ascetic belonging to the category of the Parivrājaka and excluding the Buddhist monk and the Buddhist novice."[3] The plain meaning of this passage is that the Acelaka Ājīvaka is no less a Parivrājaka, than the Parivrājaka, strictly so called, the difference between them being that one is naked and the other is clothed.

A difference in degree or one in kind?

Is their difference a difference in degree or in kind? The answer which can be given is—it is both. So far as they represent two different bodies, two separate organisations, two distinct communities, methods, ideals, aims and objects, their difference is a difference in kind. And so far as they represent to planes or levels of experience and two states of consciousness, their difference is a difference in degree. How is it so?

1 Sutta-Nipāta, Vasala-Sutta, Prose Introduction: Tatr' eva muṇḍaka, tatr' eva samaṇaka, tatr' eva vasalaka tiṭṭhāhi.

2 Aupapātika-Sūtra, edited by Leumann, sec. 120.

3 Sutta-Vibhaṅga, Pācittiya, 41. 1-2: Acelako nāma yo koci paribbājakasamāpanno naggo. Paribbājako nāmo bhikkhuñ ca sāmaṇeraṅ ca ṭhapetvā yo koci paribbājaka-samāpanno. Paribbājikā nāma bhikkhuṇiñ ca sikkhamānañ ca ṭhapetvā yā kāci paribbājikā-samāpannā.

First, as to difference in kind, we read in the Culla-Niddesa: "The Ājīvikas are deities (godly personalities) to Ājīvika-attenders (supporters in society), the Nirgranthas are so to Nirgantha-attenders, the Jaṭilas to Jaṭila, the Parivrājakas to Parivrājaka, the Aviruddhakas to Aviruddhaka. The Elephant is the diety to Elephant-devotees, the Horse to Horse, the Cow to Cow, the Dog to Dog, the Crow to Crow, Vāsudeva to Vāsudeva, Baladeva to Baladeva, Pūrṇabhadradeva to Pūrṇabhadradeva, Maṇibhadradeva to Maṇibhadradeva, Agni to Agni, Nāga to Nāga, Suparṇa to Suparṇa, (Garuḍa), Yakṣa to Yakṣa, Asura, to Asura, Gandharva to Gandharva, Mahārāja to Mahārāja, the Moon to Moon, the Sun to Sun, Indra to Indra, Brahmā to Brahma, Devas to Deva, the Quarter to Quarter. Those to Those are worthy of homage, are deities to them."[1] Regarding differences in fixing auspicious days for initiation, Varāhamihira in his Bṛhajjātaka says: A man turns a recluse when four or more planets are clustered together in one and the same zodiacal division at the time of his birth and

Difference in kind why ?

1 Culla-Niddesa, pp. 173-174: Ājīvika-sāvakānaṃ Ājīvika-devatā, Niganṭha-sāvakānaṃ Niganṭha-devatā, Jaṭilasāvakānaṃ Jaṭila-devatā, Paribbājaka-sāvakānaṃ Paribbājaka-devatā, Aviruddhaka-sāvakānaṃ Aviruddhaka-devatā. Hatthivatikānaṃ Hatthi-devatā, Assavatikānaṃ Asso, Go-vatikānaṃ Go, Kukkura-vatikānaṃ Kukkuro, Vāsudeva-vatikānaṃ Vāsudevo, Baladeva-vatikānaṃ Baladevo, Puṇṇabhaddadeva-vatikānaṃ Puṇṇabhaddadevo, Maṇibhaddadeva-vatikānaṃ Maṇibhaddadevo, 'Aggi-vatikānaṃ Aggi, Nāga-vatikānaṃ Nāgo, Suvaṇṇa-vatikānaṃ Suvaṇṇo, Yakkha-vatikānaṃ Yakkho, Asura-vatikānaṃ Asuro, Gandhabba-vatikānaṃ Gandhabbo, Mahārāja-vatikānaṃ Mahārājo, Candavatiknāaṃ Cando, Suriya-vatikānaṃ Suriyo, Inda-vatikānaṃ Indo, Brahmavatikānaṃ Brahmā, Deva-vatikānaṃ Devā, Disā-vatikānaṃ Disā. Ye yesaṃ dakkhiṇeyyā te tesaṃ devatā. Cf. the list of Vatikas in the Mahā-Niddesa, pp. 89-92, which is the same as that in the Culla-Niddesa. "Ye Ājīvakavacanaṃ suṇanti sussusanti te Ājīvaka-sāvakā." "*Ye yesaṃ dakkhiṇeyyā* ti ye ye Ājīvakādayo disāpariyosānā yesaṃ khattiyādīnaṃ deyyadhammānucchavikā" (Culla-Niddesa Commentary)

at least one of them is powerful. And according as this powerful planet is Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, the Moon, Venus, Saturn, or the Sun, he becomes a Śākya, Ājīvika, Bhikṣu, Vṛddhaśrāvaka, Caraka, Nirgraṇtha or Vanyāśana.[1] As the Commentator Utpala points out, Varāhamihira made this enumeration on the authority of the Jaina writer Kālakācārya, in whose verse we are told that "a man becomes a Tāpasika, Kāpālika, Raktapaḍa, Ekadaṇḍir, Yati, Caraka or Kṣapaṇaka when the predominant planet is Sūrya, Candra etc."[2] It is on the basis of this correspondence between two enumerations that Utpala indentifies Vanyāśana with Tāpasika, Vṛddhaśrāvaka with Kāpālika, Śākya with Raktapaṭa, Ājīvika with Ekadaṇḍin, Bhikṣu with Yati or Parivrājaka, Caraka with Caraka and Nirgrantha with Kṣapaṇaka.

Secondly, as to difference in degree, we must look into the passage in the Aṅguttara Nikāya and the corresponding passage in Buddhaghoṣa's Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī containing an exposition of Gośāla's doctrine of six *abhijātis* or prominent types of character[3]. In this exposition, we have an enumeration of the types which is undoubtedly Gośāla's, while the illustrations given in it reveal the Buddhist motive of representing the Ājīvika as a humbug, a man with boastful pretensions. The

Difference in degree why ?

1 Bṛhajjātaka, XV. 1. quoted together with Utpala's comments by D. R. Bhandarkar in I.A., 1912, p. 287. The gist given above is a quotation from *Ibid.*, p. 288. Varāhamihira's verses run as follows :

Ekasthaiś caturādibhir balayutair jātā pṛthagvīryagaiḥ/
Śākyājīvika-Bhikṣu-Vṛddha-Carakā Nirgrantha-Vanyāśanāḥ//
Māheya-Jña-Guru-Kṣapākara-Sita-Prābhākarīṇaiḥ kramāt/
Pravrajyā balibhiḥ samā parijitais tatsvāmibhiḥ pracyutiḥ//

2 Kālakācārya's verse quoted by Utpala reads :

Tāvasio Diṇaṇāhe, Caṃde Kāvāliaṃ tahā bhaṇiaṃ/
Rattavaḍo Bhūmisuve, Somasuve Eadaṇḍī a//
Devaguru-Sukka-Koṇā-kameṇa Jai-Caraa-Khavaṇāiṃ//

3 Dīgha-Nikāya, I, p. 53.

enumeration itself is based upon a classification and gradation of the types distinguished as the Black, the Yellow, the Red, the Turmeric, the White and the Supremely white. The three Ājīvika Tīrthaṅkaras Nanda, Vatsa, Kṛśa Śāṅkṛtya and Maskarī Gośāla are of the Supremely white or the purest type. The Ājīvikas and Ājīvikās are of the White or purer type, the best of the rest. The attenders of the Acelakas, that is, of the Ājīvikas themselves who are householders wearing decent dress are of the Turmeric type, standing higher in purity than the Red or Scarlet. The Nirgranthas who are *ekaśāṭakas* are of the Red type, standing higher in purity than the Yellow. The Bhikṣus (Buddhist mendicants) who are Kaṇṭakavṛttikas, or the Bhikṣus, the Kaṇṭakavṛttikas, and others who maintain the doctrine of action and admit the result of action are of the Yellow type, standing higher in purity than the Black. The slayers of rams, boar-hunters, fowlers, deer-stalkers, trappers, fish-catchers, thieves, thief-executioners, jail-keepers and such other persons doing acts of cruelty are of the Black type, standing lowest in purity.

In this method of illustration, the slayers of rams, boar-hunters, etc., as merely worldly men relegated to the Black type, and the Acelaka-supporters in society relegated to the Turmeric type are apparently out of place for the simple reason that the rest of the types are illustrated by the ascetics or recluses. In the illustrated gradation, those of the Red type, namely, the Nirgranthas who are *ekaśāṭakas* are represened as ranking lower in purity than the Ājīvikas themselves, as well as than their Tīrthaṅkaras or acknowledged leaders and Śrāvakas or supporters among the house-holders. According to Bnddhaghoṣa, the Bhikṣus relegated to the Yellow type are the Buddhist mendicants, monks or recluses[1] who are called *kaṇṭakavṛttikas* because their practice was to use the four requisites (clothing, food, bedding and medicine) throwing

1 Monoratha-Pūraṇī, Siamese Edition, III. p. 156: Bhikkhū Kaṇhādhimuttā samaṇā nām'ete.

thorns into them, which is probably the same as to say, getting them distributed by the tickets of thorn (*kaṇṭaka-salākā.*).[1] As an alternative interpretation, he suggests that, perhaps, here by the Kaṇṭakavṛttikas a distinct class of ascetics is intended. Here the members of the Buddhist order must be ruled out as they were out of consideration when their order had not come into existence. By the Bhikṣus must have been meant the members of the fourth Brahmanic order, that is, the Brahmanist ascetics in the fourth stage of efforts and fruitions who are designated Bhikṣu, Yati or Parivrājaka in the Dharma-Sūtras and Dharma-Śāstras. And by the Kaṇṭakavṛttikas (accepting the reading Kaṇṭaka-vuttikā) must have been meant those Brahmanist ascetics in the fourth stage who remained seated, moved about or slept on a bed of thorns, that is, were *kaṇṭakapassāyikā.*[2] But there is another reading giving the variant Kaṇḍakavuttikā. It is very likely that *kaṇḍaka* is a Prakrit form of the Pali or Skt. *kandaka* or *kanda*, and that these Brahmanist Bhiksus are called *kaṇḍakavuttikā*[3] because they subsisted upon *kandas* or bulbous roots, implying both fruits and roots (phalamūla). It is indeed a bad bargain to illustrate the Red or Scarlet type by the Nirgranthas, identifying them with those followers of Mahāvīra who are described in Jaina literature as Jinakalpikas and characterising them as *ekaśāṭakas*, the recluses using just one garment, *śāṭaka* denoting an outer garment, an upper

1 See Childers' comments on salākabhatta, salākaṭṭhāna and salākajanaṭṭhāna *sub voce* salāka.

2 Dīgha-Nikāya, I. p. 165; Majjhima-Nikāya, I. p. 318 ; Aṅguttara-Nikāya etc. ; Manoratha-Pūraṇi, Siamese Edition, II. p. 323 ; *kaṇṭaka-passāyiko* ti ayakaṇṭake vā pakatikaṇṭake vā bhūmiyaṃ koṭṭetvā tattha cammaṃ attharitvā ṭhāna-caṅkamādīni karoti,seyyanti sayanto pi tatheva seyyaṃ kappeti. This is a stock explanation occurring also in the Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Papañca-Sūdanī, etc.

3 Cf. Kuṇḍikôpaniṣad, verse 4; Vāyu-bhakṣo 'mbu-bhakṣo vā vihitaiḥ kandamūlakaiḥ. *Kaṇḍaka* may also be *kuṇḍika*, cf. verse 9. Kuṇḍikaṃ camasaṃ śikyaṃ triviṣṭapaṃ upānahau.

robe, a tunic, mantle or cloak. Buddhaghoṣa's explanation is hardly convincing to justify the mention of the Nirgranthas who were the Jinakalpika followers of Mahāvīra, the Jainas who were forerunners of the Digambaras. By *ekaśāṭakā* Buddhaghoṣa understands the Nirgranthas or Jainas who used to cover their shame in front just by one piece of rag[1], or in the language of the Divyāvadāna to cover their shame by a small rag hanging in front.[2] A *śāṭaka* is not a small rag (daśā) or piece of cloth (pilotika-khaṇḍa). If the Nirgranthas are all to serve as representatives of the *ekaśāṭaka* recluses, they must be identified rather with the followers of Pārśva or Pārśvanātha than with the followers of Mahāvīra. Our idea is that by the Ekaśāṭakas were meant the Ekadaṇḍi Parivrājakas of the Paramahaṃsa rank, as will be evident from the Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣad in which we read : "The Paramahaṃsa is devoid of the hair-lock and sacred thread, collects alms from five houses, puts on one robe, just one cloak, carries one bamboo-staff, either covers his body with one outer garment or rubs it with ashes."[3] Mallinātha rightly says that the absence of *śikhā* is a point of distinction between the Ekadaṇḍin and the Tridaṇḍin.

The next result of this line of enquiry is that the six *abhijātis* recognised in Gośāla's doctrine are clumsily illustrated in Buddhist liturature. We maintain that of these *abhijātis*, the first can be well illustrated by the Ātura, and the remaining five by the six grades of *saṃnyāsa* and the six classes of Saṃnyāsins, Ātura and the six grades and six classes being enumerated and distinguished in such minor Upaniṣads as the Saṃnyāsa, the Turiyâtīta and the Avadhūta. The six grades of *saṃnyāsa* and the six classes of Saṃnyāsins

1 Manoratha-Pūraṇī, Siamese Edition, III. p. 156. *Ekasāṭakā* ti eken'eva pilotika-khaṇḍena purato paticchādanakā.

2 Divyâvadāna, p. 370 ; purastāl lambate daśā.

3 Saṃnyāsôpaniṣad, 13 : Paramahaṃsaḥ śikhāyajñôpavītarahitaḥ pañcagṛheṣu karapātro ekakaupīnadhraḥ, śāṭim ekāṃ ekaṃ vaiṇavaṃ daṇḍaṃ, ekaśāṭidharo vā bhasmo-ddhūlanaparaḥ.

enumerated in these Upaniṣads, particularly in the Saṃnyāsa are the Kuṭicaka, the Bahūdaka, the Haṃsa, the Paramahaṃsa, the Turiyâtīta and the Avadhūta.[1] The Saṃnyāsins of the first three grades or classes carry the Triple-staff, that is, are Tridaṇḍins; have *śikhā* or *jaṭā* (matted hair), that is, are *śikhins* or *jaṭādhārins*; and are all clothed, wearing as they do the ascetic garb,—*kaupīna*, *śāṭi* or *kanthā*.[2] The Paramahaṃsa Parivrājaka does away with *śikhā* and sacred thread, the external marks of the twice-born class, carries just one bamboo-staff, and either puts on just one outer garment, tunic, cloak or mantle, or rubs his body with ashes. The ascetic of the Turiyâtīta or fifth grade or class becomes a *digambara*, dispensing with clothes altogether, and still observes the set rule of discipline. And the ascetic of the Avadhūta or sixth grade or class dispenses with clothes and does not feel the need of observing any disciplinary rule.

As for the gradation of their *niṣṭhās* or ultimates, we read in the Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣad: "Bhūrloka is the ultimate of the Ātura, the cripple-like worldly man. Bhuvarloka is the ultimate of the Kuṭicaka, Svargaloka is the ultimate of the Haṃsa, Satyaloka is the ultimate of the Paramahaṃsa, and Kaivalya is the ultimate of the Turiyātīta and the Avadhūta."[3] This Upaniṣad definitely teaches that an Ātura should, if he lives or wishes to live at all, practise

1 Saṃnūāsypaniṣad, 13: saṃnyāsaḥ ṣaḍvidho bhavatio: Kuṭicaka-Bahūdaka-Haṃsa-Paramahaṃsa Tnriyūtīta-Avadhūtaś ceti.

2 Saṃnyāsôpaniṣad, 13. To prove that the Bahūdaka, too, is a Tridaṇḍin, read the Bhikṣukôpaniṣad: Bahūdakā nāma Pridaḍa. Cf. Yājñavalkyôpaniṣad, Paramahaṃsā nāma.....tridaṇḍaṃ kamaṇḍaluṃ bhuktapātraṃ jalapavitraṃ śikhāṃ yajñôpavītaṃ bahir antaś cêt yetat sarvam "Bhuḥ svāhê" ti apsu parityajya ātmānaṃ anvicchet.

3 Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣad,. 59: Āturo jīvati cet krama-saṃnyāsaḥ kartavyaḥ.....Ātura. Kuṭicakayor Bhurloka-Bhuvarlokau. Bahūdakasya Svargalokaḥ. Haṃsasya Tapolokaḥ, Paramahaṃsasya Satyalokaḥ. Turiyātītā-vadhūtayoḥ svātmāny eva Kaivalyyaṃ svarūpasandhānena bhramara-kīṭa-nyāyavat.

abnegation, external and internal, by degrees. The subjoined table will indicate how the Ātura and the six grades and classes of *saṃnyāsa* and Saṃnyāsins can be brought into line with the six *abhijātis* and the six *niṣṭhās*:

Abhijāti	*Saṃnyāsa*	*Niṣṭhā*
Kṛṣṇa	Ātura	Bhūrloka
Nīla	Kuṭicaka	Bhuvarloka
Lohita	Bahūdaka	Svargaloka
Haridrā	Haṃsa	Tapoloka
Śukla	Paramahaṃsa	Satyaloka
Paramaśukla	Turiyātīta (Saniyama) / Avadhūta (Aniyama)	Kaivalya

The Bhikṣuka and Sāṭyāyanīya Upaniṣads recognise just four grades or classes of Bhikṣus or Parivrājakas, namely, the Kuṭicaka, the Bahūdaka, the Haṃsa and the Paramahaṃsa.[1] The Bhikṣus or Parivrājakas of the first three grades or classes have *śikhā* or *jaṭā*, wear *yajñópavīta*, the sacrificial thread, and carry *tridaṇḍa*, the triple-staff; they are, in short, the Tridaṇḍins. The Paramahaṃsas have no *śikhā*, appear as *muṇḍa* or shaven-headed,[2] dispense with the sacrificial thread, and carry just one bamboo staff, or simply one staff; they are, in short, the Ekadaṇḍins. According to the Sāṭyāyanīya Upaniṣad, these four grades of the Parivrājakas are all Viṣṇuliṅgin, concerned as they are with the continuation, preservation or betterment of the existing system, order or institution, and in this respect they show an agreement, while they differ in their charecteristics or behaviours, external and internal.[3] We have seen that

1 Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣad: Atha Bhikṣūṇām mokṣārthināṃ Kuṭicaka-Bahūdaka-Haṃsa-Paramahaṃsāś ceti catvāraḥ. Sāṭyāyanīya Upaniṣad 11: Kuṭicako Bahûdako Haṃsaḥ Paramahaṃsa ity ete Parivrājakāś caturvidhā bhavanti.

2 Yājñavalkya-Upaniṣad, 1: Parivrāṭ vivarṇavāsā muṇḍaḥ.

3 Śāṭyāyanīya-Upaniṣad, 11: Sarva ete Viṣṇuliṅginaḥ..... Kuṭicako Bahûdakaś câpi Haṃsaḥ Paramahaṃsa iti vṛtyā ca bhinnā

the Paramahaṃsas or Parivrājakas of the fourth grade are *sâmbara* or clothed, and are either *ekaśāṭidhara*, wearing one outer garment, or have their body rubbed with ashes. In the Yājñavalkya Upaniṣad, the Parivrāṭ of the fourth grade is honoured as a Saṃnyāsin who is a Brahmavid, having the knowledge of Brahman, and developing the Brahmanhood (Brahma bhūyāya bhavati).[1] The Paramahaṃsa-Parivrājaka-Upaniṣad, too, enumerates only four grades, though with this difference that it clearly hints at the fifth and sixth being the natural culmination of the fourth. The four grades of ascetics may be shown to represent the four planes of experience or states of consciousness which are enumerated in some of the Upaniṣads as the Jāgrat (Waking), the Svapna (Dreaming), the Suṣupti (Sleeping) and the Turīya (Fourth, Sound-sleep), the Turiyātīta and Avadhūta being the natural culmination of the Turīya. We have seen that on reaching the Turīyātīta stage the Paramhaṃsa Parivrājaka becomes *digambara* or nude, and *muṇḍa* or shaven. We maintain that the Ājīvika or Ājivaka is in line with the Paramahaṃsa Parivrājaka of the Turiyātīta stage. The proposed identification can be established by the fact that in the Buddhist illustration of the six *abhijātis*, the Ājīvika is placed in the category of the Śukla (White), and the Paramahaṃsa Parivrājaka, as may be inferred from his description in the Paramahaṃsa-Parivrājaka-Upaniṣad, is *śukladhyānaparāyaṇa*, given to meditation on the nature of pure soul, on reaching the Turiyātīta stage. The Avadhūta is the dying state of a Turīyātīta.[2] If so, the Ājivika Tirthaṅkaras, Nanda, Vatsa, Kṛśa, Sāṃkṛtya, and Maskarī Gośāla, placed in the category of the Supremely white type (Paramaśuklābhijāti), can be identified with the Paramahaṃsa Parivrājakas in the Avadhūta stage. We also maintain that taking the Haṃsa to represent indis-

1 Yājñavalkya-Upaniṣad, 1 : Sa saṃnyāsī Brahmavid iti.

2 Turīyātīta-Upaniṣad : sarvaṃ vismṛtya Turīyātītā-vadhūta-veśenadvaitaniṣṭhāparaḥ praṇavātmakatveṇa dehatyāgaṃ karoti yaḥ so' vadhūtaḥ.

criminately two stages, the Haṃsa and the *sāmbara*-Paramahaṃsa, and the *digambara*-Paramahaṃsa, to represent indiscriminately two stages, the Turiyātīta and the Avadhūta, the four grades of ascetics, into which the six grades are thus reduced, can be identified with the four mentioned and differentiated by Buddhaghoṣa, as will be evident from the subjoined table :—

Grade in the Upaniṣad list	Grade in Buddhaghoṣa's list	Ultimate in Buddhaghoṣa's list
Kuṭicaka	Brāhmaṇa	Brahmaloka
Bahūdaka	Tāpasa	Ābhāsvara
Haṃsa	Parivrājaka	Śubhakṛtsna
Paramahaṃsa	Ājīvaka	Anantamānasa

As for the identification of the Kuṭicaka with the Brāhmaṇa, let us compare the personal representatives of both and see if there are any common names. The Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣad mentions Gautama, Bhāradvāja, Yājñavalkya, Vasiṣṭha and the like as representatives of the Kuṭicakas.[1] The Paramatthajotikā, the commentary on the Sutta-Nipāta, mentions Caṅki, Tārukṣya, Puṣkarasādi, Jānaśruti, Aśvalāyana, Vasiṣṭha, Ambaṣṭha, Uttara-Mānava and the rest as representatives of the Brāhmaṇas.[2] Here Vasiṣṭha is a common name.

As for the identification of the Paramahaṃsa Parivrājaka, the Paramahaṃsa of the Turiyātīta grade, with the Ājīvaka, we may adopt a similar procedure. The Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣad mentions Saṃvartaka, Āruṇi, Śvetaketu, JaḍaBharata, Dattātreya, Śuka, Vāmadeva, Hārītaka and the like and the Yājñavalkya-Upaniṣad mentions Saṃvartaka, Āruṇi, Śvetaketu, Dūrvāsā Ṛbhu, Nidāgha, Dattātreya, Śuka, Vāmadeva,

1 Bhikṣuka Upaniṣad : Kuṭicakā nāma Gautama-Bharadvāja-Yājñavalkya-Vasiṣṭhādayaḥ.

2 Paramatthajotikā, II, pp. 372-373 : *Brāhmaṇā vādasilā vuddhâ* ti ettāvatā Caṃki-Tārukkha-Pokkharasāti-Jānussoṇi-ādayo dasseti..... evaṃ Assalāyana-Vāsiṭṭha-Ambaṭṭha-Uttaramānavakādayo dasseti.

Hārītaka and the like as representatives of the Paramahaṃsas.[1] In the Avadhūta and Śri-Jābāla-Darśana-Upaniṣads, *munivara*-Sāṃkṛti is introduced as the disciple of *mahāyogi*-Avadhūta Dattātreya.[2] In the Akṣi-Upaniṣad, Sāṃkṛti himself is represented as the teacher.[3] Thus it can be proved that Sāṃkṛti, too, is a representative of the Paramahaṃsas of higher grades. It has been shown that in the Aṅguttara-Nikāya and Buddhaghoṣa's Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Saṃkicca, Sāṃkṛtya or Sāṃkṛti is one of the three Ājīvika Tīrthaṅkaras who deserved to be placed in the category of the Paramaśukla or Avadhūta. In the Paramatthajotikā, the six śramaṇa teachers, Pūraṇa Kāśyapa, Maskarī Gośāla, Kakuda Kātyāyana, Ajita Keśakambalin, Sañjaya Vairāṭiputra and Nirgrantha Jñātṛputra are all represented as Tīrthikas admitted into the order and brought up in the school of thought founded by the three Tīrthaṅkaras, of whom Sāṃkṛti was one. Of these six teachers, Jñātṛputra (Mahāvīra) is described as a Nirgrantha (Jaina) and the rest are described as Ājīvikas.[4]

Thus one can understand why the six grades or classes of ascetics are broadly distinguished in Aśoka's Pillar-Edict and in the Paramatthajotikā as the Brāhmaṇa and the

1 Bhikṣuka-Upaniṣad : Paramahaṃsā nāma Saṃvartak-Āruṇi-Śvetaketu-JaḍaBharata-Dattātreya-Śuka-Vāmadeva - Hārītaka - prabhṛtayaḥ. Yājñavalkya-Upaniṣad : Paramahaṃsā nāma Saṃvartak-Āruṇi-Śvetaketu-Dūrvāsa-Ṛbhu-Nidāgha-Dattātreya-Śuka-Vāmadeva-Hārītaka-prabhṛtayo 'vyaktaliṅgā avyaktācārāḥ.

2 Avadhūta-Upaniṣad : Sāṃkṛtir Bhagavantaṃ Dattātreyaṃ parisametya papraccha. Śrī-Jābāla-Darśana-Upaniṣad, 1-2 : Dattātreyo mahāyogī Bhagavān bhūtabhāvanaḥ ... ... Tasya śiṣyo munivaraḥ Sāṃkṛtir nāma bhaktimān.

3 Akṣi-Upaniṣad, 1 : Sāṃkṛtir Bhagavān.

4 Paramatthajotikā, II. pp. 372-373 : tattha *Titthiyā* ti Nanda-Vaccha-Saṃkiccehi ādipuggalehi tīhi titthakarehi kate diṭṭhititthe jātā, tesaṃ sāsane pabbajitā Pūraṇa-Kassapādayo cha satthāro. Tattha Nāthaputto Nigaṇtho, avasesā Ājīvikā.

Ājīvika,[1] or in Gośāla's doctrine and in the Jaina works written in the Canarese country as the Ājīvaka and the Parivrājaka, the latter mentioning the Ekadaṇḍin and the Tridaṇḍin as two divisions, grades or classes of the Parivrājaka. It is truely remarked in these Jaina works that the Parivrājaka can aspire to go as far as Brahmakalpa in spite of his austerities, while the Ājīvika, though he is repulsive to human sight, can aspire to go as far as Sahasrārakalpa, Acyutakalpa or Acyutapada.

B. M. Barua

Vijayanagara in Bengal Tradition

There was a great and widespread Hindu revival during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in India. It was marked by political supremacy, material prosperity, and spiritual regeneration. We now possess a few facts which conclusively show that over a great portion of Eastern and Southern India there came a pulsation of a new life which acquired fresh strength in course of time. Gaṇeśa, Danujemarddana and the Rājās of Tripurā and Vana-Viṣṇupura in Bengal achieved what the rulers of Mithilā, Assam, Orissa, Nepal, Rajputana and Vijayanagara almost simultaneously began.

Vijayanagara has been called a forgotten empire by the historians, and there has been a laudable attempt to reconstruct its glorious history. There are a few references to Vijayanagara history and culture in contemporary Bengali and Sanskrit works which have not been utilised by its historians. As these may be found useful, I record them in this article.

1 Pillar Edict VII : Bābhanesu Ājīvikesu. Paramatthajotikā, II. pp. 372-373. See Barua's Aśoka Edicts in New Light, pp. 5-11.

Let us first turn to political history. Vijayanagara is also known as Vidyānagara in later Bengali works. It is recorded in the Caitanya-caritāmṛta that Puruṣottamadeva, king of Orissa (1470-97 A.C.), once conquered Vijayanagara in battle, and took away its royal throne known as the *māṇikya-siṃhāsana.*

উৎকলের রাজা পুরুষোত্তম দেব নাম। সেই রাজা জিনি লৈল তার সিংহাসন।
সেই দেশ জিনিলেন করিয়া সংগ্রাম॥ 'মাণিক্য সিংহাসন' নাম অনেক রতন॥—চৈ.চ মধ্য—৫ম অঃ

It is also recorded in the same work that the image of Kṛṣṇa known as *Sākṣi-gopāla* and at first brought down to Vidyānagara from Vṛndāvana was now removed by Puruṣottamadeva to Cuttuck. কটকে গোপালসেবা করিল স্থাপন॥—ঐ—ঐ—ঐ.

This claim may at least partially be substantiated. Prof. Krisnaswami Ayyangar speaks in his Little Known Chapter of Vijayanagara History of an invasion of the Telingana coast in 1475-76 by the king of Orissa."

It was during the reign of Pratāparudra of Orissa (1497-1540 A.C.) that we come across events not recorded elsewhere than in the Bengal Chronicles. On the whole these seem to be well-founded, because it is definitely stated that "he subjected to his dominion the whole country as far as Setubandha Rameswar" (A. Sterling—JRAS., 1831). On the authority of the Caitanya Ch. we know that Rāmānanda Ray was the ruler of Vidyānagara :—

রায় রামানন্দ আছে গোদাবরী তীরে। অধিকারী হয়েন তেঁহো বিদ্যানগরে॥—চৈ-চ মধ্য—৭

This officer of the king testifies to his power and prowess in an eloquent language (which reminds us of the style of inscriptions) in his Sanskrit drama named *Śrī-Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka*—

যন্নামাপি নিশম্য সন্নিবিশতে সেকন্দরঃ কন্দরং মেনে গুর্জ্জরভূপতির্জ্জরদিবারণ্যং নিজং পত্তনং
স্বং বর্গং কলবর্গভূমিতিলকঃ সাস্রং সমুদ্বীক্ষতে। বাতব্যগ্রপয়োধিপোতগমিব স্বং বেদ গৌড়েশ্বরঃ॥—১ম অঃ ১০.

So we may give some credit to the statement in the *Caitanya Bhāgavata,* and the *Caitanya-Maṅgala* (of Jayānanda) which are unanimous in recording that Pratāparudra attacked Vijayanagara about 1510 A.C. I here quote the texts—

যে সময়ে ঈশ্বর আইলা নীলাচলে। যুদ্ধরসে গিয়াছেন বিজয়নগরে।
তখনে প্রতাপরুদ্র নাহিক উৎকলে॥ অতএব প্রভু না দেখিলেন সেইবারে॥—চৈ ভা.—অন্ত্য—৩

Either this attack or a fresh one is hinted at by Jayānanda who says that Pratāparudra once thought of attacking the Muslim king of Gour, but on the intimidation of Caitanyadeva he gave up the project, and proceeded to attack Vijayanagara instead :

গৌড়ে উৎকলে তবে পড়িল যে ধাড়ী ॥ * * *
প্রতাপরুদ্র গৌড় জিনিতে করি আশ। কাঞ্চী দেশ জিনি কর নানা রাজ্য।
শুনিয়া গৌড়েন্দ্র তারে করে উপহাস ॥ * * *
* * * প্রভু নিবারিল সে শুনিয়া প্রতাপরুদ্র।
কাল যবন রাজা পঞ্চ গৌড়েশ্বর। বিজয়নগরে গেল করিবারে যুদ্ধ ॥—চৈ.ম. (জয়ানন্দ)

Now, we give the following points which show that Vijayanagara was an important centre of Hindu culture at the time. All scholars and spiritually minded people visited it as a place of pilgrimage. The itineraries of Nityānanda and Caitanya included Vijayanagara amongst other well-known places (*Caitanya C. and Bh.*). তবে প্রভু আইলেন বিজয়া নগর ॥—চৈ ভা.—৬ষ্ঠ অঃ।

As a great centre of learning it is mentioned along with others in a passage in connection with a *digvijayī paṇḍita* who visited Nadia when Caitanyadeva was a teacher in his *tol*—

গৌড়, তিরোত, ডিল্লী, কাশী, আদি করি। হেলঙ্গ, তেলঙ্গ, ওড়ু, দেশ আর কত।
গুজ্জরাট, বিজয়নগর, কাঞ্চীপুরী ॥ পণ্ডিতের সমাজ সংসারে আছে যত ॥ আদি—৯ম অঃ

Bengal took its cue of neo-Vaiṣṇavism from Southern India. The Bengal School of Vaiṣṇavism was a direct offshoot of the Madhva Sect. The line of the gurus is as follows according to the *Gauragaṇoddeśa Dīpikā* :—

Maddvācārya > Padmanābhācārya > Narahari > Dvijamādhava > Akṣobha > Jayatīrthaka > Jñānasindhu > Mahānidhi > Vidyānidhi > Rājendra > Jayadharma or Jayadhvaja (according to genealogy of Rājendra's Maṭha) > Vīṣṇupuri, and Puruṣottama > Vyāsatīrtha > Mādhavendra Purī > Iśvara Purī > Caitanyadeva.

What made Vijayanagara specially dear to the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas was perhaps its connection with Vyāsatīrtha variously known as Vyāsarāja or Vyāsayogin. He lived from 1446 to 1539 A.C. (The life of Śrī Vyāsarāja—B. Venkoba Rao, 1926). He became the guru of the kings of Vijayanagara, and "was at the head of what was practically a Hindu University in Penugonda and Vijayanagara for a period of about fifty years from 1487 to 1539 A.D. (Journal of the Mythic Society, Oct., 1924). It is recorded in the *Gauragaṇoddeśa dīpikā* that Vyāsatīrtha was the author of the *Viṣṇusaṃhitā* which was valued by the Vaiṣṇavas of the Bengal.

Thus we find that Vijayanagara plays no mean part in the chronicles preserved by the Bengalis.

RAMES BASU

The Development of Buddhist Art in South India

Technique and Composition of Amarāvatī

The insignificant village of Amarāvatī, in the Kistna district of Madras Presidency, is renowned throughout the modern world for its exquisite treasures of plastic art. Like most of the monuments of yore, almost nothing survives of this once magnificent and glitterring pile of the original "stūpa," hallowed by the piety and fervour of devout pilgrims from far and near in that hoary antiquity and eliciting the warmest praise aud appreciation of admiring generations. The ruthless hand of Time and the vandalism of Man, have alike wrought havoc with it. As the main stūpa is utterly destroyed beyond repair, nothing but our imagination is left to conjure up its shape and structure in all its glory and grandeur. But we can have a delightful glimpse of the wonderful æsthetic insight and technical skill of the artists of Amarāvatī from the casing slabs and reliefs of the richly decorated railings.

The sculptures of Amarāvatī are to be ascribed to two different periods, characterised by different techniques, and several centuries intervene between them. The fragments of the early railing slabs found at Amarāvatī reveal from their affinity to the style of the old Bodh Gayā rail that they certainly belong to the 1st century B. C. The later reliefs have been assigned by scholars to the 2nd century A.D.

Early Period—The remains of the earlier sculptures are not so copious as those of the later. But even from the very few specimens, we can perceive that they were executed in the language which first found expression at Bhārhut (2nd century B.C.) and which reaches its perfection here. As at Bhārhut, the figures and representations are flat but the limbs are slimmer and more slender. The faces with fully opened eyes and thick lips are more oval. The glaring stiffness of Bhārhut is not so palpable here, although an

amount of archaic restraint lingers in the posing of some of the figures. But they are, nevertheless, accurately drawn, and specially the powerful and animated animals are without any flaw whatsoever.

The most remarkable feature of those sculptures is an unrestrained sweeping movement. The figures seem to be entirely swept away by their own undulations The artist relied more on the linear than on the plastic aspect of the composition for the expression of this particular characteristic. The tempestuous, yet a gliding movement of the south does not stop anywhere to meditate and then start to express, as at Bhārhut. It is ever moving and ever rolling on, and its manifestations are the spontaneous outburst of the inner joy of unfettered motion. Again the system of oversecting or overlapping is as rigorously employed here as it was avoided rigorously at Bhārhut, but the spatial relation has not been emphasised to the same extent as it has been done at Rānigumphā, Udayagiri.

Dr. Stella Kramrisch says, "These few instances warrant us to conclude that the temperamental, emotional or transitory side is as significant in the south, as the abstract, reserved, intellectual or well-calculated side of the north. The south is full of energy, life and force and not stationary or contemplative."

Late Period—A comparison between the treatment of figure sculpture of Bhārhut and Amarāvatī would clearly demonstrate the vast development which has taken place during the course of centuries. The story-telling function of Bhārhut by means of abbreviations and denotations is effected at Amarāvatī in a different language altogether.

Nature—As regards the representation of nature, we find a developed stage in the treatment of the tree. Whereas at Bhārhut, the tree is merely suggested, at Sanchi it is treated in a realistic and individualistic way, depicting the transitory moments, consequent upon a more deep nature study and critical observation. But the Amarāvatī tree is not dissolved

into branches like Sānchi, it is more or less a solid and compact mass like Bhārhut with the leaves and twigs simply marked. Even where there is an attempt at separating and differentiating the branches and leaves, the outline is not dissolved. But in spite of these drawbacks it can be safely affirmed that compared with Bhārhut, there is not only a fuller play of light and shade combined with sharper features, but the outline filled with mass has gained in roundness and modelling. At the same time the movement, which is not only peculiar to the outlines of the trees but to every animate object represented, is pictured in a most charming manner. The movement flows sometimes in small curves, imparting a soft, wavy and unstabilised character to the figures.

The convention of representing rocks at Bhārhut consists in every boulder being circumscribed by a more or less deeply incised outline tending to a quadrangular shape. Into this boulder again a small quadrangle is inscribed right in the middle. At Rānigumphā, the convention is apparently quite different. The single rock is not isolated but chained with one another consisting of parallel bands, leading to geometrical patterns of angular and round forms, indicating thereby a greater variety of landscape. At Amarāvatī, the treatment follows closely the method of Rānigumphā; but the boulders being more irregular in shape and pattern and strewn in disorder, the landscape is much more realistic and enlivening. The wild animals, peopling these regions, are not merely surrounded by circular frames, but are shown as emerging out of deep hollows. The sharp contrast of light and darkness caused by the shady caverns and abrupt prominences, heightens the effect of naturalistic composition.

Animals—The elephant is always very favourite with the Indian artist and it is always a pleasure to watch the portrayal of these noble creatures full of grace and vitality. Contrary to the tradition of Bhārhut but resembling that of Rānigumphā and Sānchi, the elephant figures are beaming with energy and activity. All the other animals, e. g., the



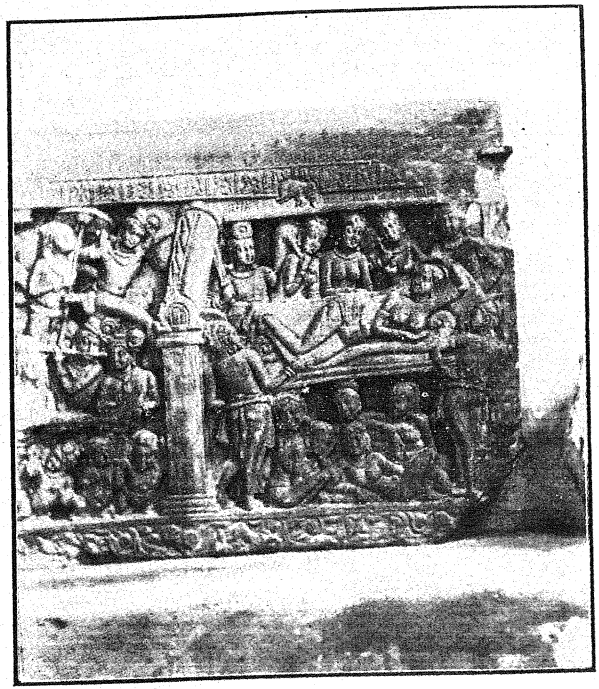
PLATE I



The Dream of Māyā
Bhārhut. 2nd Century B.C.

I. H. Q., June, 1927

PLATE II



The Dream of Māyā
Amarāvatī. 2nd Century A.D.

lion or the tiger, are lacking in that touch of realism. Very often, on the pillars of the rail, the flowing lines of the spiritedly drawn animals and Makaras, as also the scrolls of the foliage, make up a continuous and running design indicative of much forceful action and virile movement.

Human Figures—For the purpose of having a definite idea and a true perspective of the wonderful stride of Amarāvatī in the vista of Indian plastic art, we must take stock of the preceding achievements. The tablet appearing on one of the rail pillars of Bhārhut, represents the well known Dream of Māyā (Plate 1). Here we find the story narrated in a restrained and economical way. Surrounded by three female attendants two of which are seated below, while another is standing with folded hands on the other side of the plain bed, on which Mahāmāyā lies and is made to present improperly her left side to the Bodhisattva, in the form of a great white elephant in the air, about to enter her womb.[1] The accuracy and preciseness of the sculptures and the enlargement of the principal object was a necessary factor at Bhārhut, in order to make the story picture intelligible to the unlettered masses. This particular requirement led to some peculiar abbreviations in natural representation. All the human figures have the sameness and uniformity of type. Shortness is their marked characteristic. They have broad shoulders, squarish chins, full cheeks, bulging eyes, small tightly closed mouths and little regular features. In the linear sense the figures are devoid of straight lines and angularities and are conspicuous by a wholesale undulating movement in flowing round curves. From the plastic point of view, the relief is rather very low. There is no real modelling so to say—the edges of the parts are merely rounded off with a slanting cut. Whatever modelling to be found—is very slight, flat and sweeping, instead of

1 According to M. Foucher "the school of Gandhāra is never guilty of these negligences which are contrary to the letter of the text and always presents the right side to the Blessed One."

being sharp and abrupt. The absence of high relief combined with the treatment of the figures on the same level or surface renders the picture absolutly flat and even but at the same time very clear in character, without much scope for the display of light and shape.

The scene is depicted at Amarāvatī in a strikingly different manner, both iconographically and technically (Plate II). With the disappearance af the story-telling function of Bhārhut, the peculiar free and rythmical composition associated with it gardually loses ground. Late Amarāvatī follows the footsteps of Gandhāra in respect of the composition of reliefs. The whole story is never portrayed in a single medallion. Each portion is dealt with in distinct compartments and often architectural motifs serve as partition walls between the different parts of the narrative. Like Gandhāra too, there is a tendency towards the centralisation of the principal object.

The bed-chamber is represented here, full of vividness and observation. The four female slaves are in the foreground in diverse postures. The mother of Gautama is represented fast asleep, as at Bhārhut, but she is stretched in an easy and natural pose. Also in contrast to Bhārhut, the descending elephant has considerablv diminished in size, being merely confined to the frame. Again the couch is surrounded by the four Lokapālas or guardians of the cardinal directions.

The human figures are no longer mere symbols and do not belong to an uniform type. They are living and vigorous, and each is a separate entity with individual expression and character. They are meant to be human beings with all their variegated enjoyments and sufferings of a chequered life, motives and vocations as such. The practice of indicating objects by mere formulas or names gradually dies away being replaced by the truthful delineation of characteristic features of each. With the march of time, the realism of Amarāvatī evolves out of the abstraction of Bhārhut.

The heaviness, thickness, and squarish built frames of

Bhārhut and improved Sanchi technique or even the flatness of early Amarāvatī sculptures, is to be rarely noticed. The figures are carved almost wholly in the round and consequently the reliefs gain greater height than even that of Sanchi. They are extremely graceful and refined. The limbs, specially the legs are tapering, slender and as attenuated as possible. The slenderness of some of the figures on the railing of Stūpa II at Sanchi (cf. the figure of the goddess Śrī) and in Rāṇīgumphā, is developed almost to its utmost limit. The length of the figures in all their undulating curves combined with sharp angularities, produce to give a touch of realism which was conspicuously absent at Bhārhut. The rather heavy faces of the men have narrow round foreheads, large prominent eyes, short noses, thick protruding lips, very short chins and full cheeks. Women have as a rule almost oval faces and expressive mouths. Facial expression, through the agency of the eyes and specially the lips, plays an important part in these sculptures as at Rāṇīgumphā and Mathurā. The human body is neither flat nor summarily treated like that of the previous schools. The influence of Gandhāra permeated this southern region and we find the finely modelled body with the muscles and bones clearly indicated, at the same time retaining its soft, wavy and flowing movement.

A distinct departure from Bhārhut is glaringly apparent in the sense of spacing and emotional contact, which contribute to make the scenes more vivid and interrelated. The advent of this trend is to be first noted in the sculptures of Rāṇīgumphā and here we have the pleasure of witnessing its evolution and perfection. Inspite of it, however, there are special and separate entities within the relief, with individual forms stamped with personal impress. Another remarkable point to be noticed is the introduction of novel forms of movement. Contrary to Bhārhut the figures are neither stiff nor stationary but any and every turn and twist is assumed by the extremely supple and pliable body. As suspected by some, the development of this feature, is not,

according to Dr. Kramrisch, due to any Hellenistic influence, for an examination of the forms and contours of the bodies will clearly reveal that they are distinctly and typically Indian in essence and structure. This new movement gives birth to a new kind of relief. Unlike any of the earlier schools, we find in the composition two distinct surfaces.

The beginning of two different trends of artistic treatment at Bhārhut i.e. the "a" style represented by the Prasenajit pillar and the "b" style by the Ajātaśatru pillar, are also found to be attaining their climax here at late Amarāvatī. The former is distinctly reflected in some of the reliefs where the figures are extremely flat and low with broad surfaces on shallow backgrounds. There is no roundness of modelling and the sense of illusionism caused by the extremes of depth and the vivid contrast of brightness and shadow is entirely absent. Indeed the artistic treatment depends more upon the linear emphasis, though traces of careful observation of the muscles of the body can be occasionally detected.[1] While the latter school, which is represented by the general mass of sculptures, is remarkable for its angular curves, very high relief, sharp modelling, crowded treatment of groups and figures with the frequent employment of the system of overlapping and oversetting—all very similar to the Sanchi technique leading to the diffusion of irregular patches of black and white over the entire surface.[2]

1 Burgess, "Amarāvatī and Jagayyapeta Stūpas," pl. XII, nos. 1, 2.

2 The remarks of Sir John Marshall in connection with the two styles at Sanchi apply equally to Amarāvatī. "Both reliefs," he says, "are equally admirable in their own way, but there can be no two opinions as to which of the two is more masterly. The one on the South Gateway is the work of a creative genius, more expert perhaps with pencil or brush than with the chisel, but possessed with a delicate sense of line and of decorative and rythmic composition. That on the west, on the other hand, is technically more advanced, and individual figures taken by themselves, are undoubtedly more effective and convincing ; but it fails to please, because, the detail is too crowded

Now let us consider the peculiar characteristics of Amarāvatī treatment. There is a gap of two centuries between the early and the late period of Amarāvatī sculptures—and a considerable and astonishing change has taken place in the meantime. The change consists in providing an illusionism by the extremes of depth indicated in the reliefs, as far as the three dimensions permit. We have here, the tangible depth of single objects, resulting in a novel complexity of relief. Another conspicuous feature is that every figure has its independent setting, so as to allow the modelling to be as fully in the round as possible. Here also, we have for the first time the fusion of the cubical and the linear treatment and a greater indication of the third dimension. "Continuous representation," says Dr. Kramrisch, "linear treatment and the relative independence of the single figures, are the chief characteristics of the later school of Amarāvatī."

But the most singular and striking feature of this late school, in common with the earlier one, is the expressive motion and vigorous style of narrative reproducing pictures of transitory moments. What we find in these reliefs is not the calmness or passivity of exertion. The atmosphere is electric, thrilling and vibrating with life. Everywhere there is the impulse to energetic action. Men and women are rushing forth, crowds are jostling, even the sitting figures are throbbing with a dynamic pulsation, betrayed in their very ardent emotional contact and passionate furtive glances. The wild frenzy of the dancing groups, the utter abandon born out of an intense religious fervour, the urge of mad passion as also the magnificent bravura of individual beings—is portrayed with a vivid ingenuity unsurpassed in the whole realm of Indian art.

In the case of women, this incessant movement combined with their beautiful and charming postures and the gliding

and confusing, and the composition too regular and technical."—Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 631.

curves of the contorted and twisted bodies, point to their passionately devotional zeal almost touching on voluptuousness and sensuality. Dr. Burgess remarks, "If in the legends, Buddha is represented as disparaging women, they are certainly represented in these sculptures as among his most ardent votaries."[1] Apart from religious association, a remarkable development in the sexual outlook of the artist is plainly visible.[2] Truly a deep undercurrent of all pervading sensuousness is diffused throughout the sculptures and later we shall have the occasion to see, that even the Buddha figure failed to keep itself immune from the infectious touch.

In conclusion we should like to say that the sinuous and amazing rythm of composition, as the direct outcome of the wonderful decorative instinct of the people, is "as cultured in design and accomplished in technique as Italian Cinquencento work."[3] The marbles of Amarāvatī have struck a quite novel and unique chord in the symphony of Indian plastic art. In the achievement of pure form in all its elegant modulation, in the subtle delineation of the elusive moods and sentiments of the human heart and in the picturesque representation of the vibrations of the stirring soul, it stands unrivalled.

(*To be continued*) DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

1 "Matugāmo nāmo pāpo"—Burgess, op. cit., p. 82.

2 Prof. Benoy Chandra Sen, writing about "Sex in Indian Art" says "At Bharhut and Sanchi the great law of the universe, has been admitted, but here at Amarāvatī it is no more formula, but a vital principle of human motives and actions, invested with a halo and poetry of charm of an exquisite artistic expression. Female figures with slim waists, and a symmetrical arrangement of physical beauties, loosely dressed with garments of fine texture, full of softness of a slender creeper and inviting gracefulness, deeply sensitive of the luxuries of nature sometimes playing upon musical instruments in beautifully artistic poses, rather a little coquettish, they are found in the company of young men, who seem to possess keen powers of appreciation. If we have eyes to see perchance we may catch a glimpse of the exchange of significant looks passing between a maid in one corner and her lover in the opposite side, giving flashes of sensual suggestions which are not easy to miss."

3 Burgess, op. cit., pl. XI, fig. 1.

Origin and Development of Dūtakāvya Literature in Sanskrit

Dūtakāvyas[1] or Messenger-poems, as they may be called, occupy an important position in Sanskrit literature. They, along with the *pañcakas*, *aṣṭakas*, *daśakas* and *śatakas*, go a great way to compensate for the comparative dearth of lyric poetry in Sanskrit. But of these the *dūtakāvyas* are the most important on account of their high poetic conception and the abundance of exquisite good poetry consisting in the pathetic description of the pangs of separation suffered by lovers. Their importance is further enhanced by the topographical which information some of them furnish of one part or other of ancient and mediæval India. It is for these reasons that it will be worth while if we attempt a short history of these poems both in their origin and development.

Several scholars have given lists of *dūtakāvyas* as known to them. H. H. Mahārāja Ravivarma describes six of them[2] (all of which have their origin in Malabar) while Aufrecht names ten which are different from the six described by the Mahārāja.[3] Monmohan Chakravarti combines the above two lists and thus his list names sixteen such poems.[4] I have after patient search traced as many as fifty such poems with which I intend to deal in the following pages. But there is reason to believe that there were a few more dūtakāvyas (see below) no trace to which have yet been found out.

1 As the names of these poems end with the word *dūta* (messenger) in North Indian Mss. [or *sandeśa* (message) in South Indian Mss.] I have used the word *dūtakāvya* to indicate them. They have actually been called *sandeśakāvya*. Cf. 'विदत्प्रीत्यै बहुरसमुधाम्यन्दि सन्देशकाव्यम्'—*subhaga-sandeśa* (last verse).

2 *J. R. A. S.*, 1884, pp. 401ff. 3 *Z.D.M.G.*, vol. 54, p. 616.

4 *J. A. S. B.*, 1905, p. 42.

Enumeration and description of available dūtakāvyas

Before going into the question as to the probable origin of dūtakāvya literature and the line along which it developed it would be proper to give a brief survey of this literature as it exists or is known at present. The names of these are arranged in an alphabetical order (following the order of the Sanskrit alphabet) as the arrangement in a chronological order is not yet possible the dates of most of the poems having not yet been settled. The metre where not specifically mentioned otherwise is *mandākrāntā* except in cases where no more information than the mere name of a poem could be gathered.

1. *Indudūtam*[1] of Vinayavijayagaṇi, author of *Lokaprakāśa*, *Kalpasubodhikā*, and *Haimalaghuprakriyā*. (1710 v.s.)[2]. It consists of 131 verses and relates how the poet, a Jain himself, while staying at Yodhāpura (Jodhpur), made a messenger of the moon to convey to his religious preceptor living in Surat the report as to how he was carrying on his religious precepts with all attention. It gives a most illuminating account of Jain temples and sacred places on the way from Yodhāpura to Surat.

2. *Uddhavadūtam*[3] of Mādhava Śarman. It is a poem in 141 verses. Here we have a description of how Uddhava sent as a messenger by Kṛṣṇa to the Gopīs revealed himself to the latter who expressed to him their unbearable pangs of separation and how he consoled them with a message from Kṛṣṇa. The same theme occurs in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* x. 47.

1 *Kāvyamālā*—14th *Guccha*, pp. 40-60.

2 Belvelkar—*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 79.

3 Haeberlin's *Sanskrit Anthology*, pp. 348 ff.; also *Kāvyakalāpa* (I) published by Haridasa Hirachand (Bombay 1864) pp. 59 ff; also *Kāvyasaṅgraha* (ii)—published by Bhuvanachandra Basak (Calcutta 1874), pp. 145 ff.; also *Kāvyasaṅgraha* (vol. i), J. Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1888), pp. 531-595.

3. *Uddhavasandeśa.*[1] It is attributed to Rūpagosvāmin. An account of the poet as well as the works composed by him is given below under *Haṃsadūtam*—another dūtakāvya composed by him. It also describes how Uddhava was sent by Kṛṣṇa as a messenger from Mathurā to the Gopīs in Gokula. It consists of 138 stanzas.

4. *Kīradūtam*[2] of Rāmagopāla. In the opinion of Mm. H. P. Sastri the poet may be identified with Rāmagopāla of the court of the king Kṛṣṇacandra of Navadvīpa (Nuddea—Bengal) who was one of the compilers of the *Vivādārṇavasetu* (Gentoo Code).[3] It gives a description of the sending of a *Kīra* (parrot) as a messenger by the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana to Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā. It consists of 104 verses.

5. *Kokilasandeśa*[4] of Uddaṇḍakavi of North Arcot, (son of Raṅganātha, grandson of Gokulanātha) who flourished in the beginning of the 15th century (*I. H. Q.*, vol. III, p. 223). This is said to have been composed in response to *Bhṛṅgasandeśa* (No. 23 below) which was sent to Uddaṇḍa by its author, Vāsudeva. Here we have an account of the sending of a cuckoo as a messenger by a lover in Kāñcī to his beloved in Kerala.

6. *Kokilasandeśa*[5] of Nṛsiṃha.

7. *Kokilasandeśa*[6] of Veṅkaṭācārya, son of Tātaya.

1 Haeberlin's *Sanskrit Anthology*, pp. 323-347; also *Kāvyasaṅgraha* ed. by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, (Calcutta), vol. iii, pp. 215-275; also *Kāvyasaṅgraha* (ii) published by Bhuvanchandra Basak (Calcutta 1874), p. 120.

2 There is a Ms. of this book in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta.

3 *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, H. P. Sastri, vol. I, Preface, p. xxxix.

4 *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Madras*, vol. xx, no. 11835.

5 *A Preliminary List of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library, Madras*, p. 128.

6 Burnell—*A Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace Library, Tanjore*, p. 157.

8. *Cakorasandeśa.*[1]

9. *Candradūta*[2] of Kṛṣṇacandra Tarkālaṅkāra, son of Gopīkānta Bhaṭṭācārya. The book describes how Rāma made a messenger of the moon to convey his message from the Mālyavat hill to Sītā in Laṅkā when Hanumān who had been sent on the same errand had already returned with the news of Sītā.

10. *Candradūta*[3] of Jambūkavi. It consists of twenty-three verses in the Mālinī metre, each verse illustrating the figure of *Antyayamaka.*

11. *Candradūta*[4] of Vinayaprabhu.

12. *Cātakasandeśa*[5]—It consists of 141 verses. As the name implies, it relates how a message is sent through a *Cātaka* bird (Cucculus Melanoleucus) by a Brahmin, not to his mistress, but to the king of Trivandrum, Mahārāja Rāmavarma. The poor Brahmin lived somewhere in the northern part of Malabar but fled from his native place like many others to Trivandrum when Malabar was invaded by Tippu. There he had an interview with the king but after sometime, owing to a sudden attack of illness, he had to go home without taking leave of the king and after recovery he seems to have submitted this poem to the king praying for his patronage.

13. *Cetodūta*[6]—It is complete in 129 verses. Here a disciple is described as sending his own mind as messenger to his preceptor. The fourth foot of every verse of this

1 Burnell, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

2 *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts,* H. P. Sastri, vol. II, p. 153.

3 *A Third Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Bombay Circle* (Peterson, April 1884-March 1886), p. 292.

4 *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts during the years 1884-85, 1885-86, 1886-87*—R. G. Bhandarkar, No. 354.

5 *J. R. A. S.*, 1884, p. 451.

6 *Ātmānanda Grantharatnamālā Series,* No. 25. Published at Bhāvnagar by Vallabhadas Tribhuvandas Gandhi, Secretary, Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā, Bhāvnagar, 1924.

poem is identical with the fourth foot of a verse of the Meghadūta.

14. Jaina *Meghadūta*[1] of Merutuṅga of Añcalagaccha who flourished in the fifteenth century of the Christian era. He should not be confused with another poet of the same name, author of the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, (translated by Tawney in the Bibliotheca Indica Series) and other works (*JBBRAS.*, vol. ix, p. 147.). Here we have an account of the sending of the cloud as a messenger to Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthaṅkara of the Jainas, who had renounced the world and had gone to Mount Abu to practise austerities. The message is sent by Neminātha's wife who, unable to bear the pangs of life-long separation, requests him to come back to the world. It consists of four cantos having 50, 49, 55 and 42 verses respectively.

15. *Tulasīdūta*[2]—Composed by Vaidyanātha Bhaṭṭācārya in 1706 Ś. E. It describes in 54 verses the sending of Tulasī leaf, believed to be the most favourite object of the god Viṣṇu, as a messenger to Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā by the Gopīs in Vṛndāvana.

16. *Nemidūta*[3] of Vikrama Kavi. The theme here is the same as that of the Jaina *Meghadūta*. It consists of 123 verses, the fourth line of every verse of which agrees with that of a verse of the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa. Here the wife of Nemi asks the mountain to act as the messenger.

17. *Padāṅkadūta*[4] of Kṛṣṇa Sārvabhauma, a poet at the

1 Śrī Jaina Ātmānandagranthamālā, No. 76. Bhāvnagar, 1924.

2 There is a Ms. of this book in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta.

3 *Kāvyamālā* (2nd *guccha*).

4 *Kāvyakalāpa* (I), published by Haridas Hirachand (Bombay—1874), p. 53ff ; *Kāvyasaṅgraha* (ii), published by Bhuvanchandra Basak (Calcutta 1874), p. 197 ; *Kāvyasaṅgraha* (vol. i)—J. Vidyāsāgara, (Calcutta 1888), pp. 507-530; also separately in Bengali characters, with Sanskrit commentary and Bengali translation by Pandit Syama-Charan Kaviratna (Bengal Medical Library, Calcutta—*Śaka* 1826).

court of king Raghurāma Rai, father of Mahārāja Kṛṣṇacandra, the famous king of Nuddea in Bengal. The work was finished in 1645 Ś. E. Here we have an account how the foot-print of Kṛṣṇa was requested by the Gopīs in Vṛndāvana to carry their message to Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā. Next to the Meghadūta this book is the most popular *dūtakāvya* among the old Paṇḍits in Bengal.

18. *Pavanadūta*[1] of Dhoyī, a poet at the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal (12th century). In 103 verses it describes the sending of the wind as a messenger to king Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal by a Gandharva damsel who lived in the far south of India and fell in love with the king.

19. *Pavanadūtam*[2] of Sūri Vādicandra who flourished in the 17th century A. D. It describes in 101 verses how the Wind was made a messenger by Vidyānareśa, king of Ujjain, to his wife Tārā who had been carried away by a Vidyādhara.

20. *Pānthadūta*[3] of Bholānātha. This is a poem in 105 verses in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The writer is a Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇa of Tikuri. It describes how a *Gopī* sent her love-message to Kṛṣṇa through a pilgrim who was on his way to Mathurā.

21. *Pikadūtam.*[4] It gives in 31 verses in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre a description of the sending of a *pika* (cuckoo) as a messenger by the *gopīs* to Kṛṣṇa.

1 First published in *J.A.S.B.*, 1905, pp. 53-68 ; also separately with critical and historical introduction, Sanskrit notes and variants, Calcutta, Sanskrit Sāhitya Parishat Series, No. 13.

2 *Kāvyamālā* (13th *guccha* pp. 9-24) ; also separately by Udailal Kashliwal in Hindi Jain Sāhitya Series, No. 3. Hindi Jain Sāhitya Prasāraka Kāryālaya, Bombay, 1914. It is not known if the *Pavanadūta* mentioned in the *List of Sanskrit works supposed by the Nepalese Pandits to be rare in the Nepalese Libraries at Khatamandoo*, No. 6 is identical with any of the above works (Nos. 18 and 19) bearing the same name.

3 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, vol. VII, no. 3890.

4 A Ms. of this book is in my private collection.

22. *Bhaktidūtī*[1] of Kālīprasāda. This is a small allegorical poem in 23 verses wherein the poet takes *mukti* (salvation) as his lady-love and sends a message to her through *bhakti* (devotion).

23. *Bhṛṅgasandeśa*[2] of Vāsudeva, a poet in the court of Ravivarma and Godavarma who ruled at Calicut. The theme here is the sending of a message by a person to his wife from whom he had been carried away, when sleeping, by a *Yakṣa*. It is complete in 192 verses.

24. *Bhramaradūta*[3] by Rudranyāyavācaspati, son of Vidyānivāsa, grandson of Vidyāvācaspati. The author seems to be identical with the great Nyāya commentator Rudranyāyavācaspati (who was also a son of Vidyānivāsa) and not with the poet Rudranyāyavācaspati who wrote the Bhāvavilāsa (*Kāvyamālā*—2nd *guccha*, pp. 111ff.) in honour of Mānasiṃha's son, for, the father of the poet Rudra was Vidyāvilāsa (cf. *Bhāvavilāsa*, *v.* 136) and not Vidyānivāsa.[4] The theme of this book is the same as that of Candradūta (No. 9). Here the messenger, however, is the *bhramara* (bee).

25. *Manodūta*[5] of Viṣṇudāsa (maternal uncle (?) of Cai-

1 *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*—R. L. Mitra, vol. III, p. 27.

2 *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Madras Oriental Library*, vol. XX, No. 11865. The same work under the title *Bhramarasandeśa* is described in *J. R. A. S.*, 1884, p. 452.

3 *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*—H. P. Sastri—vol. II, p. 153; *A Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner*—R. L. Mitra—p. 229. It is not known if the work entitled *Bhramaradūta* mentioned by Oppert (*List of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the private Libraries of Southern India*, no. 6104) is identical with no. 23 or 24, or is a different work altogether.

4 H. P. Sastri—*op. cit.*, Preface, p. 4.; S. C. Vidyābhuṣaṇa in his *History of Indian Logic*, p. 476-7 has identified both these scholars.

5 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, vol. VII, nos. 3897-3899. The opening verse as also the colophon contain the name of the poet. The Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat of Calcutta

tanya the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal). It is a poem in 101 *vasantatilakā* verses in which the poet, who calls himself *Viṣṇudāsakavīndra*, makes his own mind the messenger for conveying his feelings of devotion to Viṣṇu.

26. *Manodūta*[1]—composed in 1814 *V.S.* by Trailaṅga Vrajanātha. Here we have the description of the sending of the mind as a messenger to Kṛṣṇa by helpless Draupadī when she was dragged by the hair to the court of Duryodhana.

27. *Manodūta*[2]—The author is stated in the introductory verses and the colophon to have been one Rāmarāma, descendant of Viṣṇudāsa, maternal uncle of Caitanya. It is different from No. 25 though the subject-matter is identical. It consists of verses in the *Śikhariṇī* metre but the two introductory verses are in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

28. *Manodūtikā-kāvya*.[3] Here under the guise of a dūta-kāvya we have a description of 'the relations of Ātman and Jīva.'

29. *Manodūta*[4]. It appears to be a Jaina work and hence possibly not identical with any of the above poems bearing the same name.

30. *Mayūrasandeśa*[5] of Raṅgācārya.

has got a fragmentary manuscript of this book. The *Manodūta* mentioned by R. L. Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (vol. II, no. 613) seems to be identical with the work of Viṣṇudāsa as this also, like the latter, appears, from the last verse quoted by Mitra, to have been composed in *Vasantatilakā* metre. But the colophon here does not give the name of the author and we are not in a position to know whether the first verse contained that name as the first folio is missing.

1 *Kāvyamālā* (13th *guccha*, pp. 84-130)

2 Bangīya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta—Sanskrit Ms., no. 1282.

3 *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunāth Temple Library of His Highness the Maharajah of Kashmir*,—M. A. Stein—p. 70, 287 ; Introduction, p. xxv.

4 *Jaina Granthāvalī* (Jain Svetambar Conference, Bombay), p. 332.

5 *A Preliminary List of Sanskrit and Prakrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library, Madras*, p. 130.

31. *Meghadūta*[1] of Kālidāsa. It is the earliest, the best and the most famous of the *dūtakāvyas*. It describes, as is well-known, the sending of the cloud as a messenger by a cursed Yakṣa to his beloved wife, from whom, owing to a curse, he had been separated. Like all popular books it has swollen in size as time went on by interpolations. Hultzsch following the commentary of Vallabhadeva gives 111 verses as its text, K. B. Pathak on the other hand following the *Pārśvābhyudaya* gives 121 verses. The commentaries of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, Mallinātha and Pūrṇa Sarasvatī (Vidyullatā) give respectively 110, 118 and 110 verses.

32. *Meghadūta*[2] of Mantrī Vikrama.

33. *Meghadūtasamasyālekha*[3] of Meghavijaya, author of various works on *Nyāya*, *Vyākaraṇa*, *Kāvya* and *Jyotiṣa*. He is also the author of the *Haimakaumudi* which is supposed, by some scholars, to have been the model of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*.[4] This last work was completed in V. S. 1725 (1669 A.D.). The

1 It has gone through a good many editions both in India and in Europe of which the two best and critical editions at present are those of K. B. Pathak (Oriental Book Supplying Agency, Poona, 1916) and Dr. Hultzsch (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1911). Of the fifty commentaries of this highly popular work mentioned by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* only a few have as yet been printed. The commentary of Vallabhadeva has been published in the edition of Dr. Hultzsch, that of Dakṣiṇāvartanātha has been edited by Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series and *Vidyullatā*, another commentary on the *Meghadūta* by Pūrṇasarasvatī, has been edited by R. V. Krishnamachariar in the Sri Vanivilas Sanskrit Series, No 15 (Srirangam, 1909). Thec ommentary of Mallinātha is very popular and is well-known through many editions, the best of which is that of Prof. Pathak.

2 *Jaina Granthamālā* (Jain Svetambar Conference, Bombay), p. 332.

3 Ātmānandagrantharatnamālā Series, No. 24. Published by Vallabhadas Tribhuvandas Gandhi, Secretary, Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā, Bhāvnagar, 1914.

4 Belvelkar, *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 79.

Meghadūtasamasyālekha describes how he made a messenger of a cloud to convey his message to his religious preceptor Vijayaprabhasūri. His *Māghakāvyasamasyāpūrtikāvya* was completed in 1727 V. S. ; it is intended to eulogise Vijayadevaguru.[1] As its name implies, it utilises the fourth lines of the verses of the Meghadūta by way of Samyasāpūrti.

34. *Rathāṅgadūta*.[2]

35. *Viprasandeśa*[3] of Lakṣmaṇa Sūri. It relates how Rukmiṇī sent an old Brāhmaṇa as a messenger to Kṛṣṇa, her chosen husband, requesting him to take her away. The same subject-matter is found described in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (x. 52).

36. *Śīladūta*[4] of Cāritrasundaragaṇi, author of *Mahīpālacaritra*, *Kumārapālamahākāvya* and *Ācārādarśa*. It is not a *dūtakāvya* proper, though it bears a name similar to those borne by other poems of that type, as there is no reference here to any *dūta* who is sent by one person to another. It consists of 131 verses, the last lines of the first 125 verses of which, agree with the corresponding lines of the verses of the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa. This utilisation of the fourth lines of the *Meghadūta* probably led to its being called a *dūtakāvya*. It describes—how Sthūlabhadra, a great Jaina prince, renounced the world at the death of his father and became a disciple of the great Jaina sage Bhadrabāhu—how the former, who came to his city by the order of his preceptor, was not the least moved by the persuasive arguments put forward by his wife, Kośā, against the prudence of his taking the order and—how in the long run,on account of the powerful influence of his immaculate character (śīla) he was able to prevail upon his wife and persuade her to become a nun.

1 *Meghadūtasamasyālekha*, v., 131.

2 Introduction to *Jaina Meghadūta*, p. 10.

3 Published from Tanjore, Pūrṇacandrodaya Press, 1906.

4 Śrīyaśovijaya Jaina Granthamālā, 14, Dharmābhyudaya Press, Benares city, Vīrasaṃvat 2439 (A. D. 1915).

and thus put an end to all earthly sorrows and sufferings. The book was composed in the year V. S. 1487 in Khabhānt in Gujarat under the patronage of the chief of that place.[1]

37. *Śukasandeśa*[2] of Lakṣmīdāsa. Here we have a description of the sending of a *śuka* (parrot) as a messenger by a lover who was separated from his wife in a dream. It consists of two parts, *pūrvasandeśa* and *uttarasandeśa* having respectively seventy-four and eighty-nine verses. We get here an elaborate topographical description of the region between Rāmeśvaram and Guṇapura, probably to be identified with a village called Trikkaṇapuram not far from Cranganore.

38. *Śukasandeśa* of Kariṅgapalli Nambūdri.[3]

39. *Śukasandeśa* of Raṅgācārya.[4] It is not known if he is identical with the author of *Mayūrasandeśa* (No. 30 above).

40. *Siddhadūta*[5] of Avadhūtarāma.

41. *Subhagasandeśa*[6] of Nārāyaṇa. It consists of 130 verses. Subhaga is a *snātaka* (?) messenger sent from Cape Comorin to a city which the author calls Vṛṣapuri, Pauṅgavī, etc.

42. *Haṃsadūta*[7] of Rūpagosvāmin[8] who flourished in the

1 *Śīladūta*, *v.* 131. 2 *J.R.A.S.*, 1884, pp. 404-48.

3 *List of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Private Libraries of Southern India*, Oppert, No. 2721, 6241.

4 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Mysore and Coorg*, Rice, No. 2250.

5 *Report of a Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts*, A. V. Kathavate, No. 596. 6 *J.R.A.S.*, 1884, p. 449.

7 Haeberlin's *Sanskrit Anthology*, pp. 323ff.; *Kāvyakalāpa* (I)—Harichand Hirachand (Bombay, 1864), pp. 35ff.; *Kāvyasaṃgraha*, pt. II—Bhuvan Chandra Basak (Calcutta, 1874), pp. 169ff.; *Kāvyasaṃgraha* (vol. I)—Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 441-507; also separately in Bengali characters with a Bengali translation (Basumati Steam Machine Press, Calcutta).

8 Some manuscripts attribute it to Jīvagosvāmin, nephew of Rūpa (cf. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Sanskrit College*, Ms. no. 162.)

16th century. He was one of the immediate disciples of Caitanya, the great Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal. He was, previous to his conversion to Vaiṣṇavism, a royal officer at the court of Allauddin Hussain Shah, king of Gauḍ. After his conversion to the new faith, he became an ardent preacher of the teachings of his preceptor through his voluminous writings, which though embracing heterogenous subjects like philosophy, poetry, drama, dramaturgy, rhetoric and grammar had all in view the dissemination of the doctrines of his new faith. In this respect he seems to have a parallel in Veṅkateśa, author of Haṃsasandeśa, whose many-sided literary activities also in all probability were directed by a similar object, popularising the doctrines of the special school of Vedānta to which he belonged. Of his many works the most important are *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi*, *Chandoṣṭādaśaka*, *Dānakelikaumudī*, *Nāṭakacandrikā*, *Padyāvalī*, *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, *Lalitamādhava*, *Haṃsadūta*, *Uddhavadūta* and *Vidagdhamādhava*.[1] In the *Haṃsadūta* we have the description of a swan having been sent as a messenger by the *gopīs* of Vṛndāvana to Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā.[2] It consists of verses in *śikhariṇī* metre. The number of verses varies in different editions and Mss. Thus *Kāvyasaṅgraha* of Jīvānanda gives 142 verses, Sanskrit College Ms. 131 verses, *Kāvyakalāpa* of Hirachand 142 verses and Basumati Press edition 101 verses.

43. *Haṃsasandeśa*[3] of the famous scholar and well-known

1 The *Vaiṣṇavatoṣiṇī*, a commentary on the tenth book of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* by Sanātanagosvāmin, brother of Rūpagosvāmin in the concluding verses, in the course of the description of the genealogy of the author, gives a list of the works of Rūpagosvāmin (R. L. Mitra *op. cit.*, vol. vi, no. 2125).

2 The statement of Prof. Mm. Kuppuswami Shastri that the work describes the love-message sent by Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā does not seem to be correct (*A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mnuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Madras*, vol. xx, no. 11903).

3 Text and commentary published by the Government Oriental

ācārya of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, Veṅkaṭeśa, known also as Vedāntadeśika or Vedāntācārya. He flourished in the 14th century. He was a polymath, writing on different branches of Sanskrit literature, so much so, that his more important collected works number about 121 separate treatises, some of them running to great lengths. Of these 32 are hymns, 8 *kāvyas*, 24 scientific treatises and 33 theological works. In addition to these works in Sanskrit he wrote 24 books in Tamil.[1] His *Haṃsasandeśa* describes the sending of a swan by Rāma as a messenger to Sītā in Laṅkā. It consists of two *āśvāsas* of 60 and 50 verses respectively.

44. *Haṃsasandesa*[2] of Bhaṭṭavāmana. Here we have a description of the sending of a swan as a messenger by a cursed *Yakṣa* to his wife. Thus its theme is exactly identical with that of the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa.

45. *Haṃsasandeśa.*[3] It is a philosophical piece, consisting of 110 verses.

46. *Haṃsadūta*[4] of Raghunāthadāsa.

47. *Hṛdayadūta*[5] of Bhaṭṭa Harihara. It consists of verses in *vasantatilakā* metre.

48. *Haṃsadūta*[6] by Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī. It consists of 40 verses.

There are a few other poems of the *dūtakāvya* type

Library, Mysore 1913; Edition with commentary of Raṅgarājācārya and English Translation and Notes by N. V. Desika Chariar and G. Kasturi Ranga Aiyangar.

1 Introduction to the *Haṃsasandeśa*, Mysore edition, p. VI.

2 *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Library, Madras*, vol. xx, no. 11912.

3 J.R.A.S., 1884, p. 450.

4 *Vaṅga Sāhitya Paricaya*—D. C. Sen, p. 850.

5 *Handscriften verzeichnisse der Koniglichen Bibliothek*—Weber, I, no. 571.

6 *A classified List of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace Library at Tanjore*—Burnell, p. 1637.

composed in more recent times (and hence not included in the above list). They belong to the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century written by poets in different parts of India. Some of these are found to have poetic excellence of no mean order. In this connection mention may be made of the *Vātadūta*[1] of Kṛṣṇanātha Nyāyapañcānana of Bengal who in the eighties of the last century composed this highly poetic piece wherein the *vāta* or wind is sent as a messenger to Rāma by Sītā who was then in Laṅkā. As regards poems of minor importance reference may be made to *Śukadūtam*[2] of Yādavacandra Vidyāratna (S. E. 1786), *Pikasandeśa*[3] of Dādhīca Brahmadevaśarman published only recently describing how a bee was sent by a cuckoo as a messenger to a poet relating the present fallen condition of India. We have also got two modern supplements to the work of Kālidāsa, viz, *Meghapratisandeśa*[4] of Mandikal Ramasastri and *Meghadautya*[5] of Trailokyamohan Guha Niyogi Kavikīrti. The first of the two is very beautiful and describes how the wife of the *yakṣa* on receipt of the message of her husband sent her reply through the same cloud giving a description of herself and her household; the other relates how she asked the cloud to carry her message to *Kubera* requesting him to cancel the order of banishment passed upon her husband and how *Kubera*, in the long run, complied with her request and the *yakṣa* restored to liberty was united with his wife.

Origin of dūtakāvya

The earliest *dūtakāvya* that we have is the Megha dūta of Kālidāsa. The central theme of Kālidāsa's work is the sending of an inanimate object as a messenger that carries a love-message from a lover to his beloved. It should be noted here that this kind of mak-

1 Calcutta, S. E. 1822.
2 Published from the Ryots' Friend Press by Brajanath Dutt.
3 Published from Jhalrapatan Rājakīya Sarasvatībhavana.
4 Jayālaya Press, Mysore, 1923.
5 Sanyal and Co., 25 Roy Bagan Street, Calcutta, 1909.

ing messengers of inanimate but moving objects or irrational creatures carrying a love-message from one to his or her object of love constitutes the most important characteristic of *dūtakāvyas* in general. It is not known to what particular work or works, if any at all, Kālidāsa was indebted for this peculiar and at the same time poetic conception. We have however somewhat similar ideas, viz. making messengers of irrational creatures adopted in works which can definitely be assigned to a date earlier than that of Kālidāsa. Thus, in the Ṛgveda we have reference to a dog called *Saramā* sent as a messenger to the Paṇis (Ṛv., X, 108). The two great Indian epics viz. the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata represent irrational beasts as performing the duties of messengers carrying love-messages. Rāma sent Hanumān as a messenger to Sītā (Rām., IV, 44) who also in return sent through him a message to Rāma (Rām., V, 40). The Mahābhārata (III, 5331-2) mentions Damayantī as making a messenger of a swan which had come to her from king Nala and sending a message through it to the latter.

Of course in none of the above works there is reference to any ordinary irrational creature having been utilised as a messenger. All those messengers are represented as having possessed unnatural powers such as human voice and rationality to some extent and there is scarcely anything poetic in making messengers of them. But it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that Kālidāsa was inspired by what he read in the epics. He himself appears to indicate this in verse 105 of his Meghadūta (Pathak's edition) which runs—इत्याख्याते पवनतनयं मैथिलीवोन्मुखी सा. This naturally creates the impression that Kālidāsa might have had the account of Hanumān having been sent as a messenger to Sītā before his mind's eye when he composed his Meghadūta. Mallinātha, also, records an old tradition to this effect.[1] His predecessor

1 Mallinātha on Meghadūta, *v.* I—'सीतां प्रति रामस्य हनूमत्सन्देशं मनसि निधाय कविः ज्ञातवान् इत्याहुः।'

Dakṣiṇāvartanātha, too, in the beginning of his commentary on *Meghadūta* traces the origin of the central idea of the poem to the same source, viz., the account of Hanumān's carrying the message of Rāma to Sītā as given in the Rāmāyaṇa.

But besides these there were in India and outside before the time of Kālidāsa other works which are found to have made use of ideas closely similar to those of the *dūtakāvyas*. Thus the *Kāmavilāpajātaka* (No. 297) describes the sending of a crow as a messenger by a man in danger to his wife. Hsü Kan (between 196 A. D. and 221 A. D.) of China who translated the *Prajñāmūlaśāstraṭīkā* of Nāgārjuna into Chinese in one place describes how the cloud was requested by a lady to carry a message to her lord. Thus run the lines of the poet in question :—

"O floating clouds that swim in heaven above
Bear on your wings these words to him I love.'[1]

It is true we have no positive evidence as to whether Kālidāsa had any knowledge of all these works. But it may reasonably be expected that he was aware of the popular accounts of the epics and the *jātakas*, if not of the Chinese poet; and he might have been indebted to them at least for the suggestion of the main idea of his book, viz., making messenger of an inanimate object, if for nothing else. Neither can it be dogmatically asserted that the account of the Chinese poet did not float to India in some form or other and indirectely help Kālidāsa to lay the foundation of *dūtakāvyas* in Sanskrit. Of course, this cannot, in the least, lower him in the estimation of the people as a great poet. For have not great poets of other lands like Shakespeare and others been known to have borrowed the plots of their works from earlier sources? Is not Kālidāsa himself indebted to the Purāṇas and the epics for supplying him with themes for some of his other works like *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam*, *Raghuvaṃśam* and *Kumārasambhavam*? A poet should be judged by his

1 *History of Chinese Literature* by Giles—p. 119-20.

power of representation, penetrative insight into human nature, and the right and effective delineation of the characters of a poetic composition. And judged by this criterion his Meghadūta inspite of his borrowings, if there be any, rightly entitles him to the undisputed rank of the prince of Indian poets. For do we not meet with numerous instances of exquisite poetry in the Meghadūta which we unfortunately seek in vain in the epics, etc. which may be supposed to be the prototypes of *dūtakāvyas* in Sanskrit ?

According to some the idea of the poem was most probably first suggested to Kālidāsa by the *Yamakakāvya* of Ghaṭakarpara, who is traditionally believed to have been, like Kālidāsa, one of the nine gems adorning the court of king Vikramāditya and contemporary and rival of that great poet. His work incidentally describes how a lady finding it extremely difficult to bear the pangs of separation from her husband who was away from home addressed, at the approach of the rains, the floating clouds in the sky and requested them to report to her lord the sad plight through which she had had to pass. (*Yamaka-kāvya, vv.* 8-13). But the tradition of nine gems being not substantiated by any historical proof it is not possible to determine the relation of the *Yamakakāvya* to the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa.

Popularity of the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa

The new type of poetic composition introduced by Kālidāsa in his Meghadūta marks an epoch in the history of Sanskrit literature and it was fruitful in catching the imagination of the people. In fact it has been seriously suggested by M. Hippotyte Fauche that the Meghadūta stands without a rival in the whole elegiac literature of Europe.[1] Thus naturally, Kālidāsa's Meghadūta—the earliest of the available *dūtakāvyas*—attained immense popularity from a very early period. It is to this popularity that we owe

1 Dr. Bhau Daji's *Essay on Kālidāsa*, p. 7.

the not few imitations of the work undertaken by a host of later-day poets. It is true that none of these imitations of which we can ascertain the date with any amount of certainty can be assigned to a period anterior to *circa* 12th century of the Christian era. But this need not lead one to conclude that the Meghadūta did not have a wide publicity before that date; for even if we accept for the sake of argument that it had no earlier imitation (the existence of which however seems only too probable from the statement of Bhāmaha in his *Alaṃkāra*, I, 42-44), we have a work of the 8th century which amply testifies to the high popularity it enjoyed at so early a date. I refer to the *Pārśvābhyudaya* of Jinasena which incorporates the whole of the Meghadūta by way of *samasyāpūrti*. It is needless to point out here that the poet would not have interwoven the whole of the Meghadūta into his poem, as known to him, unless the latter was a well-known and highly popular work of his time. This kind of incorporation of the lines of the Meghadūta was undertaken, as we have already seen, by some other poets also in later days, giving proofs, if any were needed, of the popularity of the Meghadūta in those days. The comparatively old translations of this book which are available in Sinhalese and Tibetan also testify to the position held by it in popular estimation.[1] The unusually large number of commentators—fifty mentioned by Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*—who commented on this small work is another eloquent testimony to the unprecedented popularity enjoyed by a poem at any time. We only need to note here that the popularity which began so early has survived through these long centuries unabated to the present day not only

1 A Singhalese paraphrase of it was discovered at Kandy by W. Gunatilaka and was published along with the Sanskrit text by the Hon. T. B. Pànbokke (Colombo—1893). The Tanjur contains a Tibetan translation of the Meghadūta which has been edited and translated into German by Dr. Beck (Berlin, 1907)—Hultzsch, Preface to his edition of Meghadūta, p. VIII.

among the Indians but also among peoples of the whole world.

History of the development of dūtakāvyas in Sanskrit

In tracing the history of the development of *dūtakāvya* literature in Sanskrit we should begin with post-Kālidāsan works, that is, from the earliest imitations of Kālidāsa. Of the many available imitations of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, Pavanadūta of Dhoyī seems to be the earliest, though a partial adaptation of the central idea is met with in an earlier work, the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti where the hero Mādhava asks a patch of cloud to relate to her lady-love, Mālatī, the love-stricken condition through which he was passing.[1] No earlier imitation of the Meghadūta is known to exist; and owing to our ignorance of the dates of many of these available imitations it is not possible for us to assign any one of them to a date anterior to that of Dhoyī. But we seem to be on strong grounds to suppose that the Meghadūta had a host of imitators long before the time of Dhoyī whose works like those of many other writers of ancient India have been lost for ever or are awaiting, in some unknown corner, the eagle eye of a fortunate discoverer. Thus Bhāmaha (end of 7th and beginning of 8th century) while finding fault with the lack of the sense of propriety of poets who make messengers of cloud, wind, moon, bee, *cakravāka* (anas casarca), *śuka* (parrot), etc. that are devoid of speech and the sounds of which carry no sense expressly states that even highly cultured poets are found to have recourse to this *motif* more often than not (*Bhāmahālaṅkāra*, I, 42-44). This statement of Bhāmaha scarcely leaves any room for doubt in concluding that dūtakāvyas (like *Meghadūta*, *Indudūta*, *Bhramaradūta*, *Cakravākadūta*, *Śukadūta*, etc.) were well-known in his time and they possibly constituted the preliminary

1 'दैवात् पश्यं जंगति विचरन्निच्छया मत्प्रियां चेद्
आश्वास्यादौ तदनु कथयेर्माधवीयामवस्थाम्'—*Mālatīmādhava*, Act IX.

stage in the imitations of the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa. We fail to understand what led Prof. Keith to take Vatsabhaṭṭi to be the earliest imitator of Meghadūta,[1] inasmuch as the influence of Kālidāsa's works on the Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman[2] (which is the only available work of Vatsabhaṭṭi) must be sought in the description of the rainy season which we get here and which may be supposed to have some connection with a similar description in the *Ṛtusaṃhāra* attributed to Kālidāsa. We equally fail to understand how Dr. Hultzsch comes to suspect traces of imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta in the *Viśvaguṇādarśa*[3] of Veṅkaṭādhvarin which gives a description of an imaginary journey over India by two *gandharvas* one of whom praises while the other decries all things, apparently bad, that he comes across.

Now, in these post-Kālidāsan dūtakāvyas, all of which owe their inspiration to the celebrated Meghadūta, traces of indebtedness to Kālidāsa are to be met with at every step. In fact the borrowing goes to the extent of utilising the very metre used in the Meghadūta. Thus with very few exceptions (e. g. *Haṃsadūta* of Rūpagosvāmin in *Śikhariṇī* metre, *Manodūta* of Viṣṇudāsa in *Vasantatilakā* metre, etc.) all the dūtakāvyas are composed in *Mandākrāntā* metre of Meghadūta. The subject matter in most of them is also almost the same as in Meghadūta viz. the sending of a messenger by a lover to his or her beloved. And it should be noted that in many of these later poems we come across a good many words and expressions in the very form in which they are used by Kālidāsa not to speak of same or similar ideas occuring in them only in a slightly different form.[4]

1 *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 36.

2 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*—Fleet, vol. III, pp. 81ff.

3 *Meghadūta*, Preface, p. IX,

4 Cf. my edition of *Pavanadūta*, Introduction, pp. 13-4; also compare *Jaina Meghadūta*, I, 9 (युक्तायुक्त' समदमदनावेशतोऽविन्दमाना), *Haṃsasandeśa* of

But these later poems though they have a common origin in the renowned work of Kālidāsa and each one of them has a remarkable similarity with the original in point of subject-matter and style, are found to introduce some changes here and there though not necessarily for poetic elevation. Thus inanimate objects (which move about) like the cloud and the wind that were conceived of as messengers originally—no doubt a highly poetic conception it was—made room gradually for animals and ultimately for human beings e.g. *Śukasandeśa*, *Uddhavasandeśa* etc. The climax was reached when abstract things like 'devotion,' 'mind' etc. (which can have no movement) occupied the place of messengers (as in *Manodūta* and *Bhaktidūtī* etc.) and the poems tended to become allegorical.

The most curious fact however in the development of *dūta-kāvya* literature that strikes one is the introduction (probably by the Jainas first through the *Pārśvābhyudaya*) of the sentiment of tranquility in this class of literature (e.g. in *Manodūta* and *Bhaktidūtī* etc.) which originally and even in most of the later poems was predominated by the erotic sentiment. We thus find that several poet-philosophers utilised this kind of poetic composition for giving a popular representation to religious tenets and philosophical doctrines (e. g. in *Śīladūta*). Several Jain poets composed messenger poems intended to serve the purpose of letters—the so-called *vijñaptipatras*—which they were required to send to their religious preceptors living far away, with a view to acquaint them with the works they

Vedāntadeśika, I, 5 (विश्लेषेण क्षुभितमनसां मेघशैलद्रुमादौ याच्ञादैन्यं भवति, किमुत क्वापि संवेदनार्हे), *Pavanadūta* of Vādicandra, v, I. (दूतं मोहात् पवनमहृदं प्राहिणोदश्रुनेत्रः, प्रायो मोहो भवति भविनां बोधशून्यत्वहेतुः), *Haṃsadūta* of Rūpagosvāmin, v, 8 (न तृष्णा दोषोऽयं यदि च विहगं प्रार्थितवती, न कस्मिन् विस्रम्भं दिशति हरिभक्तिप्रणयिता ।), *Meghadūta-samasyālekha*, v, 5 (क्वायं प्रायः पवनसलिलज्योतिषां सन्निकायः, क्वार्थश्चायं प्रवणकरणैर्यो विधेयः समर्थः । हर्षोत्कर्षादिति स सहसा ऽ चिन्तयन्नूचिवांसं कामार्त्ता हि प्रकृतिकृपणाश्चेतनाचेतनेषु ॥) with *Meghadūta* I, 5 ; also *Haṃsadūta* of Rūpagosvāmin, v, 9 (न याच्ञा सत्पथे व्रजति हि कदाचिद् विफलताम्) with *Meghadūta*, I. 6 ; Also *Śukasandeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa, v, 12 (आशापाशः किल चलदशामाश्रयः प्रोषितानाम्) with Meghadūta, I, 10. Instances can further be multiplied.

were doing for the furtherance of the Jain faith (e. g. *Cetodūta Indudūta* etc.)

These new elements which found place in the *dūtakāvyas* furnish eloquent testimony to the immense hold this kind of composition had on the people; for there seems to be scarcely any room for doubt that it was on account of the wide popularity which these poems must have enjoyed, that philosophers and leaders of religious sects hit upon the novel idea of reaching the masses through them with their not so very palatable and interesting topics.

One more fact that is sure to strike one in the study of *dūtakāvyas* in Sanskrit is that the subject matter of most of these poems—whether Hindu or Jain—are more or less mythological in character in that the heroes and heroines in them are persons of mythological fame, e. g. Rāma, Sītā, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā etc. in Hindu poems and Pārśvanātha, Nemikumāra, Sthūlabhadra etc. in Jain poems. Here, again, the Hindu poets are found to have given more prominence to the popular story of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, on the one hand, and that of Rāma and Sītā, separated from each other on the other. And it is curious that the fairly well-known and popular love-story of Nala and Damayantī and similar other mythological stories, eminently suitable for forming the subject-matter of a messenger-poem, are not known to have been touched by any of these later poets, busy ruminating on the hackneyed stories of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Bengali poets, again, have almost as a rule, employed the story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in their messenger-poems, the story of Rāma being met with only in a few so far known viz. *Bhramara-dūta* (No. 24 above) and *Candradūta* (No. 9 above). This predominence of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa stories in later *dūta-kāvyas* is probably due to the flourishing condition of the Vaiṣṇava faith—taken in its widest sense—all over India and specially in Bengal, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and onwards. But it is most curious that non-mythological (historical or imaginary) heroes or heroines may be

said to be almost conspicous by their absence in these poems with the exception of the negligible few (e.g. *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī ; *dūtakāvyas* of the *vijñaptipatra* type etc).

Dūtakāvyas in the vernaculars

That this particular type of poetic composition made a very deep impression on the popular mind far more than any other type of Sanskrit composition is proved not only by the abundance of messenger poems in Sanskrit, of which a fairly detailed survey has already been made, but also by the fact that some later-day poets thought it worth their while to compose similar poems even in the vernaculars. Thus the Sinhalese literature is known to embrace a long series of such poems viz. the *Mayūrasandeśa*,[1] *Kokilasandeśa*[2] etc. We have a *Haṃsadūta* in old Bengali composed by Narasiṃhadāsa in the 17th century, which is supposed to be a translation of a Sanskrit work of the same name by Raghunātha Dāsa.[3] We get reference to two more works also of the same name in Bengali by Mādhava Guṇākara and Kṛṣṇacandra.[4]

Contribution of Jain poets towards the development of dūtakāvya literature

The credit of first utilising the *dūtakāvyas* for the dissemination of religio-philosophical tenets probably belongs to Jain poets. Thus as early as the eighth century the *Pārśvābhyudaya* of Jinasena which is intended to popularise the account of the sacred life and teachings of the first historical Jain teacher Pārśvanātha incorporates all the verses of Meghadūta within

1 Prof. Geiger in his *Litteratur und sprache der Singhalessen* mentions a good many Singhalese dutakāvyas at pp. 9,10,11,12,15,17.

2 *Ceylone Antiquary*, vol. III, pp. 13 ff. I am indebted to my former teacher Dr. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D. Lit. for drawing my attention to this.

3 *Vaṅgasāhitya Paricaya* (Calcutta Uuiversity)—D. C. Sen, pp. 850-60.

4 *History of Bengali Language and Literature*—D. C. Sen, p. 225.

it by way of *Samasyāpūrti* not of course invariably in the sense in which they occur in the work of Kālidāsa but sometimes in a slightly different sense to adapt them to the new work in which they are used. There are a few more similar compositions of Jain poets which though artificial in the extreme display the great mastery the authors had on the Sanskrit language, and they constitute an important stage in the history of *dūtakāvya* literature. We may cite the names of several such Jain poems here viz. *Śīladūta*, *Cetodūta*, *Nemidūta* and *Meghadūtasamasyālekha* which use the fourth lines of every verse of Meghadūta mostly in the corresponding verses in those works. It cannot be denied that they are not entirely devoid of poetic excellences. But being highly artificial and having had to adapt the verses of the Meghadūta to their own particular works the language in them is necessarily not spontaneous and easy-going but is difficult, terse and pedantic. But as they embody lines of the Meghadūta we find a clue in them to the text of it as it existed at the time of these authors and was known to them and as such they are highly important in helping us in the determination of the possibly genuine and original text of one of the most important works of Kālidāsa.

The Jains, again, in using this type of literature as the vehicle for conveying religious tenets to the people became instrumental in giving it a new turn. Thus almost all the Jain poems, unlike the Hindu ones, far from being based on any erotic sentiment bristle with an underlying flow of the sentiments of tranquility and devotion. In this connection reference may be made to the *vijñaptipatras*—letters written by Jain hermits to their religious preceptors on the occasion of the *Paryuṣaṇaparva*—which were composed after the manner of the *dūtakāvyas* so that some object like the mind, the cloud, etc, were conceived of as carrying their messages to their *gurus* (e.g. *Cetodūta*, *Meghadūtasamasyālekha*, *Indudūta* etc).

Geographical information from the dūtakāvyas

Some of the *dūtakāvyas*, in the course of the description of the route to be followed by the messenger, furnish us

with elaborate topographical information. Of course, unfortunately for us, in most of the available *dūtakāvyas* this description is more or less conventional so that we miss there this much-expected and welcome information. We must, however, have to be satisfied with what little we get here considering the paucity of such information in Indian literature taken as a whole. Kālidāsa's description of a long route from Rāmagiri to Alakā bristling with important topographical information is well-known through the study of various scholars. The geographical data to be derived from the *Pavanadūta* of Dhoyī which describes the route from the Malaya range to Vijayanagara in Bengal, capital of King Lakṣmaṇasena, has been thoroughly discussed in more places than one.[1] The *Haṃsasandeśa* of Vedāntadeśika gives an elaborate description of a route from the Mālyavat hill to the island of Laṅkā. The *Śukasandeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa describes the towns, shrines, mountains, rivers, and all objects of interest between Rāmeśvaram and Guṇapura, probably to be identified with Trikkanapuram near Cranganore. The *Meghadūtasamasyālekha* has a minute and detailed description of the route from Avaraṅgāvāda (Aurangavad) to Dvīpapuri (or Dīv-vandar) in Gujarat. The *Indudūta* of Vinayvijayagaṇi gives a description of all the way from Yodhāpura (Jodhpur) to Surat. The importance of the descriptions of these last two poems, which belong to the Jains is heightened by the references they contain to the not few Jain temples and places of pilgrimage on the way. It is curious however that the dūtakāvyas dealing with the love affairs of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, most of which had their origin in Bengal, do not give us any light on the topography either of Vṛndāvana or of Mathurā with which places alone they are mostly concerned.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

1 J.A.S.B, 1905 (N. S.), vol. I, pp. 43-5; Introduction to my edition of *Pavanadūta*, pp. 19-26.

Origins of Hindu Iconism

Pre-vedic Aryanism knew no idols, and the word for 'God' in Indo-European languages involves no conception of a personal deity. But in Vedic religion two parallel streams of thought have to be distinguished. On the one hand there is the theistic, and even monistic, conception evolving possibly through the stages of polytheism, henotheism, monotheism and pantheism in the *Ṛg-veda Saṃhitā*, the impersonal sacrifice in the Brāhmaṇas, and the all-powerful God in the Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads, to the philosophy of the Absolute in the Upaniṣads. On the other hand, there is a parallel tendency towards anthropomorphic integration, towards Symbolism, for instance, of *Gāyatrī* and *Oṅkāra*, towards the representation of spiritual conceptions in their *Puruṣavidha* character. The student of iconism is concerned with the evolution of the latter phase of the Vedic religion.

The transition from what may be styled word-painting or verbography in the Aryan style to iconography may be observed in various hymns even of the *Ṛg-veda Saṃhitā*. In *Ṛv.*, II. 33. 9 we find *babhruḥ Śukrebhiḥ pipiśe hiraṇyaiḥ* which Prof. Wilson translates thus, 'shines with golden ornaments.' So also in *Ṛv.*, I. 21. 2 we have *Indrāgnī śumbhatā naraḥ*. Sāyaṇa explains *śumbhatā* in this passage by *nānāvidhair alaṅkāraiḥ śobhitau kurutaṃ*, in which he might merely refer to the chanting of praises in honour of Indra and Agni, (especially as by Sāyaṇa's time images of Vedic gods had gone long out of fashion), but which Prof. Wilson translates into 'decorate with ornaments.' In *Ṛv.*, III. 4. 5. *nṛpeśas* is explained by Prof. Roth as 'adorned by men' and by Prof. Wilson as 'of sensible shapes.' *Ṛv.*, II. 33. 8 speaks of Rudra as white-complexioned (*śvitīce*), which taken along with *pipiśe hiraṇyaiḥ* (*Ṛv.*, I. 21. 3.) might

only be a verbographical description of the stormy sky, though there would be nothing philologically absurd in taking *nṛpeśas* as 'having the form of men.'

But there are passages in the *Ṛg-veda* which would remain obscure unless resort is taken to iconographic explanation. Dr. Bollenson discovered a reference to images of *maruts* in *Ṛv.*, V. 52. 15: *nū manvānā eṣāṃ devān accha*—"to the gods of these (images) (the Maruts)," but the meaning is not clear, or the evidence conclusive, though *eṣām* in the passage seems to refer to something concrete which could be pointed to on the spot. Again, in *Ṛv.*, IV. 24. 10 (*ka imaṃ daśabhir mamendraṃ krīṇāti dhenubhiḥ, yadā Vṛtrāṇi jaṅghanad athainaṃ me punar dadāt*), we have reference to an image of Indra which was to be hired out for a rent of ten cows, and which was to be returned after use. This is the earliest passage which definitely suggests the first idea of an Indra festival, of which our evidence is overwhelming in the early centuries of the Christian era, from Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, and the Sangam work *Maṇimekalai* in the South. It is apparently referred to in *Ṛv.*, I. 10.1, XIX. 1 *brāhmaṇās tvā Śatakrata udvaṃśam iva yemire*—'worshippers held thee aloft as if it were (on) a pole,' (which reminds one of *puruhūtadhvajasyeva nananduḥ saprajāḥ prajāḥ* and *Indradhvaja ivotthitaḥ* in Kālidāsa). Lastly there is a passage in the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* (XX. 7) which explains the *Ṛk*: *uru Viṣṇo vi kramasva uru kṣayāya naḥ kṛdhi*, by saying that "fire is to be piled with the 'navel of Viṣṇu.' It is twelve aṅgulas only, for thus much is the navel of Viṣṇu" while the *Tait. Saṃ.* (V. 2. 8) merely states that if the fire is piled without a navel, the *nābhi* (navel) of the sacrificer would be injured. The reference to *aṅgulas* in the *Kāṭhaka* puts one in mind of the *Puruṣasūkta* where the Puruṣa, certainly an anthropomorphic conception of the universe, exceeds the universe by ten *aṅgulas* (*sa bhūmiṃ viśvato vṛtvā atyatiṣṭhad daśāṅgulam*).

In other passages one may discover reference to the casting

of images: In *Ṛv.*, VIII. 69. 12 we have *sūrmyaṃ suṣirām iva* which Ballantyne (*Mahābhāṣya*, p. 34) has rendered: "a beautiful perforated iron image". I find a variant of this expression in the *Tait. Saṃ.*, I. 5.7: *Sūrmī karṇakāvatī* which Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara explains *lohamayī sthūṇā antaḥ suṣiravatī* (metallic body of holes).[1] The Vedic word *Saṃdṛś* may denote an image, as we have in *Tait. Saṃ.* (I. 6.6): *Saṃdṛśas te mā chitsi* and in *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* (V. 11).: *na saṃdṛśe tiṣṭhati rūpam asya.* Other passages may be cited to the effect that there are references to concrete representations: *Ṛk-śāmayoḥ śilpe* (*T. S.*, I. 2.2) which Prof. Keith translates 'images of Ṛc. and Sāman'; *āruḥ pṛthuḥ sukṛtaḥ kartṛbhir bhūt* in *Ṛv.*, VI. 19.1 which refers to the 'makers' (kartṛ), and *nārvāg indram pratimānāni debhuḥ*) *T. S.*, II. 2. 12) where the word *pratimā* may be noted. Turning to the hymns addressed to a particular deity, e. g., Indra, I find clear evidence in the following (*T. S.*, II. 1. 6,) *aruṇo bhrūmān :* 'He is ruddy and *has eyebrows*'; (II. 2. 7).—*Indrāya gharmavate, indrāyārkavate :* 'To Indra with the thunderbolt, and Indra with heat' (Bohtlingk) which could only refer to a metallic image. Of Viṣṇu it has been stated in II. 2.12 that he *changed his shape* in battle: *yad anyarūpaḥ samithe babhūtha.* But the clearest evidence I could find is in the *Atharvaveda*, VII. 3·1: *Svayā tanvā tanūm airayata*, (of which there is a variant in *T. S.*, I. 7.12) 'with your own body enter another body'. The reference here could only be to concrete representations of gods.

Some elaboration of iconographic detail may be detected in various passages: Indra is conspicuous for his *śipra* as he is referred to in numerous places as *suśipra* and *hariśipra* (*Ṛv.*, I. 9.3 and VI. 29.6). *Śipra* most probably means the chin as in *Ṛv.*, V. 45.6. where Manu is said to have over-

1 Cf. *T.S.*, IV. 2. 5: *ayasmayam vi cṛtā bandham etam*—'enter the iron (or copper) mould.'

come the *Viśipra* 'noseless peoples, *i.e.* peoples whose nasal ridge was not prominent. The invisible Wind-god (Vāyu) is referred to as *darśata* ('of pleasing appearance) which could only mean that Vāyu images were made to look beautiful. The term *Nāsatyau* (Aśvins) is found in the Boghazkoui inscription, and appears to be one of the oldest epithets of the twin-gods. Yāska explains the term as *nāsikāprabhavau.* At any rate he thinks *nāsatya* is derived from *nāsa* (the nose). The prominent nasality of these Aryan gods seems to be indicated here. Varuṇa is conspicuous as *bibhrad drāpim hiraṇyayam* 'wearing a golden armour'. The individuality of Rudra is outlined by the epithets *Kapardin* (*Ṛv.*, I. 113.1) *Tryambaka* (*Rv.*, VII. 59.12) *Kṛttivāsas* and *Pinākin* (*T.S.*, IV. 5), The Vedic hymner now refers to one, now to another, of these attributes, the sumtotal of which makes up the concrete representation of the god.

Along with this anthropomorphism there was the development of symbolism, and the conception of a god, he being regarded as possessed of structural details corresponding to the known functions he exercised. Taking Agni for instance, we find this description of the god in *Ṛv.*, IV. 58.3 (cf. *Ṛv.*, I. 31, 4 & 13): *Catvāri śṛṅgās trayo 'sya pādāḥ dve śīrṣe sapta hastāso asya tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti*, 'four-horned is this great bull three-footed, two-headed and with seven hands. Bound in three places he roars aloud.' The hymn is found again in the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* of the Yajurveda. As regards the other popular god Indra, we find his thunderbolt mentioned in *Ṛv.*, I. 100.18 and *Ṛv.*, II. 12.10, while *T. S.*, IV. 41 describes it as *yuktagrāvā* 'made of stone' (*abhijidasi yukta-grāvā Indrāya tvā*). We have concrete evidence as to how these passages either describe or at any rate have suggested iconographic details. There is a sculpture of Agni corresponding to the above description in the Chidambaram temple,[1] and the figure of Indra with the *Vajra* alone

1 H. Krishna Sastri's *South Indian Images*, fig. 147.

(and without the Elephant which came to be associated with him in post-Vedic times) in the Sārnāth museum[1].

One step in the evolution of symbolism was the association of a god with some weapon (*āyudha*) or animal (*vāhana*). We have references to weapons all through Vedic literature, but none of them is associated with a god excepting *vajra* of Indra noted above. So also as regards *vāhana* we have a single instance of Sūrya whose seven steeds are mentioned for the first time clearly[2] in the *Tait. Br.*, along with other passages where it is definitely mentioned that there is only one horse, though it bears seven names. But the *Tait. Āraṇyaka* (III. 1) explains that there were seven Sūryas and not merely seven steeds of Sūrya, and attempts various explanations which are all symbolical. I may also mention that the *dikpālas* of the Purāṇic times are all Vedic deities, but none of their *āyudhas* (except Indra's) is found in Vedic texts.

In the face of these citations it is impossible to accept the *ipse dixit* of any Vedic scholar, however famous, that "the individuality of the Vedic gods being vaguely conceived was differentiated either by the species of animal drawing their cars or by the distinctive weapons held in their hands." This is evidently putting the cart before the horse, for, as we have already seen, there is much more evidence of the individuality—and hardly any of the weapons or vehicles characterising gods in the *Ṛv.*,—than is implied in this statement.

It is unfortunate that actual concrete datable evidence exists in India only from the Aśokan epoch onwards.[3] If the older materials of building had been other than of wood, we would have been in a much better position. To deny the

1 Catalogue of the Sarnath Museum, No. 24. c. p. 318.

2 *Ṛv.*, (I. 50, VI. 44, V. 62) mentions 5, 6, 7, once even 1000 horses.

3 But see the figure of a devotee seated on a pedestal, and the outlines of temple architecture etc. at Harappa.

existence of Indian artifacts of an earlier age because the evidence is not clearly datable, is to deny the existence of the proto-historic period of Indian history. But even as it is, we have concrete evidence, reaching back to the 8th or 9th century B. C., of the existence of anthropomorphic images of gods. The figure of the earth goddess found on a gold leaf dug up from the Vedic burial mound at Lauriya Nandangarh, is one known instance,[1] and cannot be regarded as an isolated one until we have had a more systematic exploration of our ancient sites. The figures of Lakṣmī and Sūrya appear on coins from the 2nd century B.C.—those of Azilises and Demetrios. The Sanchi sculptures of Gajalakṣmī are of about the same period. But this does not justify Grunwedel's assumption that there was no pre-Buddhist art of the kind, for very commonsense indicates, as Gairdner (*Journal Asiatique, 1911*) showed long ago, that Mauryan art, being already a mature art, presupposes centuries of pre-existing indigenous artistic tradition. As Foucher has pertinently remarked, we should seek the origin of the art in the hereditary habits of the wood and ivory carvers of ancient India, not forgetting its goldsmiths. Since (1918) Foucher wrote on the art of Gandhāra we have had the image of Lauriya unearthed, thus fulfilling the shrewdness of his observation in regard to the goldsmiths. We could only supplement this solitary find by references found in literature. Buddhist tradition in the *Divyāvadāna* has it that Pasenadi of Kosala gave orders for *Tathāgata-pratimā*, (image of the Buddha) but failed. There are references to temples and images in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.

The early evolution of iconography has to be taken along with the development of symbolism. It is an unwarranted statement that 'ideas of symbolism grew up in South India in the present century'. Primitive man even of the Stone age made symbolical representations of the Sun and the

1 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. plate XI. fig. 21.

Moon. We have the circle and the crescent, denoting the Sun and the Moon in Egypt during the 3rd millenium B. C. The punch-marked coins of India, and the early coins in general, are redolent of this symbolism throughout. The lotus of Lakṣmī and the horse of Sūrya appear on the coins of Azilises and Demetrios in the 2nd century B.C. The symbolism of the number seven applied to Sūrya is discussed in the *Tait. Br.* (III. 1). In the Barhut sculptures we have the symbol of the Buddha, the *dharmacakra*, by the side of the figure of Pasenadi of Kosala. The symbolism of the seven mothers of Kārtikeya, the son of Agni-Rudra, as denoting the seven tongues of fire is found in the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* which mentions them—Kālī, Karālī etc., and may be traced back to the *Ṛv.*, which speaks of the seven hands of fire in the passage cited already.

A number of loose statements have been made by scholars in their anxiety to fit in literary references with preconceived theories of iconographic origins. Some of these statements have since been withdrawn[1] as I drew[2] attention *inter alia* to the fact that in the *Ṛv.*, Agni has two heads and seven hands (which even so great a scholar as Prof. Macdonell forgot and could not trace), that Indra's elephant does not appear at all in the *Ṛv.*, while his Vajra appears; that Śiva has five heads and ten arms both in literature and in archæology; and that images with eight hands are found much earlier than the 8th century. But the mistakes about Lakṣmī and Sūrya continue to be reasserted and I may deal with them here. Prof. Macdonell insists that Sūrya was recognised from the earliest times by the seven steeds. But in fact the seven steeds were the result of a long evolution and belong to mediæval times. On the coins of Demetrios (162 B. C.), we have the Sun driving in a four-horse chariot. There are only

1 Compare Prof. Macdonell's position in the *Rūpam*, 1920 with that of his in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1916.

2 See my papers in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1918.

three horses of Sūrya's car in one of the sculptures in the Sārnāth museum (G.36) and four horses at Bodh Gaya. Nor are the seven horses of Sūrya described as characteristic of the god in the *Kāśyapīya*, or even in the works of Varāhamihira or Hemādri. or even found among the South Indian bronze figures of Sūrya.[1] As regards the view that the earliest form of Lakṣmī was that with two elephants pouring water over her as in the Sanchi sculptures, it is flatly contradicted by the *Śrī Sūkta*, a *Khila* hymn no doubt, but considerably earlier than any piece of evidence relating to Lakṣmī in iconography. The *Śrī Sūkta* mentions the lotus-garlands, (cf. a lotus in each hand in the icons) but does not mention elephants among the characteristic accompaniments of Lakṣmī, any more than horses or chariots.

As Hinduism became more and more syncretistic in the course of ages, it absorbed non-aryan peoples who were of a lower order of mental evolution and to whom only concrete forms of divinity could appeal. There was thus an elaboration of sculptural details of the gods, besides the inclusion of new gods in the pantheon. Four-armed gods appear in literature as early as the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhagavadgītā* and in coins from the times of Kadphises II (c. 50 A. D.) gods appear with six, eight or even twelve arms, in literature of the second or third century, and in sculpture from the fifth or sixth century. That this phenomenon was due to the inclusion of cruder forms of cult necessitated by the co-operation with peoples in inferior grades of culture, is shown by the fact that the multiplication of heads, hands and feet is carried farthest in the case of *tāmasic* forms of the god-head, such as Vīrabhadra form of Śiva, Kālī form of Umā ; and in the case of gods and goddesses whose worship was specialised in the South, e. g. Skanda Subrahmaṇya and Mahiṣasuramardinī. The eight-handed images of Ellora, Mahabalipuram and Kāñcīpuram are good instances in point. Even in sculptures of the same

1 O. C. Ganguli's *South Indian Bronzes*, figs. 24, 25.

period e. g. Ellora, Durgā has eight hands, Pārvatī four and Lakṣmī (Śrī) only two. The reference to Umā in the *Kena Upaniṣad*, and the Kalī or Piḍāri images in South Indian villages so universally in evidence to-day and referred to in *South Indian Inscriptions*, leave hardly any room for doubt as to this compromise of the Aryan religion with other faiths, by including their gods in an all-comprehensive scheme.

This elaboration of iconographic details at the instance of inferior orders whom Hinduism incorporated in its fold was helped by the architectural and sculptural skill of these peoples, especially in dealing with stone and other durable material. The architecture of *Maya* which originally was differentiated from that of Tvaṣṭṛ or Viśvakarman now came to its own and contributed to the future development of Indian art. Even to-day the five orders of metal workers and carpenters claim descent from Viśvakarman, and do not claim kinship with the stone mason. Both the stone mason and the sculptor in stone on the one hand, and the painter on the other, originally non-aryan custodians of arts had the most to do with this elaboration of structural details in images—an influence which penetrated to North India in the heyday of Rajput civilisation.

S. V. VENKATESWARA

Pre-Upaniṣadic Teachers of Brahma-vidyā

The history of Brahma-vidyā falls easily into four divisions:—

(i) The Pre-Upaniṣadic period;
(ii) The Upaniṣadic period;
(iii) The Sūtra period; and lastly,
(iv) The period of the Commentators.

The Upaniṣads were not the very first beginnings of Brahma-vidyā. The thought-movement, to which we give this name, had its roots still deeper down into antiquity. There were teachers of Brahma-vidyā even before the Upaniṣads; and it was they who first developed the ideas and handed them down to the next generations of thinkers. A fuller development of these ideas was reached in the Upaniṣads, which became the starting-point for all subsequent thinking on the subject, until we reach the Sūtras of the Vedānta. The Sūtras represent the most comprehensive attempt at synthesis of the many loose threads of thought contained in the Upaniṣads. After the Sūtras, thinkers on Brahma-vidyā seldom, if ever, looked back straight to the Upaniṣads, but always took their cue from the Sūtras; and proceeded to develop even important schools like those of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja simply by the interpretation of these Sūtras; and it was through the Sūtras that they read the Upaniṣads and their systems were based on the Upaniṣads only indirectly.

If we may use a metaphor, the Upaniṣads represent the sapling, and not the seed, of Brahma-vidyā. The seed was sown earlier and was contained in the thoughts of the pre-Upaniṣadic thinkers. The Upaniṣads stand midway between them on the one hand, and the Vedānta-Sūtras on the other. The Vedānta-Sūtras represent the full-grown tree; and the different schools of commentary that arose after and out of them, stand for the manifold branches and blossoms of this tree.

The earliest pre-Upaniṣadic thoughts on Brahama-vidyā have been mostly lost for us, for the obvious reason that they were not reduced to systematic composition and writing. But traces of them may still be found in the Upaniṣads themselves.

1 The first thing that compels our attention in this connection, is, of course, the frequent references to the Ṛks. The Ṛg-veda, as a whole, is not a book on Brahma-vidyā; it is hardly one book and

period e. g. Ellora, Durgā has eight hands, Pārvatī four and Lakṣmī (Śrī) only two. The reference to Umā in the *Kena Upaniṣad*, and the Kalī or Piḍāri images in South Indian villages so universally in evidence to-day and referred to in *South Indian Inscriptions*, leave hardly any room for doubt as to this compromise of the Aryan religion with other faiths, by including their gods in an all-comprehensive scheme.

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its parts have little organic connection with one another. But there are in it verses that express high philosophical truths. And it is obvious from the frequent references to it found in the Upaniṣads, that the study of the Ṛks and their interpretation, were already leading to the conceptions of Brahma-vidyā. The Ṛks were already a sacred lore and the Ṛṣis, to whom they were revealed, were already occupying an important place in the intellectual world of the time. And, as in Plato's time, a reference to and a quotation from Homer gave point and authority to an argument, so in the philosophical debates of the Upaniṣadic times also, quotations from and references to the Ṛg-veda were always in place.

The homage paid by the Upaniṣads to the Ṛg-veda assumes two forms:—

(*a*) One way, in which this is done, is the actual quotation of verses from the Ṛks. Sometimes, these verses are quoted approvingly as an authority for an argument and sometimes also as containing in a nutshell the truths that the Upaniṣads elaborate more fully. Occasionally, again, a Ṛk is quoted as the concluding prayer of a book. Thus, the Īśā concludes with a Ṛk prayer: 'Agne naya supathā' &c. Other examples of quotations from the Ṛg-veda are Śv. iii. 14, where a Ṛk verse is quoted without any formal acknowledgment. Of course, this acknowledgment was not necessary, the Ṛg-veda being the common property of all and too well-known to scholars of the time to require any formal specification.

Muṇḍaka iii. 2. 10 also professes to be a Ṛk, but unfortunately it cannot be found in the collection of Ṛks that we now possess. Possibly, it is only a paraphrase of some Ṛk, and not a *verbatim* quotation.

Bṛ. ii. 5. 16 contains a *verbatim* quotation from the first Maṇḍala of the Ṛg-veda. Bṛ. iv. 4. 23, like the passage of the Muṇḍ. referred to above, also professes to be a Ṛk, but is not a *verbatim* quotation. It, too, may be a paraphrase, or may be a misquotation. If the quotations be assumed to be correct, the fact that they are not found in the existing collection of Ṛks that we now call the Ṛg-veda, would lead to the hypothesis that there were other Ṛks also which have been lost. But it would be a bold—almost an extravagant—hypothesis to make, on grounds like the above.

(*b*) There is another way in which the indebtedness of the Upaniṣads to the Ṛg-veda has found expression. Not only are references made to particular Ṛks, but the name of a Ṛṣi also is often cited and

the *mantra* revealed to him is discussed, in order to find out its inner meaning. Thus: Muṇḍaka iii. 2. 11 quotes Aṅgiras. Taitt. i. 7. 1 refers to a Ṛṣi, but does not give his name. Śaṅkara, too, does not know who he is, and thinks that the term 'Ṛṣi' here may mean the Vedas in general, or, it may also mean some Ṛṣi whom obviously he cannot name. ('etad-darśana-sampanno vā *kaścidṛṣi*').

Aitareya ii. 5 similarly quotes a Ṛṣi, and we are immediately told that the Ṛṣi quoted is Vāmadeva. The Ṛk quoted here belongs to the fourth Maṇḍala. Bṛ. i. 4. 10 also mentions Vāmadeva and quotes the Ṛk just preceding the above one and Bṛ. ii. 5. 16, as pointed out before, is a *verbatim* quotation, and gives the name of the Ṛṣi also, which is Dadhyac.

We do not pretend to give an exhaustive list of such quotations and references. The examples that we have given will show that germs of Brahma-vidyā were known to be existing in some of the advanced Ṛk-verses; and that the Upaniṣadic thinkers did not forget to tap these sources.

But besides these Vedic thinkers, there were, it seems, other precursors also of Brahma-vidyā; other thinkers also preceded the Upaniṣads and led up to them. They came after the Vedas but before the Upaniṣads.

2 Express references to earlier thinkers are found in several passages of the Upaniṣads. We have no reason to think that they were Vedic Ṛṣis. On the contrary, the way in which they are spoken of, shows that they were earlier teachers of Brahma-vidyā, who had come after the Vedic period and had been carrying on the study of the subject before the Upaniṣadic teachers.

Thus Īśā 10 refers to earlier teachers and says: "This is what we heard from the learned,—those, that is to say, who explained these things for us." Kena i. 3 is identical with this expression, there being a difference in one word only.

In Kaṭha i. 1. 21 the interesting statement is made that the questions raised there—undoubtedly questions of Brahma-vidyā—were very subtle and that even the gods had long meditated upon them. We do not care what the gods did or did not. But the statement obviously means that the questions were not being asked for the first time and that there had been men who had made an earlier study of them.

3 Besides this somewhat vague reference to the 'ancients,' there are also some more specific references to earlier Brahmavādins. Thus,

Kaṭha i. 3. 1 uses the expression 'Brahmavid' and seems to refer to a class of thinkers who went by this name and who had already attained a position in the speculative world.

Ch. ii, 24. 1 similarly speaks of the Brahmavādins. The difference between a Brahmavid and a Brahmavādin is one of emphasis and is practically nothing. The former means 'one who knows' and the latter 'one who speaks of' Brahma; obviously, one is not possible without the other and they imply each other.

Śv. i. 1 also starts with a reference to the Brahmavādins.

As before, the list of examples given here is not supposed to be exhaustive. But they are enough to show that a class of thinkers had already been in existence, who derived their name from the subject of their speculation and were called Brahmavādins.

A very interesting support to this position is found in Sāyaṇa's remarks on Aitareya Brāhmaṇa i. 3. Certain passages there he understands as giving the opinion of the Brahmavādins. According to Sāyaṇa, therefore, at the time of the Brāhmaṇas, the Brahmavādins had occupied such a position that the authors of the Brāhmaṇas had now and then to quote their views.

4 That the Upaniṣads did not grow on a virgin soil is also proved by references found in them to other earlier branches of culture, which also appear to have contributed to the growth of Brahma-vidyā.

Ch. vii. 1 gives a fairly long list of sciences that are said to have been studied by one who pretended to have received higher education. This list includes, besides the Vedas, such subjects as history, tradition (purāṇa), science of the stars, science of precious stones, &c. All these are of course different from Ātmavidyā or Brahmavidyā and cannot compare with it; Brahmavidyā was incomparably superior to them all. But when a student comes to read Brahmavidyā with a knowledge of these, can Brahmavidyā remain absolutely uninfluenced by them?

Br. ii. 4. 10, iv. 1. 2, and iv. 5. 11, also give lists of diverse sciences. These lists also include the Vedas and the Upaniṣads, along with history (itihāsa), tradition (purāṇa), Sūtras, exposition of Sūtras, &c. But there is one interesting subject mentioned here which deserves more than a passing notice; it is Ślokas or Verses. These also are mentioned as a subject deserving of serious study, just like history, the Vedas, and the Upaniṣads, etc. What these Ślokas stand for, we shall presently see. But it is obvious from these references to them that they also constituted a branch of the culture which pre-

ceded the Upaniṣads and must have contributed to their growth and development.

5 The importance of the Ślokas mentioned in the list of Vidyās given above, can be gauged by the fact that in more than a dozen places, Ślokas have been quoted *verbatim* by the authors of the Upaniṣads. We give below some of these references, without pretending to be exhaustive:

Praśna: iv. 11; v. 6; vi. 6. Taitt. ii. 1. 1. *et. seq.* (At the end of each Anuvāka, the discussion is wound up with a Śloka which forms the beginning of the next Anuvāka).

Ch. v. 2. 9; v. 10. 9; v. 24. 5; viii. 6. 6.

Br. i. 5. 1; i. 5. 23; ii. 2. 3; iv. 3. 11; iv. 4. 6, 7. & 8.

In all the above cases, Ślokas are quoted. This extensive quotation and the repeated reference to them as a branch of culture, show that the Ślokas belonged to what was presumably a fairly well-developed literature. Ślokas are generally introduced to wind up a discussion where they are apparently intended as an aid to memory. Sometimes (e.g. Br. ii. 2. 3), the Śloka quoted starts a discussion which then consists in only an elucidation of the meaning of the Śloka itself.

In one or two cases, it has so happened that a Śloka quoted by a prose Upaniṣad occurs as a part of the text of a verse Upaniṣad, but there is no acknowledgment of borrowing either way. Thus, Ch. viii. 6. 6 quotes a passage as a Śloka which is also found as part of the text of the Kaṭha in ii. 6. 16. Again, Br. iv. 4. 7 quotes as a Śloka a verse that occurs in Kaṭha ii. 6. 14.

Now, two hypotheses are possible here. It may be that the Chāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka were only quoting from the Kaṭha which they described as Śloka, because it consists of verses. Or, it may be, that both the Ch. and the Br. on the one hand, and the Kaṭha on the other, were quoting from a common earlier source. But the Kaṭha has been so frequently quoted not only by other Upaniṣads, but also by subsequent literature such as the Bhagavadgītā, that the first hypothesis seems more likely here. Besides, to say that the Kaṭha also, like the other books, was quoting from a third common source, would reduce a large portion of this book to mere unacknowledged quotation.

On the other hand, all the Ślokas quoted by an Upaniṣad, cannot, as indicated above, be found in another Upaniṣad. That proves the existence of a Śloka literature previous to the Upaniṣads. Or, shall

we say that all the Ślokas quoted by the prose Upaniṣads belonged to some verse Upaniṣad or other? In that case, too, we have to say that an earlier philosophical literature has been lost ; for, some of these verse Upaniṣads are certainly not extant. Perhaps the literature to which the Ślokas belonged, was never reduced to any definite form and only subsisted in oral tradition handed down from generation to generation.

Whatever hypothesis we may adopt about these Ślokas, one thing is certain, viz., that there was a philosphical literature other than the Vedas and other than the Upaniṣads as they have come down to us; and that it intervened between these two.

6 There is another fact that deserves consideration here. There are several passages which are found in more than one Upaniṣad. These common passages occur in the body of the Upaniṣads as part of the authors' texts and are not acknowledged by any of them as a quotation. In the case of the Ślokas, the prose Upaniṣads usually introduce them with the prefatory remark '*Here is a Śloka*,' and so on. But the common passages which also are verses are not introduced with any such remark which might indicate that they were quotations. They occur in the body of the book as part of the author's own language; yet curiously enough, they agree literally with passages in other books. We give below a few examples :

Kaṭha i. 2. 5 is identical with Muṇḍ. i. 2. 8.

Kaṭha i. 2. 22 is identical with Muṇḍaka iii. 2. 3.

Kaṭha ii. 5. 15 is identical with Muṇḍ. ii. 2. 10 and Śvet. vi. 14.

Kaṭha ii. 6. 17 (first line) identical with Śvet. iii. 13 (first line).

Śvet. iii. 20 is identical with Kaṭha i. 2. 20 (The words are the same; there is a slight variation in the order).

Śvet. iv. 6-7 is identical with Muṇḍ. iii. 1. 1-2.

These are all cases of verse Upaniṣads using common verses without any acknowledgment either way. They cannot be cases of accidental coincidence of language. Either one was quoting the other, or, both were using verses that were common property, and therefore, must have existed from before. Against the hypothesis of mutual quotation, we have to bear in mind that they were too numerous to be allowed to remain unacknowledged. The more likely hypothesis, therefore, is that the authors of all these Upaniṣads were using verses that were public property of the intellectual world of the time.

Besides the examples given above, there are also some cases where

a prose Upaniṣad quotes a verse, without the usual introduction that it is a verse (or śloka), and that verse is found in another Upaniṣad. Thus:

Br. iv. 4. 10 is identical with Īśā 9.

Br. iv. 4. 11 is identical with Īśā 3 (with slight variation).

Br. v. 15 is identical with Īśā 15-18.

In addition to all these, there are the thought-parallels—the use of common metaphors and anecdotes. For example, the story of Bālāki-Ajātaśatru occurs in more than one Upaniṣad. The same is true of many other anecdotes. Sometimes, even a metaphor is found repeated in more than one book, e.g. Śvet. i. 14 uses the very same metaphor as Kaivalya i. 11.

What do all these facts show? There must have been a common intellectual stock upon which all our Upaniṣadic authors drew. The cultural continuity between the Vedas and the Upaniṣads does not appear to have been so hopelessly disturbed as has been so often supposed. And the Upaniṣads do not appear to have originated outside the sphere of influence of Brāhmaṇical circles, and only subsequently grafted on them. The cultural continuity that is distinctly traceable makes it clear that the Upaniṣads were never free from Brāhmaṇical influences. After the Vedas and before the Upaniṣads, generations of teachers must have laboured before the Upaniṣadic ideas assumed the form in which we find them in the Upaniṣads. Perhaps they wrote no books and left no schools behind; but yet their thoughts are not all dead and must have influenced the thought of their immediate successors. They stood to the Upaniṣadic philosophers more or less in the same relation as the Ionian philosophers stood to the later Greek philosophers. They made the soil ready and sowed the seeds; the subsequent care-taking was in the hands of other generations of thinkers. It was under the care of these later men that the plants grew and gave out a fine foliage.

Like the Ionian thinkers again, these pre-Upaniṣadic philosophers have left little else than stray sayings; and it is these sayings, perhaps, that are preserved in the Ślokas. It is no longer possible for us to get at their thought-systems. Only scraps have been preserved; the thinkers have effaced themselves so completely—even their names have been so clean forgotten—that it is impossible to say how many and who they were, and, which sayings belong to whom. Only in the case of those who were raised to the pedestal of a Vedic Ṛṣi, and who, on that account, were more famous, have the names come

down to us. The rest have completely disappeared; only their stray utterances are left to bear witness to the fact that they came and went.

In a sense, even the teachers mentioned in the Upaniṣads,—our Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka and Śvetaketu—were pre-Upaniṣadic teachers; for it is more likely than not that they were not contemporary with the writers of the books. But after all, the Upaniṣads give an account of their teachings; and even though the account may have been written later, the Upaniṣadic ideas are their ideas. What we are suggesting here is that they were the inheritors of a long past; they were preceded by a long line of teachers, most of whom have been forgotten. The Vaṃśas preserved in some of the Upaniṣads seem however to retain some of these names.

Brahma-vidyā did not flash into existence all on a sudden in the Upaniṣads. The grandeur of the Upaniṣadic Brahmavidyā was not attained in a day. Others also worked at it and contributed their quota to the building up of this magnificent edifice. They did their work but have left no trace of themselves; and even their work is more or less merged in the larger whole for which they laboured.

The recognition of these forgotten pre-Upaniṣadic teachers is important for us, in so far as it enables us to see in its true perspective the position of the Upaniṣads in the complex mass of Śruti literature and also in so far as it enables us to see the stages through which Brahmavidyā developed.

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

The Evolution of the State

Almost all the theories which western philosophers have propounded to explain the genesis of the state have been forestalled by their Hindu predecessors. It will be too much to expect detailed discussions on each one of these theories, but some important conclusions have been repeated in several ancient works. Attempts have been made to discover the necessary cause which lies at the basis of the state and also to investigate the events, conditions and circumstances which gave rise to states. Philosophical speculation has been mingled with historical and inductive knowledge to explain the genesis of political society.

Indian literature was not much studied in the days of Bluntschli and therefore it was possible for him to make a remark like this:

Even the ancient sacred books of the Jews, which inform us of the first rise of the Jewish state, pre-suppose the Egyptian state, without telling us anything of its origin. Perhaps the Indian state served as a model for Egyptian; but *the sacred writings of the Indians give us no light on the subject.*[1]

It will be the object of this paper to point out to the mass of light thrown by Hindu literature on the rise and genesis of the state.

We are here asked to solve two problems:

(a) What was the original or pre-statal condition of primitive humanity?

(1) Were the first generations of men living in a state of innocence, bliss and contentment? or

(2) Were they living in a Hobbesian state of ceaseless warfare and misery?

(b) Did man emerge from this non-statal or non-political condition to the political condition through

(3) the beneficent interference of God's will,

(4) force,

(5) inherent necessity or natural impulse, or

(6) social contract?

The first question has led to the theory of the golden age.

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1 The Theory of the State, p. 259.

The second has given rise to the belief that the state of nature was a state of war.

The third has resulted in the acceptance of the theory of the divine origin of the state.

The fourth preaches the dogma that the state is the result of force.

The fifth develops the doctrine of the state being a natural institution.

The sixth leads to the conclusion that the state is a free work of contract.

Each of these theories has been anticipated by Hindu philosophers. We will take up their study in the order given above.

The state as a necessary evil

The most popular theory is that of the golden age. Well did Bluntschli say that the popular[1] imagination has dreamed of the golden age of Paradise, in which there were as yet no evils and no injustice, while all enjoyed themselves in the unlimited freedom and happiness of their peaceful existence. Everyone was like another. Then too there was neither ruler nor subject, nor magistrate nor judge, nor army, nor taxes. In comparison with such an ideal the later political condition of man must appear perversion and decline; thus the state was thought of as a necessary evil, at least as an institution of compulsion and constraint to avoid greater evils.

There is an extraordinary resemblance in the above thoughts and the expressions used by Bhīṣma in his discourse with king Yudhiṣṭhira on the beginnings of sovereignty in the golden age. We are told that[2] at first there was no sovereignty, no king, no punishment, and no punisher. All men used to protect one another piously. As they thus lived, righteously protecting one another, they found the task in time to be painful. Error then possessed their hearts. Having become subject to error, their virtue began to wane. They became covetous, lustful and wrathful.

Unrestrained indulgence set in. Men began to utter what they chose. All distinctions between clean and unclean food and between vice and virtue disappeared. During this confusion the Vedas

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1 Theory of the State, pp. 283-4.

2 Mbh., Śānti Parva, chap. 59. 13-20.

and after them righteousness disappeared. Thereupon the gods supplicated Brahman to protect the world of men. Brahman compiled the science of polity and required the people to organize themselves according to the dictates of that science.

Nārada has similarly speculated upon the origin of law and justice. When mortals were bent on doing their duty alone and were habitually veracious, says he, there existed neither law-suits, nor hatred, nor selfishness. "The practice of duty having died out among mankind, law-suits have been introduced and the king has been appointed to decide law-suits, because he has authority to punish."[1]

He is supported by Bṛhaspati who remarks that in former ages men were strictly virtuous and devoid of mischievous propensities. Now that avarice and malice have taken possession of them, judicial proceedings have been established.[2]

Plato too can be said to have subscribed to this view of the existence of the Golden cycle.

In the primeval world, and a long while before the cities came into being whose settlements we have described, there is said to have been in the time of Cronos a blessed rule and life, of which the best ordered of existing states is a copy.[3]

Bhīṣma's discourse leads us to the conclusion that the state is a divinely organized institution. It is not the result of contract or social compact. The state, law, justice are not necessary for virtuous men. Neither kings nor judges are needed for righteous people. The Kṛta age of the world is supposed by our philosophers to possess virtuous men and women alone, and hence they had no necessity for the state. It is evident now that the theory of the golden age leads to the belief that the government is a necessary evil.

The theory of anarchy

Hobbes and Spinoza did not believe in the existence of the golden age on this earth. They postulated a state of war as the normal condition of the most primitive man. The natural state of man was 'a condition of war of every one against every one.' Men like beasts were ceaselessly warring with each other. Rousseau's description of anarchical primeval state is inimitable, but it is equalled if

1 Nārada, I. 2. 2 Bṛhaspati, i. 1.

3 Laws, 713; Statesman, 291.

not surpassed, by the statements in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. It has been suggested by many scholars that the expressions of Hobbes and Spinoza are to be understood rather as a logical statement of what would be the condition of man apart from civil society, than as distinctly implying a historical society. In this sense the Hindu account of the non-political condition of mankind is full of interesting details.

Bṛhaspati on anarchy

Anarchy is the worse of all conditions. In kingdoms torn by anarchy citizens devour one another. Sinful men enjoy by robbing the wealth of others. The wealth of one is taken by two, that of those two is taken away by many acting together. He, who is not a slave, is made a slave. Women are forcibly carried away. Every thing is destroyed untimely, every part of the country is laid waste by robbers, everybody falls into dreadful hell.

In the absence of king's protection men would disobey or even injure their very parents, even their very preceptors, guests and elders.

If the king did not protect, all persons possessing wealth would have to meet with death, imprisonment and persecution while the very idea of property would be lost.

If the king did not protect, all restrictions about marriage would disappear; all matters of agriculture and trade would fall into confusion; morality and the three Vedas would disappear.

In the absence of king's protection, all kinds of injustice would commence; intermixture of castes would occur; and famine would devastate the kingdom.

In the absence of king's protection, all things, filled with fear and anxiety, and becoming senseless and uttering cries of misery, would be ruined in no time.

As, O king, all creatures cannot see one another and sink in utter darkness if the sun and the moon do not rise, as fishes in shallow water and birds in a safe place dart and move about as they please (for a time) and repeatedly attack and grind one another with force and then are destroyed, so men sink in utter darkness and meet with destruction if they have no king to protect them like a herd of cattle without the herdsman to take care of them.

If the king did not observe the duty of protection, the strong would by force misappropriate the property of the weak, and if the

latter refuse to surrender to them easily, their very lives would be taken.

Nobody then, would be able to say about any of his belongings, this is mine. Wives, sons, food, and other kinds of property would cease to exist.

Ruin would befall everything if the king did not observe the duty of protection. Wicked men would by force appropriate the cars, dresses, ornaments, precious stones and other kinds of property belonging to others if the king did not protect.[1]

This theory implies that the state is necessarily a beneficial institution. There can be no society, no peace, no order, no progress, nor even existence without government. The benefits of the existence of the state are inestimable. Chaos and anarchy are on one side, life, property, morality, order, and progress are ensured by the other.

We need not suppose an inherent contradiction in the preceding two doctrines. They were harmonized with one another by Hindu philosophers when they averred that in the beginning humanity was living in an idyllic state of Earthly Paradise; time came when the people fell from that pure, noble and high life through passion, ambition, delusion, rapacity; this fallen humanity was subjected to the beastly war of every one against every one and then emerged king, law, and government. Such an hypothesis of the origin of body politic and the justification of government is also found in Aristotle:

"He who by nature and not by mere accident is without a state, is either above *humanity* or below it; he is a 'tribeless, lawless, hearthless one,' whom Homer denounces—the outcast who is a man of war."[2]

State v. Anarchy

Many Hindu books refer to the popular maxim that the world is dominated by the Mātsya Nyāya—the Logic of the Fish. It is merely another name for the Darwinian struggle for existence, for the Spencerian formula of the Survival of the Fittest, Marxian axiom of class-struggle or the race-struggle of Gobineau and Cumplowicz. The Hindu formula of the logic of the fish is all comprehensive and it

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1 Cf. Śānti Parva, chapters 67, 68, 90, 91. Manu, vii. 20-25, Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā K., chap. 67.

2 Aristotle's Politics, 1. 2. 9.

implies universal struggle going on in every place and every time. The Indian philosophers were wide awake. They witnessed this life and death struggle among the fishes, birds, animals and men too. The latter are as much inherently subject to the same law of destruction as the lower animals, but they can be saved from its ruthless operation by the interference of the state. The rule of law, the fear of punishments puts a stop to this struggle. Thus while extreme individualistic writers posited this dogma of the survival of the fittest as a beneficent and moral law for the betterment of the world, the Hindu philosophers like the modern socialists favoured the interference of the state for checking the destructive operations of the law. The antiquity, popularity and significance of this important contribution to political science will be evident from the following passages :

The stronger will eat up the weaker just as men eat fish on the spit. The stronger will eat up the weaker as the strong fish make a prey of the weak fish in the water.[1]

We have heard that men, in days of yore, in consequence of anarchy, were ruined, devouring one another like stronger fishes devouring the weaker ones in the water. The strong will oppress the weak after the manner of the fish in the water.[2]

As all creatures cannot see one another and sink in utter darkness if the sun and moon do not rise, as fishes in shallow water and birds in a safe place dart and move about as they please for a time and then repeatedly attack and grind one another with force and then are destroyed, so men sink in utter darkness and meet with destruction if they have no king to protect them like a herd of cattle without a herdsman to protect them.[3]

In kingless lands no law is known,
And none may call his wealth his own ;
Each preys on each from hour to hour,
As fish the weaker fish devour.[4]

In this world where beings are related to one another as food and consumer, when proper chastisements are withheld, the exertions of a king to keep his subjects under control, become as futile as those of an angler trying to catch fish without the help of a rod.[5]

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1 Manu vii. 20 ; Yuktikalpataru, p. 15.
2 Śānti Parva, 67. 16-17.
3 Śānti Parva, chap. 67.
4 Griffith's Rāmāyaṇa, ii. lxvii.
5 Kāmandaki, ii. 40.

There is no race in the world without a king. I do believe that the gods introduced the magical name among men in their alarm, fearing that otherwise the strong would devour the weak, as great fishes eat the little.[1]

According to Raghunāthavarman, the logic of the fish is an accompaniment of the logic of the monsters. The latter implies two equal forces neutralising each other or two men of equal power fighting and destroying each other like the traditional monsters Sunda and Upasunda. The logic of the fish is used only in those cases when two facts or men are of unequal strength and the one can overpower the other. It is frequently mentioned in the Purāṇas and books on history. An illustration is given in the story of Prahlāda described in the Yogavāsiṣṭha. "By this time there came to be in the Nether region an extremely kingless or anarchic state characterised by the deplorable logic of the fish. As the strong fishes make an end of the weak ones, so in that region where anarchy ruled supreme the strong men destroyed the weak ones."[2]

When the law of punishment is kept in abeyance, it gives rise to such disorder as is implied in the proverb of fishes; for in the absence of a magistrate the strong will swallow the weak; but under his protection the weak resist the strong.[3]

In the absence of punishment, strong people will devour the children, the old, the sick persons, ascetics, priests, women and widows just in the manner of the logic of the fish.[4]

The Bhāgvata preaches that the handless creatures are the means of sustenance to the beings having hands (human beings), the footless (all vegetables) to the quadrupeds, and the smaller to the greater ones; in this way all weaker beings are the means of sustaining life to other beings of greater power.[5]

The Viṣṇudharmottara thus depicts the evil consequences of the universal strife in the non-political state.

"If law were not to defend, all will be drowned in blinding darkness. Hence law controls those who ought to be controlled and punishes men of violent tempers.

If the law should fail to protect the people, they following the

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1 G. A. Jacob's Laukikanyāyāñjali, ii, p. 57.
2 Ibid., p. 57.
3 Arthaśāstra, Eng. tr., p. 10.
4 Matsya Purāṇa, ccxxv. 9.
5 Bhāgavata, I. 13. 46.

principle of the logic of the fish, would eat up the children, the old, the afflicted, the ascetics, the priests, the maimed and the women. The gods, demons, divine serpents, men, animals, birds, all shall transcend their own limits in the absence of the rule of law.[1]

The state as a divine institution

The state is a prototype of the God's kingdom on earth. All conquerors and despots have pinned their faith to this theory. Alexander declared himself to be the Son of Zeus. Akbar by starting the Din-i-ilahi and accepting the prostrations of his followers raised himself to the status of a divine being. The Emperor of Vijayanagara had the title of Parameśvara—God himself. The Austrian king too appropriated very high sounding titles. The formal titles of the Italian king are no less funny.

The English king is the Lord's Anointed. The Kaiser had the temerity in this twentieth century to openly declare to his troops that he was the God's vicegerent on earth : "Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, as German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am his weapon, his sword and his vicegerent. Woe to the disobedient. Death to cowards and unbelievers."

These are the remnants of the theory of the divine personalities of sovereigns. The age-long institution of monarchy has taken deep roots in the human mind and it is impossible to root out the sentiments and beliefs in 'the divinity that doth hedge a king.'

While there are many passages in the Indian political literature which propound the belief in the divine direction of human affairs, there are other statements that distinctly lay down that kings are not only representatives or vicegerents of God on earth, but incarnations of God himself. The second is only the necessary and logical consequence of the first. In India as in Europe the same process was worked out.

In the middle ages the chiefs of Christendom were looked upon as divine personages being representatives of God himself, but later on they grew to be the incarnations of God. All authority emanated from the divine source of the person of a king. Louis XIV gave expression to this belief in the words : 'We Princes are the living

1 Viṣṇudharmottara, I. 71. 9-18.

images of Him, who is all holy and all powerful.' His minister Bossent explained and fortified the position of his sovereign by maintaining that 'kings are the ministers of God, and his vicegerents on earth. The Throne of a King is not the throne of a man, but the throne of God himself. The person of a King is sacred and it is sacrilege to harm them. They are Gods and partake in some fashion of the divine independence.'

Divinity of kings

In the Hindu political system too, the divinity of rulers has been emphatically taught. The primeval law-giver Manu lays down that a king has been created by God through the eternal essences of Indra, Wind, Yama, Sun, Fire, Varuṇa, Moon, Kubera. As a sovereign has been made from the essences of the great gods like Indra, etc., he overpowers all living beings through his energy. Like the sun itself, he burns the eyes and minds of men. There is none capable on the earth to see his face. He becomes Fire, Wind, Sun, Moon, Yama, Kubera, Varuṇa, and the great Indra through his influence.

As if these assertions were not sufficient to justify the absolutism of sovereigns, Manu teaches his readers the significant lessons that they should not look upon a king as a mere man. Even when he is a child, he should not be ignored. He (in the form of a man) sits upon the throne as a great God.[1] These ordinances inculcate the sacred duty of passive obedience to the king. The Nītiprakāśikā of Vaiśampāyana faithfully reproduces the above doctrine in the very words of Manu viii. 1-7).

The high water mark of this doctrine is reached in the teachings of Bhīṣma[2] who states on the authority of the sacred books that in crowning a king it is Indra that is crowned, hence a person who is desirous of prosperity should worship the king as he would worship Indra himself. "What other cause can there be for which all men obey one person, save the *divinity of the monarch.* A king is really a portion of Viṣṇu on earth. No one should obey a king by taking him for a man, for he is in sooth a great god in human form."

This doctrine of the divine personality of rulers led to the dangerous doctrine of the divine rights, or to absolute and irresponsible

1 Manu, chap. vii. 3-8.

2 Śānti P., lxvii. 4; lix. 131, 134; lxviii. 40.

sovereignty. In India too we find an anticipation of the principle that the king can do no wrong.

The full significance of this monstrous maxim can be realized from the commentaries of Blackstone. He observes that "the king is not only incapable of doing wrong, but even of thinking wrong; he can never mean to do an improper thing; in him is no folly or weakness."

Such an incredible theory that the king, though an ordinary man, is not liable to err; that he is ever right and just; that his acts though oppressive, unrighteous or brutal, are not wrongful; that he is not amenable to any earthly court of law; that he is absolutely inmune from punishment, has led to the dismal dictum that "the erring prince must be left to the rebukes of his own conscience, and to his personal accountability to God alone."

King's responsibility

The Indian political philosophy has not gone so far as to confer immunities upon the king. He cannot indeed be called as a witness in a court of law, but many others have got the same privilege.[1] He can be punished. The sentence is in some cases more severe than on ordinary offenders. Kings are not law-makers. They are not above law. Law is above kings.[2] Then law is to be interpreted by Brāhmaṇa judges. Laws are to be administered with the help of legal councillors. Kings are inferior in social status to a Ṛṣi, Brahmavādin, Brahmacārin, etc.[3]

King can be even deposed for the wrongs that are done by him.

The subjects have the right to revolt against him[4] and invite some other king to rule over them as was done in the bloodless English Revolution of 1688.

The king is actually beaten during the ceremonies of the coronation by the representatives of the four classes.[5]

The king is responsible both to the people before whom he takes

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1 Manu, viii. 65-68; Nārada, i. 147-171; 177-197; Bṛ. Up., vii. 13-14.

2 Manu, vii. 14-27.

3 Arth., i. 3; Manu, vii. 41; Śukra, i. 68-69, 142-5.

4 Mahāvaṃsa, pp. 19, 53, 261.

5 Śatapatha, v. 4. 4. 7.

oaths to faithfully execute the laws of the land,[1] and to be responsible to God. He commits a crime as well as a sin in violating a certain law.

The king has been called a slave of the people, whose wages are the taxes obtained from his subjects for their protection.[2]

For these and other reasons the Hindu political science does not recognize an irresponsible, unerring, unpunishable and unjust king. *It takes him to be endowed with divine functions rather than with divine rights.*

The verses of Manu have been perverted in interpretation by the interpolatory verses regarding the divinity of kings. Such passages are spurious, as they are totally against the spirit of the laws of Manu.

Even a king of divine origin like Veṇa was not merely deposed but murdered on account of his tyranny. He was succeeded by Pṛthu who took solemn oaths not to rule capriciously, but righteously, impartially, and according to the dictates of ethics and politics. The Hindu Śāstras idolize constitutional kings alone. Capricious, despotic, tyrannical rulers are condemned to hell in the life to come and the loss of their kingdoms here.

Divine duties and not rights

The statement regarding the creation of kings from the essences of the gods is to be found in several works. The real significance reverses the meaning ordinarily given to those passages. There is no straining of the sense, and no attempt at reading thoughts not found in the books. The sense is so clear that anyone who runs will be convinced of the pregnant ideas embedded in the verses.

Let us first take the Śukranīti. It is emphatically stated therein that the king is made out of the permanent elements of Indra, Vāyu, Yama, Sun, Fire, Varuṇa, Moon, and Kubera, and is the Lord of both the immovable and movable worlds. Śukra has himself so explained this passage that he leaves no doubt as to its exact significance. The king has to perform certain duties which are assigned to the gods in the kingdom of nature. *He resembles them in the performance of those functions.*

Says Śukra:

Just as Indra is the receiver of his share and clever in protecting the people, so should also be the king.

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1 Śānti P., lix. 102-107. 2 Śukra, i. 375.

As the wind is the diffuser of scents, so the king is the guide in good and evil actions. As the sun is the dispeller of darkness, so is the king the impeller of religion and destroyer of irreligion.

As Yama is the god who punishes human beings after death, so also the monarch is the punisher of offences in this world.

Like Fire, the prince is the purifier and the enjoyer of all gifts.

As Varuṇa sustains everything by supplying moisture, so also the king maintains everybody by his wealth.

As the moon pleases human beings by its rays, so also the king satisfies everybody by his virtues and activities.

Like the god of wealth the king should be vigilant in protecting treasure and possessions.

As the moon does not please if deprived of one of its parts, so the king does not flourish unless he has all the parts described above.

The preceding passages have emphasized upon the eight important duties of rulers.

These can be summed up as under:

(1) Levying taxes and fully protecting the subjects in return.

(2) Establishing virtue and eradicating vice.

(3) Spread of education and orthodoxy and the rooting out of heterodoxy and ignorance.

(4) Administration of justice.

(5) Realization of revenues.

(6) Generous expenditure of what has been collected as revenue for the good of the public.

(7) Procuring means for the amusements of the people.

(8) Security and increase of national wealth.

It is the doctrine of the divine duties of kings and not of the divine rights of sovereigns that has been expounded by political science in India.

Śukra is not satisfied with showing close resemblance between the important functions of earthly kings and the powers of nature. He seeks his analogies from the world in which we live, move and have our being. According to him, the sovereign *is always possessed of the attributes of seven persons*, e.g., father, mother, preceptor, brother, friend, Vaiśravaṇa or Kubera and Yama.[1]

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1 Śukra, i. 153-162

As a *father* makes his offspring qualified, (i.e., by education), so the king can endow his subjects with good qualities.

The *mother* pardons offences and nourishes the children, (so also the king).

The *guru* is an adviser to the disciple and teaches him good lessons, (so also the king).

The *brother* takes out his own legal share from the ancestral property (so also the king receives his own share of the people's wealth and produce).

The *friend* is the confidante and keeper (or protector) of one's self, wife, wealth, and secrets, (so also the king).

Kubera gives wealth, (so also the king), and *Yama* is the punisher (so also the king).

These attributes abide in the king who is prospering. These seven qualities should never be deserted by a king[1]

These injunctions are supported by Manu and Bhīṣma in an unequivocal language thus:

The lord of all creatures, viz., Manu, has declared that the king has seven attributes: he is mother, father, preceptor, protector, fire, Vaiśravaṇa, and Yama.

The king by treating his people mercifully is called their *father*. The subject, who plays him false, is born in his next life as an animal or a bird.

By doing good to them and by supporting the poor, the king becomes a *mother* to his people. By consuming the wicked he is regarded as *fire* and by restraining the sinful he is called *Yama*.

By making presents of riches to his dear ones, the king is regarded as *Kubera*, the granter of wishes. By delivering instructions on morality and virtue, he becomes a *preceptor*, and by exercising the duty of protection he becomes the *protector*.

That king, who pleases the inhabitants of his cities and provinces by means of his virtues, is never divested of his kingdom for observing such a duty.

That king, who knows how to honour his subjects, never suffers misery either in this world or in the next.[2]

In another place, Bhīṣma thus emphasizes the character of the king as mother:

1 Śukranīti, Eng. trans., p. 13. 2 Śānti P., chap. 139, 102-107.

The king should always treat his subjects as a mother does the child of her womb. Hear, O king, why this is desirable.

As the mother, even not caring for those objects which she likes best, seeks the well-being of her child alone, so, forsooth, should kings treat their subjects.

A righteous king, O foremost one of Kuru's race, should always act in such a manner, as to sacrifice what he loves most for the sake of securing the well-being of his people.[1]

In the 68th chapter of the Śānti Parva, it has been declared that the king puts on five different forms according to five different occasions. He becomes Fire, Sun, Death, Kubera and Yama.

Then Bṛhaspati similarly explains the import of these functions.[2]

This idea of functions has been brought out in another discourse of saint Utathya. He advised the emperor Māndhātṛ to *imitate* Yama in his conduct by restraining all his subjects without making any distinctions. It is further pointed out that the king is said to *resemble* the thousand-eyed Indra, because whatever is regarded by the king as righteous is accepted as such by all. The saint summed up his teachings by saying that Indra, Yama, Varuṇa and all the great royal sages had acted upon principles expounded by him, therefore the emperor should follow the same conduct.[3]

In the Matsya Purāṇa and Viṣṇudharmottara[4] kings are advised to follow the functions of the various deities in their treatment of subjects. Rulers ought to imitate the sun, the moon, earth, wind, fire, Yama, Varuṇa and Indra. The similarities in the characters of the gods and kings are said to be as follows:

Gods	Kings
Sun	None should be able to gaze at the king by reason of his splendour.
Moon	People are mightily delighted to see him.
	Just as people feel joy on seeing the full moon, so the officials should be delighted at his sight.
Yama	Impartially punishes both friends and foes.
Varuṇa	Sinners are effectively caught in the nets of the king.

1 Śānti P., ch. 57, 44-46. 2 Bṛhaspati, 41-47.
3 Śānti P., ch. 91, 44-57.
4 Matsya Purāṇa, ch. 226; Viṣṇudharmottara, i. 71. 1-10.

Agni	Kings ought to be valorous and burning to the wicked and cruel officers.
Earth	Kings should support and look after all their subjects.
Indra	Kings should shower gifts for four months.
Sun	Kings should collect taxes from their kingdoms for eight months as the sun sucks up moisture.
Wind	A king pervades all through his spies.

It must have been evident now that Hindu Śāstras do not really teach the principles of the divinity of kings their divine rights, or their immunity from punishment, but they emphasize the doctrines of divine duty and civic responsibility. Hence the dogma of the state as a divine institution was not taught in ancient India. However the time came as is clear from the assertions of Manu, and Cāṇakya when the doctrines of the divinity of rulers and their divine rights were preached here.

The political nature of man

Some philosophers have developed the precious idea of Aristotle that man is a political animal. They believe that when society is once formed, government results as necessary to preserve and to keep that society in order. But J. Bentham has rightly criticised the above statement of Blackstone in these words: "According to this, political society, in any sense of it, ought long to have been established all the world over. Whether this be the case, let anyone judge from the instances of the Hottentots, of the Patagonians and of so many other barbarous tribes, of which we hear from travellers and navigators."[1]

There is much truth in this criticism. If man were a political animal by nature, he must have satisfied this inherent instinct, this natural and eternal impulse from the very beginning by uniting with others in political communities. It is, however, not the case. From time immemorial people have been living in nomadic state. When men of extremely primitive civilization can live, propagate and wander together in groups without any political bond whatsoever, men of virtuous, unselfish, peaceful and altruistic temperaments must be more able to live together without any political unions.

1 A Fragment on Government, p. 28.

One Vedic verse formulates the hypothesis that the state had its existence from the very beginning. It is said that : "Vrātya was filled with passion, from him sprang the Rājanya. He came to the people, to kinsmen ; food and nourishment followed him. He went to the people ; assembly and council, army and treasure followed him."[1]

It is evident that kingship was established first and then followed the various political institutions.

The state as a necessary good

In the Puruṣa hymn which is found in all the four Vedas, society has been likened to the body of the Virāṭ Puruṣa—the Supreme Person. The hymn contemplates society as a manifestation of the divine will. It is consequently not a necessary evil, but a necessary good. It is a perfect organism. Man is the noblest work of the God's creation being made in the God's image itself, so the society is the noblest organization, made as it is in the image of the Virāṭ Puruṣa. The various sections of the society are harmoniously set together in one undivided whole, breathing and pulsating as one organism only. The principles of unity, equality and fraternity are indirectly taught in this hymn.

Again, the conception of this Virāṭ in the Atharva Veda[2] is full of significance. It is said that this world was at first Virāj, controlled by law. At its birth all were afraid at the thought that it will become or control this all. Law first entered into the families and established, through the institution of marriage, regular worship of the family fires.

After the growth of the families, there came into existence villages, districts, and countries. Law was successively established in all of them. It was expressed through special political bodies called the *Sabhā* or village-moot, *Samiti* or district council and *Āmantraṇa* or congress of the whole country. The political evolution of a society through the territorial development of sovereignty has thus been outlined in a Vedic hymn. It is remarkable to find that the Veda should have recognized a time when the institution of families did not exist. After family life was established, there came into existence higher and higher forms of government through the assemblies of the people. No idea has been given of the non-political or pre-statal condition.

1 Atharva Veda, 15. 8-9. 2 Ibid., 8. 10.

As Virāj is represented elsewhere as an issue of Brahmā, it appears that the state was a divinely contrived mechanism, it is the immediate work of God. This hymn like many others works out the idea which the Augsburg Confession[1] teaches in its 16th Article that all authority, government, law and order in the world have been created and established by God himself.[2]

The beneficence of the institution of the state has been very naively brought out by Kāmandaki. He emphatically asserts the existence of the law of the survival of the fittest and the struggle for existence by using the pithy and popular phrase of the logic of the fish. His arguments can be summarised thus:

In this world beings are related to one another as food and consumer. There is a perpetual struggle between the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor, the ruler and the ruled. The logic of the fish is working among all. Human beings are saved from the terrible consequences of this struggle by the existence of laws and the dread of punishment. There is a strong and ingrained propensity among men to give way to lower passions and animal instincts. They are kept back through the rule of law. In the words of Kāmandaka "this stayless world is being forcibly drowned into the lake of sin by lust, cupidity and such like passions, but is supported by the king through the prompt infliction of punishment. Upright conduct is scarce in this slavish world of ours. But as it is, men attend to their prescribed duties only through the fear of punishment." In his opinion the state means the rule of law and the maintenance of customs, usages, conventions and traditions. "The king is the lawful promoter of all righteous usages followed by various classes, communities and occupations. In the absence of a ruler all righteousness is lost and this loss entails the destruction of the world itself."

The beneficence of the state is brought out in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa wherein it is propounded that even the gods cannot live without a ruler. As long as the deities were without a leader, they were defeated in all directions by the demons. Finding themselves in such a predicament, all of them agreed to elect a king. "They elected Soma their king. Headed by their king, they were victorious in all directions." This allegory teaches us that even the highly gifted, brave and virtuous persons cannot live long in a non-political state. As soon as internal or external struggle begins, the institution

1 1530 A.D.

2 Bluntschli, p. 287 n.

of the state becomes a paramount necessity. The story is written to emphasize the idea that the state is a very beneficent institution and a *sine qua non* of peace, order and progress.

In passing, a note should be taken of the other significant lesson that kings should be elected and that too as far as possible by the consent of all.

Theory of contract

It is most surprising that the Hindu philosophers should have postulated the historical existence of society living in a state of warfare. This anarchy was put an end to by a *voluntary contract.* Bhīṣma has thus stated this theory to king Yudhiṣṭhira.[1]

We have heard, that men, in days of yore, in consequence of anarchy, were ruined, devouring one another like stronger fishes devouring the weaker ones in the water. *We have heard* that a few amongst them, then, assembling together, made certain agreements saying that he who becomes harsh in speech, or violent in temper, he who seduces other people's wives or rob others' wealth should be renounced by us.

For inspiring confidence among all classes of the people, they made such an agreement and lived for sometime.

Assembling after some time, they proceeded in great misery to the Grandfather, saying—Without a king, O divine lord, we are meeting with ruin. Appoint some one as our king.

All of us shall adore him and he shall protect us. Thus prayed for, the Grandfather asked Manu who, however, did not agree to the proposal. Thereupon certain agreements were entered into between the two parties—the would be ruler and the people.

Having been fully assured by the people that they would obey his commands, pay him taxes, *help him in the work of administration*, Manu consented to become their king.

The following extract from Plato's Republic will be of great interest for comparison :

So that after men had done one another injustice, and likewise suffered it, and had experienced both, it *seemed* proper to those who were not able to shun the one and choose the other to agree among themselves neither to do injustice nor to be injured and that hence

1 Śānti P., 17-32.

laws began to be established, and their *compacts*; and that which was enjoined by law they denominated lawful and just and that this is the origin and essence of justice.[1]

This contract theory related in detail by Bhīṣma is very briefly summed up by Cāṇakya in his Arthaśāstra :[2]

"People suffering from anarchy as illustrated by the proverbial tendency of a large fish swallowing a small one first *elected* Manu, the Vaivasvata, to be their king ; and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by this payment, kings took upon themselves the *responsibility* of maintaining the safety and security of their subjects (yogakṣemavaha), and of being *answerable* for the sins of their subjects when the principle of levying just punishments and taxes has been violated. Hence, hermits, too, provide the king with one-sixth of the grains gleaned by them, thinking that 'it is a tax payable to him who protects us.'

It is evident now that the Hindus believed that in days of yore at some time or other there were no laws and no kings, that the kingless state was a state of chaos, that the people entered into contracts with one another to abide by certain laws, that the same could not be observed as there were no police or force behind those contracts, that they then chose a king and entered into contract with him.

Three important differences in the statements of Bhīṣma and Cāṇakya should not be passed over.

Preliminary to a governmental pact with a king, the people emerged into a semi-political state by means of a social contract among themselves. This intermediate stage is not recognized by Cāṇakya who postulates a compact with a king as the primary cause of the transformation of a non-statal society to a civil condition.

Secondly, Bhīṣma declared the first king, Manu, to have been created by Brahman. Thus he adheres to the divine origin of kingship. It was with this divinely created king that the people entered into a contract. Cāṇakya does not make mention of any interference on the part of Brahmā.

Thirdly, Bhīṣma following Manu Smṛti states that the people

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1 Plato's Republic, Book II, p. 39,

2 Eng. Trans., p. 26 ; cf. Manu, VII. 3 ; Kām. II. 40 ; Matsya P., 225. 9.

contracted to give Manu as taxes a fiftieth part of the increase in their animals and a tenth part of the net produce of their grains.

On the other hand, Cāṇakya allows one-sixth of the grains and one-tenth of the merchandise to be given as taxes to the king.

The ancient liberal system of taxation had been replaced by higher taxes before the establishment of the Mauryan dynasty. In the Buddhist literature too the theory is frequently found. Sumedha, the first king of the present age of the world was born a-sexually at a time when the people of the planet were suffering from all the evils and miseries of anarchy. The people approached him with a request to protect them by being their king. He consented to be their ruler. Thereupon all the great men of the age assembled together and consecrated him as their ruler. As he was elected by all the great men, he was called Mahāsammata i.e. "Elected by the Great." This Sumedha is also popularly known as Manu, or Mahāsammata Manu, that is, "Manu elected by the Great."

Now let us examine the Hindu doctrine in the light of the Western expounders of the theory of the social contract. Bhīṣma has taken the standpoint of Rousseau. Natural liberty is substituted by civil liberty by a "form of association which may defend and protect with all the force of the community the person and property of each associate, and by which each, being united to all yet, only obeys himself and remains as free as before." This is a covenant of each with all. Kingship had not come into existence yet. There was no ruler, compact alone was the rule. It was the rule of law without the executive force. It was that ideal state which so many of the Nihilists desire to establish in future. But it failed in the past and will fail in the future.

We do not share the optimism of Hall when he says that "I can see the reign of *Anarchy*, when the law of mutual love suffices to secure justice to all, when society will be lawless because it is just."[1]

Bhīṣma differs from Rousseau in expounding the next stage of statal evolution. The Hindu philosopher proceeds to propound the doctrine advocated by Locke. That state of social compact where every one was free being subject only to the restrictions of the voluntary agreement, proved ineffective in course of time. The people agreed to submit to a single authority. They entered into an agreement with Manu whom they had elected as their king. Thus the

1 Hall's Human Evolution, p. 71.

monarch became a party to the contract and consented to hold office by virtue of his compliance with the terms of that agreement. Should the monarch violate these, the contract is dissolved. He is a responsible ruler, answerable to the people for the defects of his administration, and liable to be deposed for breaking the compact. The people were then justified in entering into a new agreement with a new ruler. This kind of compact accompanied by solemn oaths formed a sure basis of limited monarchy in Hindu society.

It is now evident that theories of social contract as propounded by Rousseau, Hobbes and Locke have all been happily amalgamated in the Hindu theory. Like Rousseau Indian philosophers propounded that the primitive state of nature was an era of idyllic felicity. In course of time, this blissful condition of simplicity, plenty, and happiness was followed by Hobbesian "Bellum omnia contra omnes." This state of universal warfare was ended by the voluntary agreement of the people on the lines of Rousseau's social contract. That non-ruler state too was ineffective in putting down anarchy. Thereupon the people entered into a governmental pact of the type explained by Locke. Hence Bhīṣma is not only the first discoverer of the Social Contract Theory, but his genius developed a doctrine which has the advantage of unifying the three aspects of the theory separately emphasized by Rousseau, Hobbes and Locke.

To sum up then. It must have been evident now that the Hindus have given all possible solutions to the problems of statal evolution, centuries before the ancient Greek philosophers or the modern thinkers like Hooker, Hobbes, Locke, Spinoza, Rousseau, or Herbert Spencer speculated upon those questions. They followed both the deductive and historical methods in their discussions on the origin of law and political societies.

It is true that these ideas are blended with allegory, mythology, and ethics and are not represented in a systematic manner. Many a time they lie buried under debris of Paurāṇic mythology. The want of a system and a treatise has led to the belief in their non-existence. Yet it will be now admitted that their abstruse discussions reflect an extraordinary credit upon the Hindu thinkers who differentiated the statal from the pre-statal condition and brilliantly anticipated all possible answers to the questions of the origin and justification of government, and of the subsequent stages of social evolution.

BALAKRISHNA

The Kalinga Edict

II

Let us now take up the next sentence :—

Etasa ca savasa mūle anāsulope atulanā ca nitiyaṃ.

Here, taking *āsulope* and *tulanā* in the sense of 'want of perseverance" and "hastiness," *anāsulope* and *atulanā* have been taken in the sense of 'perseverance' and 'avoidance of hastiness'. Hultzsch reads 'absence of anger' in *anāsulope*. But *mūle* has been taken by all scholars as a substantive in the sense of 'root'. Here some difficulty arose in understanding the construction of the sentence by taking *mūle* as a substantive, for then the sentence ends with *ca*, and *nitiyaṃ* (*niti iyaṃ* of Jau.) becomes an independent proposition. Senart concluded that "this *nitiyaṃ* is repetition made by the stone-cutter" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 91, n. 14). To avoid this difficulty, Hultzsch has concluded the sentence in *ca*, carrying *nitiyaṃ* (as *nityāṃ*) to the next sentence. Prinsep preferred beginning with *niti* and ending with *siyā*. Kern takes *nitiyaṃ* with this sentence, but has changed its form to *nityāṃ* with a locative significance in the sense of 'in polity and conduct". Bühler has done the same thing, explaining the word as "in the application of the maxims of government". Senart has followed them with the meaning "in moral training." Bhandarkar, in his 'Inscriptions of Aśoka', has ended the sentence with *nitiyaṃ*, but in his 'Aśoka' he has taken the word, like Hultzsch, with the next sentence.

We have taken *āsulope* to mean 'precipitate-giving-up,' so *anāsulope* means 'non-precipitate-giving-up,' *i.e.* giving up which is not the outcome of sudden exertions, and hence of a temporary character, but of a permanent nature. We have seen that in a previous sentence the word *āsulopena* has been used with *isāya*, so by *anāsulope* the author of the edict here refers to the permanent cessation of envy. But it refers to laziness (*ālasiyena* and *kilamathena*) also. We have seen that the destruction of idleness and sloth was also the object of the author of the edict, so by the word *anāsulope* here it is meant that temporary destruction is not sufficient, but permanent cessation of these bad tendencies leads to success. So, by the single word *anāsulope* the king refers to envy, sloth and idleness. By *atulanā* he refers to *niṭhūliyena*. *Tulanāya* was used with that word, so by *atulanā* here the

king means complete abstention from cruelty, i.e. an act which is not qualified by any consideration or comparison of any kind, about which we have spoken with illustrations before.

Then about *mūle*. It may be taken as a substantive in the sense of 'root', so that *mūle anāsulope* means 'complete destruction in root.' In this case *niti* i. e. (maxims of moral conduct) is the subject in the sentence, and *savasa* is in genitive case, connected not with *mūle*, as has been taken by the scholars, but with *anāsulope* and *atulanā* in apposition with *niti*. So, the passage can be rendered as follows: The maxim of conduct is the complete destruction in root (of envy and sloth) and non-comparativeness (i. e. complete abstention from cruelty) regarding all these (natural dispositions, such as envy, cruelty and idleness).

Hultzsch like other scholars has conceived the idea of seven dispositions,—envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness and fatigue. Then after saying that these dispositions may not arise in the officers, he says that the *root of all this* is the *absence of anger* and the *avoidance of hurry*. The significanee of "of all this" is not quite clear in this translation.

If it be argued that the means of getting rid of these dispositions are absence of anger and avoidance of hurry, even then we cannot see how the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry can make one free from all the dispositions narrated above. Absence of anger can no doubt make a man free from anger, and from envy, and cruelty, to some extent, if that particular case only is considered in which anger leads to the destruction of life. But what about sacrificial cruelty? Surely that is not the work of anger, or of hastiness. Again, how can absence of anger and avoidance of hurry kill laziness and want of practice? On the contrary, we find that an angry man may rather get to work and give up laziness; and hastiness is an antedote to laziness and want of practice. So, the rendering is faulty in this case. Moreover, we cannot find a single word used in this way to signify an abstract idea of this nature anywhere in the edicts. Compare *sayamaṃ, bhāvasudhiṃ, dāne, kataṃñatā, daḍhabhatitā* of the R. E. VII; *dayā dāne, sace, socaye* of the P. E. II; *kodhe, māne, isyā*, etc. of the P. E. III. We also object to the taking of *nitiyaṃ* as *nityāṃ* when we have *niti iyaṃ* at Jaugaḍa, and *nitiyaṃ* is distinctly clear at Dhauli.

Let us now take up the next sentence. Hultzsch has adopted the following readings :—

Dh. *E kilaṃte siyā na te ugacha saṃchalitaviye tu vaṭitaviye etaviye vā,*

Jau. *E yaṃ kilaṃte siya.....saṃchalitu uthāyā saṃchalitavye tu vaṭitaviya pi etaviye pi.*

We find that the trace of this negative particle *na* has been admitted by Senart, Cunningham, Kern, Bühler and other scholars, but not by Prinsep and Bhandarkar. Other important variations are *vajitaviye* in the place of *vaṭitaviye* of the above noted texts, adopted by Senart, Bühler and Bhandarkar; and *uthāye* of Bühler in the Jaugaḍa version.

Of the two texts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa we find that of Jaugaḍa is more distinct here as elsewhere. From all the versions available to us we are in favour of taking up the following mixed readings :—

E yaṃ kilaṃte siya (na) te saṃchalitu uthāye, saṃchalitaviye tu vajitaviye pi etaviye pi.

Yaṃ is no doubt somewhat distinct at Jaugaḍa, and we find that it has been noted in the transcripts of Hultzsch, Cunningham and Bhandarkar. So we may say that this word was in the original manuscript. Jaugaḍa has *saṃchalitu uthāye*, while at Dhauli we have simply *ugacha*, the first being complementary to the second, as has been observed by Senart (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 91, n. 15). Then there is difference of opinion about the negative particle. But whatever may be the variations, we find that the two texts of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa speak about practically the same thing.

Now, most probably this *yaṃ* is an independent word *iyaṃ*, (like *E iyam* of Dh. V. 26), the first letter *i* being dropped like that of many words so often used in the edicts. We think that here *iyaṃ* has been used with the force of an adverb, in the sense of "thus or in this manner", qualifying *kilaṃte* in the sentence under review. So, *E yaṃ kilaṃte siyā* means 'who is thus oppressed' (i. e. by the dispositions envy, cruelty and sloth). But even by giving up this contention, we lose nothing if we read *E kilaṃte siyā* (as in Dhauli) in the sense of whoever is oppressed. But the most important word is *kilaṃte*. It has been taken in the sense of 'fatigued' (in the administration of justice), but when we have seen that *nitiyaṃ* should go with the previous sentene, we cannot bring in the sense of 'administration' here. When we have the topic of dispositions running through the previous sentences, it is quite natural to connect *kilaṃte* with those dispositions, and hence the sense should be 'oppressed', not in the administration of justice, but with dispositions like envy, cruelty and sloth. Then, what should a man do who is thus oppressed? He should move to rise, walk and advance, i. e. he should

gradually try to gain moral strength. This is the middle path pointed out by the king. He has said that overzealousnes in religious matters is bad, and he has also pointed out that success is impossible with envy, cruelty and sloth, and that complete destruction of these evil tendencies is the maxim of moral conduct. Now he points out the middle path of gradual exertions for those who are oppressed with evil tendencies. The word *kilaṃte* is explanatory of *palikilesaṃ* in the eighth line. The middle path lies between *akasmā baṃdhanantikaṃ* and this *palikilesaṃ*. This is the textual, and therefore the most reliable, evidence to prove that *baṃdhanaṃ* and *palikilesaṃ* have nothing to do with common imprisonment or administration.

The translations which we offer of this sentence are these:—

(*Without the negative particle*)

(1) He, who is thus (with envy, cruelty and sloth) oppressed, will move to rise, for one needs must move, walk and advance.

(*With the negative particle*)

(2) He, who is thus (with envy, etc.) oppressed, will not move to rise (in the sense of he has not the power to move, so long as he is oppressed with envy, etc.) though one needs must move, etc.

In this case it is once pointed out that so long as a man is oppressed with envy, etc., it is useless for him to try to move, for he has not the power to do so, though one should move, walk and advance; but in the sentence without the negative particle it is simply pointed out that the man oppressed with envy, etc. should even try to move, the bad paralysing effect of envy, etc. not being particularly pointed out there. This makes no appreciable difference in the sense of the two readings. The last three words signifying movements bring in mind the figure of a man lying unconscious, say, from the effect of a shock. He then gradually regains consciousness. We mark the first impulse of life in the movements of his limbs (indicated by *saṃcalanaṃ*). Then, he attempts to walk, but from wearinesss is not steady, and in bewilderment cannot ascertain the right direction, so he walks hither and thither (indicated by *vajitaviye*), but when he regains strength and consciousness he walks right towards the goal (indicated by *etaviya*). So here we mark the first dawn of consciousness, an attempt to advance, and finally a movement towards the goal. The various stages of progress in moral exercise are here set forth in these terms, and the use of these three words are thus justified.

In his moral code the king has spoken about mastery over the senses and purity of mind, getting rid of vice; about compassion and

truthfulness, and about brutality, cruelty, anger, pride, and jealousy leading to impiety. This is exactly what he speaks about in the Kaliṅga Edict. But above all he places implicit faith on exertions. The purpose of his Minor Rock Edict I, was, as he says, to encourage the great and the small to exert themselves. Then, in the Rock Edict X he says that it is difficult to attain freedom from vice, whether by people of low or of high degree, save by the utmost exertions giving up all other aims. Is it not exactly what he speaks here in the sentence under review? We are now in a position to understand his *dhamma* more clearly. It aims at the moral and spiritual perfection of a person by gradual exertions, i. e., by following what he here calls the middle path.

Now, we pass over to the next sentence :—

Dh. *Hevaṃmeva e dakheya tuphāka, tena vataviye, aṃnaṃ ne dekhata, hevaṃ ca hevaṃ ca devānaṃ piyasa anusathi.*

Jau. *Nitiyaṃ e ve dekheyā, aṃna ne nijhapetaviye, hevaṃ hevaṃ ca devānaṃ piyasa anusathi.*

We find that there is perfect agreement between the two texts. The significance of the third word *ve* of the Jaugaḍa text has been hitherto misunderstood. It is the alternative form of *tuphāka,* just as *ne* is the alternative form of *aphāka. Ne* has been used in the sense of "our" in K. V. 16, and at Jau. Sep. II, 10, where we find that it is a substitute of *aphāka* of Dhauli. It has also been used in the sense of "us" at Dh. Sep. II. 5, and at Jau. Sep. II. 6. Thus, we find that the alternative forms of Sanskrit declensions of the pronoun of the first person have been fully used by the author of the edicts. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find the alternative forms of the pronoun of the second person in the edicts. Here in the present case when we find that *ve* has been used in the place of *tuphāka* of Dh., we cannot but take it in the genitive case, possessing the pronoun *e* (*yaḥ*), so that *e tuphāka*, or *e ve* means "who of you", and refers to the officers of the king. Hultzsch has taken *tuphāka* with the next clause *tena vataviye* making it an accusative, but the use of *ve* before *dekheyā* at Jaugaḍa conclusively proves that it has nothing to do with the next clause, and that the sense of a genitive case can only be ascribed to it. Thus, we find that the first parts of the texts at Dh. and Jau. are in complete agreement. Here *hevaṃmeva* of Dh. corresponds to *nitiyaṃ* of Jau., and the next three words are almost similar, with this difference that *tuphāka* has been used after *dekheya* at Dh., while its alternative form *ve* has been used before it at Jaugaḍa. The

next clause, though it varies in wordings in the two texts, has the same sense in both of them. *Tena vataviye* has no corresponding word at Jaugaḍa, but the effect of its omission has been counteracted by the use of the word *nijhapetaviye*. By comparing the two texts we find that the sense of *dekhata* must have been accommodated in *nijhapetaviye*, for *aṃnaṃ ne* being common to the two texts, we are left with no other alternative but to accept this view. So, "it should be said by him do not look to any other thing" is the another way of saying "He should make (others) not to think of any other thing", *nijhapetaviye* being a verb of the tenth class with the long vowel of *dhyā* shortened, as has been observed by Hultzsch in his *Corpus*, p. cix (with footnotes). So, the two texts can be rendered thus :—

Dh. Whoever of you will point out this (*niti* to others), it should be said by him—do not look to any other thing ; such and such is the instruction of Devānaṃpiya (thereby calling upon the people in the name of the king to follow this precept with one-mindedness).

Jau. He who of you will point out this *niti* (to others) should make (them) not to think of any other thing ; such and such is etc. (as before).

This sentence with the previous one expresses the same sense as the last few sentences of the R.E. X. There the king says that it is difficult to obtain freedom from vice save by utmost exertions, giving up all other aims. Here also the necessity of gradual exertions to get rid of evil dispositions has been pointed out in the previous sentence, but in the sentence under review here the obligatory character of following the precept with one-mindedness is set forth. So, there is nothing new in this sentence.

Hultzsch has divided the sentence into four parts :—(1) *Hevaṃ-meva e dakheya*, (2) *tuphāka tena vataviye*, (3) *ānaṃne dekhata*, (4) *hevaṃ ca*, etc. We cannot understand how the second part can be translated as 'he must tell you' ; for the word *tuphāka* has been used in the edicts in the genitive case only, but not in the accusative, so it is doubtful that *tuphāka* is the object of the verb *vataviye*. Besides, the identification of *ve* of Jaugaḍa as the alternative form of *tuphāka*, at once does away with the chance of the word being taken with *tena vataviye*. Then about the reading of the word *ānaṃne*. We find that both Senart and Bhandarkar have read as *aṃnaṃ ne*. Though Kern like Cunningham has read the first word as *aganaṃ*, yet both of them have clearly separated *ne* (*no*) from it at Dhauli, and in the translation they have kept the idea of negation there (*JRAS.*, N. S., XII, pp. 386, 389, and *Corpus*, p. 90).

Woolner has adopted the readings of *aṃnaṃ ne* at Dhauli, and *aṃna ne* at Jaugaḍa (*Aśoka*, part I, p. 23), as has been done by Bühler (*ZDMG.*, vol. 41, p. 4). In the translations of Prinsep and Burnouf we also find that they have treated *ne* as a separate word in the sense of *no*. So, we find that these scholars do not support the transcription of Hultzsch. As we have already pointed out that *nitiyaṃ* of Jau. is a counterpart of *hevaṃmeva* of Dhauli, it is evident that this word should be read with the sentence following, but not with the previous one.

Then passing over the next seven sentences we come down to the eighth, wherein Aśoka speaks about the object of this edict, and here also we take up the last part of the sentence :—

Dh.—*Nagala-janasa akasmā palibodhe va akasmā palikilese va no siyā ti.*

Here, the most important words are *palibodhe* and *palikilese*. Annotators have always been in difficulty to bring out the meaning of *palibodhe*. Childers in his *Pāli Dictionary* says—"It is probably the result of a confusion between *parirodha* and *paribādha*, it may perhaps be a dialectic variety of *paribādha*. In Clough's *Sinhalese Dictionary*, *palibodha* and *palirodha* are given with the same significations, and of the former, Clough says that it is compounded of *pali* revenge, and *bodha* substituted for *rudha*, to produce. In the Pali Text Society's *Dictionary*, it is observed—"The etymology offered by Andersen, *Pāli Reader*, S. V. *palibuddha*, viz., dissimilation for *pariruddhati* (*rudh*) is most plausible, other explanations like Trenckner's (notes 66 for *paribādh*, etc.) and Kern's (Toev. S. V. Ogh. *firbiotan*, Ger. *verbieten*) are semantically not satisfactory". So, we find that scholars have always been in difficulty with this word, and no satisfactory explanation based on the etymology of the word has as yet been given. In literature the word has been used in the sense of "obstacle, hindrance, impediment, fetters, etc", but the derivations suggested by the scholars do not bring us directly to these senses. It must, therefore, be admitted that there is something wrong somewhere, for the meaning that is ascribed to the word has not been shown to follow from its etymology. But here in the sentence under review we have textual evidence to solve this difficulty.

This sentence seems to have apparent similarity with a previous one—*Iyaṃ eka-pulise pi athi ye baṃdhanaṃ vā palikilesaṃ vā pāpunāti* (Dh. Sep., I. 8). Here the two words *baṃdhanaṃ* and *palikilesaṃ* have been used side by side, just like *palibodhe* and *palikilese* used in

this sentence. The similarity is so very apparent that even Senart could not help remarking—"the word *palibodhe* means "bond", "fetter". If there were need of a further proof of this, we have an irrefutable one in the present passage, in which *palibodha* is substituted as a synonym of the *baṃdhana* used above" (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 93, n. 24). It is no doubt a very attractive identification, for, having *palikilesa* common in these two sentences, we have the word *baṃdhanaṃ* before it in the former, while *palibo.lhe* is in the same place in the latter, thus suggesting a substitution of synonyms. But we have seen that all attempts have hitherto been unsuccessful to trace the meaning of 'fetter' or 'obstacle' in the etymology of the word *palibodha*, so it is not reasonable to jump into a conclusion without further circumspection.

We find that this *palibodha* has no connection with the word *baṃdhanaṃ* of the sentence quoted above. The word *akasmā* is the connecting link. We find that this word has been used with *baṃdhanaṃtika* in a previous sentence, and that *akasmā baṃdhanaṃtika* means the manifestation of sudden religious zeal in turning a hermit by forsaking all worldly ties, or in other words, the manifestation of *paribodha* thereby. Now, *paribodha* can be derived in the following manner :—*pari* (supreme) *bodha* (knowledge),here *pari* is an augmenting adjective, as used in words like *paritoṣa* (full satisfaction), *pari-jañña* (supreme sacrifice), *parisuddha* (extremely clean), etc.

The word *bodha* here admits of no other interpretations, and to connect it with *ruddha*, or *bādha* is wide of the mark. So, in *akasmā paribodhe va akasmā parikilese va no siyā ti*, the city judiciaries are instructed to see on one hand that people may not manifest sudden religious zeal by leaving home due to what is called here keen desire for supreme knowledge, and may not also fall a sudden prey to evil dispositions on the other, i. e. to insist upon their following the middle path between these two extremes by depending upon exertions for gradual progress.

The words *palikilese* of this sentence, *palikilesaṃ* of Dh. 8 noted above, and *kilaṃte* of Dh. 12 have come from the same source and have been used here to mean the same thing i. e. the torture of dispositions. About *palibodha*, if there is still an iota of doubt about the significance of this term, it can be dispelled by the following discussion. In the fifth Rock Edict at Girnar (also at Shahbāzgarhi according to Hultzsch) we have *parigodha* used instead of *palibodha* of the other versions. We have the satisfaction to see that "Thomas has

traced the substantive *parigodha* (desire) and the participle *paliguddha* (=*parigṛddha*) 'desirous' in Buddhist Sanskrit works (*J.R.A.S.*, 99 ff)". Hultzsch has accepted this view, but has translated the word in the sense of "freeing from desire for worldly life". But we find that the idea of keen desire or excessive greed, as has been observed by other scholars, is expressed by this word. However, what is this desire for? The phrase is *dhaṃma-yutānaṃ aparigodhāya*. Now, for the *dhaṃmayutas* to desire for further spiritual and moral perfection is a more reasonable interpretation than that of their hankering for worldly life. So, we find here that keen desire for moral or spiritual perfection or in other words *palibodha*, or overzealousness in religious matters, as has been said before, is meant here, but not the reverse of it, i. e. a desire for worldly life. And hence *aparigodha* has been used as a synonym of *apalibodha* and both stand for non-manifestation of excessive religious zeal.

But more about this in the next sentence of the R. E. V.

Baṃdhanabadhasā paṭividhānāye apalibodhāye mokhāye cā etc. Hultzsch, like other scholars, has rendered it as—"They are occupied in supporting prisoners *with money*, in causing their fetters to be taken off and in setting them free, etc." Here, of course, the three words *paṭividhānāye*, *apalibodhāye* and *mokhāye* are in the dative case, but if they have here identical application, we should have reasonably expected another conjunction like *ca* used between the first two, for in the language of the inscriptions we find that the writers are very careful about the use of such conjunctions between words of the same class. The interpretation we offer is this :—

For the purpose of making provision (not with money) for those who are bound in the bond of worldly attachment, these Mahāmātās are engaged to dissuade them from manifesting overzealousness (*apalibodhāye*) on one hand, and on the other, to effect their release (not from the prison of the king, but from the bonds of vices and worldly attachments) by gradual exertions, as has been pointed out in the Kaliṅga Edict I.

Here also we have the idea of following the middle path perfectly clear. The two words *apalibodhāye* and *mokhāye* are correlated and hence we have only one *ca* used after the latter, but both of them stand on the basis of *paṭividhānāye*, signifying that this *paṭividhāna* is to be effected by *apalibodhāye* on one hand and *mokhāye* on the other, and hence no *ca* has been used after *paṭividhānāye*. This

is textual evidence for another verification of the real significance of *palibodha*.

The next clause is *Iyaṃ anubaṃdhaṃ pajāvati vā*, which means that the Dhaṃmamahāmātās should point out the middle path to the people for the reason (*anubaṃdha*) of their having children, etc. That this is a parallel passage of *Akasmā tena baṃdhanaṃtika aṃne ca bahujane* (*vage bahuke*—Jau.) *daviye dukhīyati* of the Kaliṅga Edict is too clear to require an explanation. The sufferings of the relatives have there been advanced as a cause for dissuading people from showing overzealousness in religious matters; here also the same thing is said, though under different wordings. So, we find that this *baṃdhana* is not imprisonment in the prison of the king, but worldly attachment, from the bond of which the officers are instructed to release persons by pointing out the middle path, in the same manner as is done in the Kaliṅga Edict I.

We have now seen that Asoka has used *palibodha* twice in the R. E. V, and once in the Kaliṅga Edict I with explanations, to mean keen desire and excessive religious zeal. The etymology of the word should, therefore, not be sought in *ruddha* or *bādha*, but in *bodha*, which signifies knowledge. But in literature the word has been used to mean fetters, hindrance, etc. There is nothing to be wondered at this application. We have seen that in the edicts Asoka has spoken against *paribodha* for bringing unnecessary sufferings upon the relatives. It is not therefore difficult to guess that due to these preachings *paribodha* came to be regarded as a thing not desirable for all, and the word thus must have fallen from its original significance from that time. Asoka has also clearly stated that mere *paribodha* cannot bring success, unless the evil dispositions are completely subdued, so *paribodha* without moral perfection is rather a hindrance to success. Having thus lost its original significance, the word, it is not difficult to guess, must have been used in the sense of hindrance in the Pāli literature in later times. In the edicts there is at least another word which has suffered in significance in this manner. We mean the word *Devānaṃpriya*. In the edicts it is an honorific epithet of the king meaning somewhat like "beloved of gods" or "his sacred majesty", but in later literature the word is used to signify "a fool", or "a sacrificial animal." Hence there is nothing unusual in *paribodha* suffering change of meaning. We have always marked a tendency to interpret the words of the edicts in the Buddhistic sense. But here is the word *paribodha*, which has not been used in that manner by the authors of the edicts

:ven the most acute observer of Buddhism in everything of the edict ill be forced to admit the non-Buddhistic significance of *paribodha*, he cares to consider the texts, where the word has been used, along ith the general significance of the edict and think of the substitution f the Kaliṅga Edict I for the R.E. X, about which we shall discuss ter on.

When the administrators of the town are here instructed to carry ut the instructions contained in this edict, it may be argued that omething referring to the administration must be in this edict. We also find that in a previous sentence their occupation with many housands of men is mentioned, so it is not improper to take *baṃdhana* and *palikilesa* in the sense of imprisonment and torture. But the text of the edict stands in the way of accepting this view. Besides, we find in the edicts that the officers of the king were engaged to propagate the Dhaṃma along with their other business, and some of the edicts in which these officers are mentioned are absolutely religious, without having anything to do with the administration. In the Pillar Edict I the *pulisā* and the *aṃtamahāmātās* are mentioned, yet that edict is a purely religious one; in the Minor Rock Edict I, which is also a sermon on exertions, the Prince and the Mahāmātās of Suvarṇagiri, and those of Isilā are mentioned. In the Rock Edict III, the *Yutas*, *Rājukas* and the *Prādesikas* are instructed to go on tour to propagate the faith. In the Rock Edict XII, *dhaṃmamahāmātās*, *ithijhakha-mahāmātās*, *vacabhūmikās* and other *nikāyās* are instructed to observe toleration among all sects. So, we find that the officers of the king performed dual functions, those of administration of the empire and of propagation of Dhaṃma. So, when the *nagala-viyohālikas* are called upon to perform a work, that need not necessarily be of administrative character, but may be of purely religious nature, as we have seen, other officers were also engaged in the same way. Thus the mere mention of the officers of the king in the Kaliṅga Edict does not authorise us to interpret the edict in the light of the principle of administration and imprisonment.

We, then, come up to the last sentence that we shall take up, viz., that in which Asoka speaks about the qualities of the *mahāmātās* whom he proposes to send for the propagation of this *niti*. The sentence is,—

Eakhakhase acaṃḍe sakhinālaṃbhe hosati.—Dh.

In dealing with this Senart has observed—"One difficulty, however, remains. What is the real drift of that enumeration of qualities belonging to the *mahāmātra*, upon which stress has been laid by the king?" (*Ind. Ant.* 1890, p. 93, n. 25).

We suggest that these three adjectives have been used to signify the negation of three evil dispositons about which Asoka speaks in the sentence *isāya āsulopena*, etc. We have seen that in that sentence Asoka speaks about three dispositions, i.e. those of envy, cruelty and idleness, but not of seven as has hitherto been understood. It is reasonable to suppose that in this sentence the king, in enumerating the qualities of the *mahāmātās*, has purposely used these three words in negation of those dispositions. Let us now see how this supposition of ours is supported by the text of the edict. Kern has taken *akhakhase* as equivalent to the Sanskrit *akarkaśaḥ*. Senart has accepted this interpretation and has been followed by Hultzsch who has quoted a verse of the Dhaṃmapada in support of this view (*Corpus*, p. 97, n. 8.), but the translation he has offered, i.e. harsh, does not seem to be very happy with reference to the context. Kern has remarked—the *kha* in *khakhase* is due to the influence of the *r* in *karkaśa* (*JRAS.*, N. S., XII, p. 392, n. i.). In the Amarakoṣa dictionary (3/75), we have—*kakkhaṭaṃ kaṭhinaṃ krūraṃ kaṭhoraṃ niṣṭhuraṃ dṛḍhaṃ*. In the annotation of this verse it is written—*khakārādir iti kāśmīrakāḥ, karkaśam iti dākṣiṇātyapāṭhaḥ*. So we find that *niṣṭhuraṃ* (cf. *niṭhuliyena* of the edict) is a synonym of *kakkhaṭaṃ*=*khakkhaṭaṃ* (of Northern India)=*khakhasaṃ*, owing to a confusion with the last syllable of the corresponding southern form *karkaśaṃ* which is, however, the most current expression. So, *akhakhase* of the edict means *aniṣṭhuraḥ* and hence one who is free from cruelty.

Then about *acaṃḍe* (acaṇḍe): The word *caṇḍa* comes from the root *caḍi* with *ac* in the sense of rage. In fact *caṇḍaḥ* is always associated with the idea of rage and anger. In the *Raghuvaṃśa* (2/49) we have *caṇḍa* used in the sense of anger. So, *acaṃḍe* here signifies a person who is free from rage. Now, in the *Manu Saṃhitā* (7/48) it is stated that *īrṣā* is one of the eight bad dispositions that arise from anger, so a man who is free from rage can never be subject to *īrṣā*. Thus, *acaṃḍe* should be translated here as a man who is free from the cause of *īrṣā*. We prefer this interpretation as it maintains a connection with the sentence *isāya āsulopena*, etc., otherwise "free from anger" may do, and in that case the term has a wider application comprising many other things besides *īrṣā*. From the cast of the edict in the Indian Museum, and from the impression supplied by Hultzsch in his *Corpus*, the next word of the sentence seems to be *sekhināḷaṃbhe*, as observed by Senart (*Ind. Ant.*, 1890, p. 93, n. 25), but not *sakhināḷaṃbhe* as adopted by Hultzsch. Now, *sekhināḷaṃbhe*

represents the Sanskrit word *sākṣīṇārambhaḥ*, composed of *sa* + *akṣīṇa* + *ārambhaḥ*. It is well-known that in Sanskrit *ārambhaḥ* means exertion, so *akṣīṇaḥ ārambhaḥ* means non-diminution of exertion, and *sākṣīṇāraṃbhaḥ* means in Bahuvrīhi compound the person who is associated with non-diminution of exertion. In this sense we may take the word as referring to a person who is free from idleness and sloth, which primarily brings about the relaxation of energy. We think that the initial *sā* of the word has been written as *se*, the horizontal stroke of *sā* being reversed by mistake. *Ālaṃbhaḥ* here does not mean 'destruction of life.'

So, the clause means—He who is free from cruelty, free from the cause of envy etc., and free from idleness; thus signifying the negation of the three dispositions envy, cruelty and idleness.

At Jaugaḍa we have also *acaṃḍaṃ*, which is thus common to the two texts. Then Bühler, Senart, Bhandarkar, A. C. Woolner, and Kern read the next word as *aphalahata*, but Hultzsch takes it as *aphal* (*usa*)*ṃ*, and the next word he reads as *ta*. With *aphal* (*usa*) *ṃ* followed by *ta*, the word may stand for *aphal* (*aha*) *ta*. As a Bahuvrīhī compound it means a person whose action does not become fruitless. For the sake of agreement with the corresponding version of the Dhauli text, we maintain that the word in this form means a person who does not spoil the fruit of his action by idleness, for idleness stands in the way of success, and perseverance wins it. It will then be a synonym of *sekhināḷaṃbhe* of the Dhauli text. and it should be observed that both the words have identical figurative applications here. The only word that now remains to be traced is *vacanele*, as read by Bühler. As the impression at this place is very indistinct, we find it impossible to verify the reading, but taking *vacanele* as the correct word, it appears that the word has some connection with *vraścana* meaning cutting, from the root *vraśc* in the sense of cutting asunder. Then the second member of the compound should be a word meaning cruelty, so in *vacanele* we expect to find a word signifying a person who has cut off the tendency of cruelty. We can reasonably go no further.

TRASLATION

Our explanatory rendering.		From Hultzsch's *Corpus*.	
	A		B.
1	"See to this, then, the maxim of conduct is well laid down" (Bhandarkar). (What follows is the explanation of *suvihitā niti*).	1	Now, you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for.
2	There is such an individual (adopted from the rendering of Senart) who is bound in worldly ties, and who is tortured (by passions and habits).	2	It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment.
3	When this bond of wordly attachment (cf. bondage and misery of sin—Prinsep) is cut asunder by him all on a sudden (as indicated by his leaving home due to sudden religious zeal), his many relatives become "deeply grieved" (Smith).	3	In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment (is obtained) by him accidentally, while (many) other people continue to suffer.
4	"Conseqnently you should desire—what?—to follow the middle path" (Bhandarkar), i.e. (the path that is intermediate between turning a sudden recluse on one hand, and suffering from the tortures of bad passions and habits on the other; (from the bondage and misery of sin—Prinsep).	5	In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially.
5	(The secret of success does not lie in turning a sudden recluse, but in the freedom from bad passions and habits. So, one should remember that) success is impossible with the following dispositions—with temporary (non-permanent) giving up of	5	But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions: envy, anger, cruelty, hurry, want of practice, laziness and fatigue.

envy, with cruelty of comparison, (and) with non-retreating or unchecked idleness and sloth.

6 Hence you should desire what? that these dispositions may not be yours (Bhandarkar).

6 (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise in you.

7 The maxim of conduct lies in non-temporary (permanent) giving up in root (i.e. complete eradication, used with reference to cruelty) of all these (dispositions, such as envy, cruelty and sloth).

7 And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry.

8 (But people there are, who are subject to such tortures. For them this is the advice). He who is thus (with envy, cruelty and sloth) oppressed, will move to rise, for (with the negative particle, in the sense of he has not the power to move, so long as he is thus oppressed, though) one needs must move, walk and advance (i.e. by gradual exertions in moral training).

8 He, who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance.

9 (But this exertion must be undertaken with a fixed aim). Whoever of you will point out this (nīti to others), it should be said by him—do not look to any other thing, such and such is the instruction of Devānaṃpiya (thereby calling upon the people in the name of the king to follow this precept, and exert themselves with one-mindedness).

9 He who will pay attention to this, must tell you—see that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the (king): such is the instruction of Devānaṃpiya.

10 For this purpose has this lipi been engraved here that the

10 For the following purpose has this rescript been written here,

nagalaviyohālakas may strive at all times that the people may not manifest sudden religious zeal (by leaving home), and may not at the same time suffer the sudden tortures (of bad tendencies).

11 And for this purpose I shall send out every five years (a Mahāmātra) who is free from cruelty, free from the cause of anger, and free from idleness, etc.

(viz.) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times (for this), (that) neither undeserved fettering nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to (men).

11 And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years (a Mahāmātra) who will be neither harsh nor fierce (but) of gentle actions.

POSTSCRIPT

We find that this Separate Edict I is simply a sermon on gradual moral improvement effected by giving up vices like envy, cruelty and idleness with one-minded attention. In this respect, it breathes forth the same sentiments expressed in the Rock Edict X. We here quote from V. A. Smith's *Asoka* (third edition) wherein we find perhaps the best rendering of the text. "Whatsoever exertions His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King makes, all are for the sake of the life hereafter, so that every one may be freed from peril, and that peril is vice. Difficult, verily, it is to attain such freedom, whether by people of low or of high degree, save by utmost exertion, giving up all other aims." The Separate Edict I is rather more elaborate on these points. The Rock Edict X simply makes a general statement in *sakale apaparisrava asa. Esa tu parisrave ya apuṃñaṃ,* but the Separate Edict I explains this with illustrations. Beginning with *Imehi cu jātehi no saṃpaṭipajati*, i.e., with certain natural dispositions success is impossible (cf. *dukaraṃ tu kho etaṃ*, i.e. it is difficult to attain this freedom from vice, of the R. E. X). Mark that the two expressions aim at almost the same thing, the edict speaks about the complete destruction of vices like envy, cruelty and idleness, and then it says *E kilaṃte siyā* etc. whereby the necessity of exertions is established as indicated by *parākrama* of the R.E.X. The idea of one-minded attention indicated by *savaṃ paricaṇitpā* of the R.E.X is expressed in the Separate Edict I by *Hevaṃmeva e dakhiye tuphāka tena vataviye aṃnaṃ ne dekhata.* The Rock Edict X refers to the other world only once, but we have repeated references to *svagaṃ* in the Separate Edict

I with clear indication of the line that one should follow for this purpose. So, the Separate Edict I is practically an elaborate commentary of the R.E.X.

Now, about the Separate Edict II. This edict is nothing but a sermon on *dhamma vijaya*. Herein Asoka instructs his officers as to how they should conquer or gain the confidence of *avijitānaṃ aṃtānaṃ*. The Rock Edict XIII also speaks about this *dhamma vijaya*. There the chief aim of Asoka is to point out the superiority of this kind of conquest over the conquest made by force of arms. In order to illustrate this with examples he has alluded to his military conquest of Kaliṅga taking particular care to point out the evil effects of such conquests, and advising his sons and grandsons not to think of new conquests effected by force. But in the Separate Edict II, he has pointed out the means of *dhamma vijaya*. We, therefore, find that these two edicts really deal with the same subject, the Separate Edict II clearly explaining the means of *dhamma vijaya* which was simply mentioned in the R.E.XIII, but not sufficiently explained there. The object of alluding to the conquest of Kaliṅga so elaborately in the R.E.XIII can thus be clearly understood when that Edict is read with the Separate Edict II. This is also the reason why the latter was engraved at Kaliṅga in the place of the R.E.XIII.

Now, about the numbering of these two separate edicts. We think Prinsep is perfectly justified in his numeration. Separate Edict I being a substitute of the Rock Edict X should reasonably be numbered I, but the other being the substitute of the Rock Edict XIII should be numbered II. This we can say from the internal evidence of these two edicts, and numeration should properly be based on this principle. But the edicts have been engraved at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa without taking care to preserve this order. Perhaps greater importance was attached to the Separate Edict I, and hence the whole of the left column was reserved for this edict at Dhauli. At Jaugaḍa we also find that this edict has been put into prominence by shifting it to the left. But this does not prove that the edicts should be numbered by observing the manner of engraving in two particular places only (as suggested by Cunningham in his *Corpus*, p. 20, and supported by other scholars) without taking into considerartion the order of the whole series of edicts to which they belong, and which have been engraved at other places.

We have another most important suggestion to make here. We find that towards the end of the R. E. IX, the texts of Girnār, Dhauli

and Jaugaḍa differ from those of Kālsi, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mānsehrā. Now, what is the cause of this difference and similarity? In order to find this out, we have to look to the inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa. We find that the Rock Edicts XI, XII, and XIII were not inscribed at those two places, but the two Separate Edicts were added to the series engraved there. These omissions and additions are undoubtedly not accidental. When those responsible for the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa inscriptions decided to leave out the Rock Edicts XI, XII, and XIII from the whole series, they counteracted this omission by the introduction of the two Kaliṅga Edicts, and by changing the texts of the Rock Edict IX towards the end in such a way that the new text might satisfactorily account for the omission uncovered by the new Kaliṅga Edicts. Now, we have seen that the Kaliṅga Edict I here stands for the R. E. X, and the Kaliṅga Edict II for the R. E. XIII, so, of the three edicts omitted, the Rock Edicts XI and XII remain to be represented, and this was done by the new text of the R. E. IX. The Rock Edict XI is simply a sermon on almsgiving and liberality, and the Rock Edict XII, though it principally deals with toleration and concord, also speaks about gifts and reverence (vide the first sentence of the edict). The new text of the R. E. IX, is nothing but a sermon on liberality, and thus it deals with the same subject treated in the R. E. XI, and in the first part of the R. E. XII. Even there is substantial agreement in the composition. Compare *Na tu etārisaṃ asti dānaṃ.....yārisaṃ dhaṃmadānaṃ* (G. IX. 7), with *Nāsti etarisaṃ dānam yārisaṃ dhammadānaṃ* of the R. E. XI. (G. XI 1), and Sādhu dānaṃ (G IX. 7) with *Sādhu dānaṃ* (G. XI. 2), and *Idaṃ kacaṃ idaṃ sādhu iti* (G. IX. 8), with *Idaṃ sādhu idaṃ katavyaṃ* (G.XI. 3). Even "therefore should a friend, lover, relative or comrade exhort saying—this ought to be done, this is excellent," of the new text of the Rock Edict IX (G. IX. 7-8) seems to be an echo of "this ought to be said by father, son, brother, friend, or comrade, nay, even by a neighbour—this is excellent, this ought to be done" of the Rock Edict XI (G. XI. 3). The instructions about the proper treatment of slaves and servants, and of hearkening to father and mother, etc. of the Rock Edict XI, (G. XI. 2-3) are mere repetition of similar sentiments expressed in the Rock Edicts III and IX. Besides, we have this matter already dealt with in the earlier part of the R. E. IX (G. IX. 4-5), and hence it was not considered necessary to repeat it in the latter part of the same Edict. It will thus be evident how the Rock Edict XI has been mostly in-

corporated in the new text of the R. E. IX. Now, about the Rock Edict XII. It deals with toleration and concord, a subject which had already been touched upon by the Rock Edict VII. It says—"The king desires that in all places men of every denomination may abide, for they all desire mastery over their senses and purity of mind." This lays down the principle of toleration dealt with in the Rock Edict XII, and supports the principles of "the growth in the essence of the matter" discussed therein. The Rock Edict VII was, therefore, considered sufficient for the pupose of the Rock Edict XII, so far at least as the Kaliṅga country was concerned, and hence no addition of a new text was considered necessary for R. E. XII.

About the Rock Edict XIII, it can be said that it contains a vivid description of the sufferings of the people of Kaliṅga during the war, and hence it could not be agreeable to the people of that country to be reminded of an unfortunate past event. It was, therefore, statesman-like not to engrave this edict at Kaliṅga. But its place was taken up by the Kaliṅga Edict II, which deals with *dhaṃmavijaya,* pointing out the means of securing the love and confidence of the people, as was absolutely necessary for pacifying a newly conquered country. The selection was thus made with a purpose.

We now find how the omission of the Rock Edicts XI, XII and XIII has been made up by the Kaliṅga Edicts and by the new text of the R. E. IX. But why this new text should be added to the R. E. IX, and not to the Rock Edict X is an important point which engages our attention. We find that the Rock Edict X has not been omitted at Kaliṅga, so there was no necessity of the Kaliṅga Edict I to be engraved there, for the latter is practically an elaborate copy of the former. This is to be observed that at the beginning of the series engraved at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa i.e. at the begininng of the Rock Edict I engraved there, we have two additional words *Khapiṃgalasi pavatasi* which are not found in the texts of G. K. S. and M. The real significance of the additton of these two words has not yet been clearly understood. This shows that the selection of the series engraved at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa was specially made for those two places, but not for any other place. The necessity of such selection can also be understood when we find that some edicts were omitted, while others were added and texts changed. At the time of selection it was perhaps decided to omit the Rock Edict X also from the series engraved in those two places, and hence the new text was added towards the end of the R. E. IX. Had the omission of the R. E. X not

been decided upon the new text would have been added to the R. E. X and there would have been no necessity of the Kaliṅga Edict I. We thus find that the original intention was to omit the Rock Edicts X-XIII from the Kaliṅga series, but the Rock Edict X was retained by mistake. It is also possible that both the Rock Edict X and the Kaliṅga Edict I were engraved at Kaliṅga, because they were considered supplementary to one another, the latter being looked upon as a commentary of the former, the connection between these two edicts being perfectly clear to the authority. This is the strongest proof against the taking of *baṃdhanaṃ* and *palikilesaṃ* of the Kaliṅga Edict I in the sense of imprisonment and torture by the officers, for, from the foregoing discussions it is perfectly clear that they were not used by the authors of the edicts in those senses, and that the Kaliṅga Edict I is nothing but a sermon on morality, as it is an explanatory commentary of the R. E. X which has no connection whatsoever with administrative imprisonment and tortures. But there is another most interesting point to be discussed in this connection. We know that the texts of Girnār, Dhauli and Jaugaḍa form a distinct group with substantial agreement towards the later part of the R. E. IX, where new text was necessary at Dhauli and Jaugaḍa to counteract the omission of the Rock Edicts XI and XII. But Girnār does not omit these two edicts, for, it has the Edicts I-XIV engraved there in perfect serial order, and hence it had no necessity of a summary statement like those of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa at the end of the R. E. IX. What is thus justified in the case of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa is redundant in the case of Girnār, yet we find the same added to the R. E. IX engraved there: Does it not signify that the authorities, responsible for the Girnār inscriptions, received a copy of the edicts after the plan and texts of the Kaliṅga Edict had been definitely settled, and that the new text of the R. E. IX was by mistake forwarded to Girnār, and that Girnār inscription is later in date than those of Dhauli and Jaugaḍa? This is an instance of "the blunder of the writer" alluded to in the R. E. XIV, just as the Kaliṅga Edict I and the Rock Edict X show how one text has been "sometimes condensed, sometimes expanded," and how "everything is not brought together everywhere."

MANINDRA MOHAN BOSE

The Origin and Development of Numerals

II

IV. The use and development of the numerals among the Arabs

With the accession of the Abbasides, long before the Muhammadan influence spread through Arabia and Persia, passion for learning, especially astronomy and mathematics, grew up with the Arabs. The mathematical knowledge of the Arabs rested upon the Elements of Euclid, which, immediately on being translated into Arabic, was enthusiastically studied by them, and on which they made considerable advances. In the 9th century A.D., they borrowed from the Indians their decimal system, numerals and arithmetic. At the instance of the Caliph Manun (about 280 A.H.) the mathematician Muhammad ibn Musa, commonly called Khowarizimi, wrote a short Algebraical treatise which gave the best known and most useful illustrations drawn from everyday problems of life. This treatise first introduced into Europe a knowledge of Algebra. The Latin translation of Khowarizimi served as a manual to the European scholars of the 16th century supplying to them knowledge of Algebra earliest in point of time.[1]

From that time onward, there were numerous Arabic writers upon arithmetic, as that subject occupied one of the high places among the sciences, but most of them did not feel it necessary to refer to the origin of the symbols, the knowledge of which might well have been taken for granted.

The earliest Arabic documents containing the numerals are two manuscripts of 874 and 888 A.D.[2] They appear a century later in a work written at Shiraz in 970 A.D. There is also an early trace of their use on a pillar recently discovered in a church, apparently destroyed as early as the tenth century, not far from the Jeremiah Monas-

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1 Literary and Scientific Activities under the Caliphate by S. Khoda Buksh.

2 Karpinski, Hindu Numerals in the Fihrist, vol. XI (3) pp. 121ff.

tery in Egypt. A graffito in Arabic on this pillar has the date 349 A.H., which corresponds to 961 A.D.[1] For the dating of Latin documents the Arabic forms were used as early as the thirteenth century. In fact, it was from the eighth century that progress of learning began with the Arabs; from the eighth century to the thirteenth century Muhammadism was to the western world what Rome and Athens and the Italo-Hellenic influence generally had been to the ancient civilisation. Mr. Libri, in his Histoire des Mathematiques, says, "If they did not possess the spirit of invention which distinguished the Hindus and the Greeks, they at least possessed the virility of a new and victorious people, with a desire to understand what others had accomplished, and a taste which led them with equal ardour to the study of algebra and of poetry, of philosophy and of language."[2]

Mr. Fleet says that the method of calculation by abacus spread from India to Arabia. It is to be noted that the debt the Arabs are said to owe to Hindu mathematicians for their arithmetical notation is closely connected with the question of the existence of the abacus in ancient India. The gobar numerals of the Arabs are said to be derived more or less from the abacus. Mr. G. R. Kaye[3] has pointed out that while various writers have said that the abacus was in common use in India, they have not given any proof of their assertion. He accepts no doubt that a form of abacus is now in use in India but that fact, he says, does not enable us to affirm that the appliance dates from any early times in India. What is wanted is distinct evidence and Mr. Fleet[4] draws our attention to a passage which perhaps yields such evidence. The passage is found in the Divyāvadāna which is regarded as dating generally from before A.D. 100, though parts of it may be placed two centuries or more later. It is in chapter 19, entitled Jyotiṣkāvadāna (ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 262ff); the story begins thus:—

"There lived in Rājagṛha a rich householder named Subhadra, who greatly favoured the Nirgranthas (the Jains). On a certain occasion Buddha, wandering through Rājagṛha for alms, came to Subhadra's

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1 Archæological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund for 1908-1909, London, 1910, p. 18.

2 Libri, Histoire des Mathematiques, vol. I, p. 174.

3 J. A. S. B., 1908, pp. 293-297.

4 J. R. A. S., 1911, pp. 519-21.

house, and in the course of conversation told Subhadra that his wife was about to bear a son who would devote himself to the Buddhist faith and attain the condition of an Arhat. The interview was witnessed by a person named Bhūrika who was the owner of a charitable hall, and was entitled to expect that Buddha should have applied to him for alms rather than to Subhadra. When Buddha, having his alms-bowl filled by Subhadra, had gone away, Bhūrika went to Subhadra, and asked what had occurred. Subhadra explained. Then we are told (p. 263, line 8) :—स भूरिको गणित्रे कृतावी श्वेतवर्णां गृहीत्वा गणयितुमारब्धः (He, Bhūrika, who was skilled in *gaṇitra*, took a *śvetavarṇā* and began to count or calculate.).

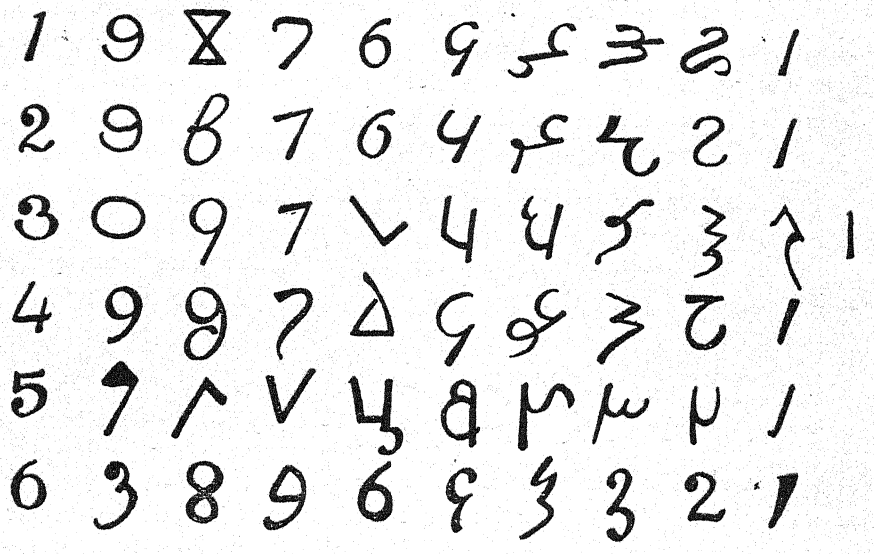
The upshot was that Bhūrika confirmed the prediction. It is clear that Bhūrika was an adept in making and testing predictions by means of calculations. The editors, regarding him as an astrologer, have explained "gaṇitra" in their index of words as meaning "an astrologer's instrument, an abacus," and "śvetavarṇā" as meaning also "an astrologer's instrument." The appropriate meaning of śvetavarṇā, lit. "having a white colour" is "chalk," as assigned to it in Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary. Now what is the meaning of gaṇitra? Gaṇitra is formed with the suffix *itra*. The rule 3. 2. 184 of Pāṇini teaches us the use of this suffix in the sense of instrument to form such words as khanitra, 'an instrument for digging,' aritra, 'a rudder,' lavitra, 'a sickle,' and dhavitra 'a fan.' This gives an appropriate meaning to gaṇitra which explains the above passage thus:—

"He, Bhūrika, being skilled in the use of the appliance for counting (of abacus) took a piece of chalk and began to count or calculate."

This distinctly suggests the use of some form of the abacus in the shape of a board—the well-known *phalaka*[1]—coloured black and ruled ready for use so that calculaions could be made on it with a piece of chalk. This gives, according to Mr. Fleet, a documentary evidence of the use of abacus in ancient India. This was surely the father of the system of gobar or dust numerals. The significance of the term gobar is doubtless that the numerals were written on the dust abacus. It has been stated by Al-Biruni that the Hindus often performed numerical computations in the sand. The term is found as early as circa 950, in the verses of an anonymous writer of Kairwan, in which

1 See Bühler, Indian Paleography, pp. 5, sec. 37, c.

the author speaks of one of his works on gobar calculation. From the tenth century the Arabs used these gobar numerals and they knew the numerals as Indian forms. It is, therefore, certain that the Arabs used the gobar forms before the later numerals reached them in 773 A.D. The gobar numerals varied more or less, but substantially they were of the following forms (read from right to left):[1]—



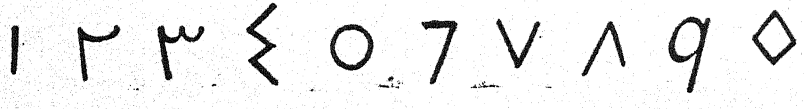
The first definite trace that we have of the introduction of the system of numerals into Arabia dates from 773 A.D. At that time the second Abbasside Khalif Al-Mansur was ruling and an Indian astronomer visited his court bringing with him tables of the planets according to the mean motions, with observations relative to both Solar and Lunar Eclipses and the ascension of the signs; these were translated into Arabic at the Khalif's command by Muhammad Bin Ibrahim Al-Fazari.[2] Al-Khowarazmi and Habash (Ahmed ibn Abdallah, died c. 870) based their well-known tables upon the work of Al-Fazari. It may be asserted as highly probable that the numerals came at the same time as the tables. They were certainly known a few decades later, and before 825 A.D., about which time the original of the *Algoritmi de numero Indorum* was written, as that work makes no pretence of being the first work to treat of the numerals. The three writers

1 Silvestre de Sacy gives the ordinary modern Arabic forms, calling them *Indian*.

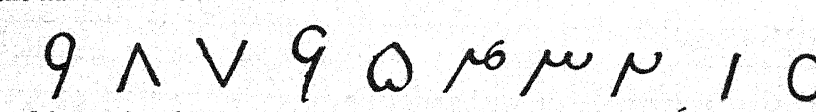
2 Colebrooke, Essays, vol., II, p. 504.

mentioned above cover the period from the end of the eighth to the end of the ninth century and the historians Al-Masudi and Al-Biruni followed quite closely. One document cited by Woepcke is of special interest since it shows at an early period, 970 A.D., the use of the ordinary Arabic forms alongside the gobar. The title of the work is *Interesting and Beautiful Problems on Numbers* copied by Ahmed ibn Muhammad (951-1024) from a work by a priest and physician, Nazir ibn Yumn al-Quas (died c. 990).[1] It was Al-Khowarizmi who appreciating at once the importance of the position system brought from India wrote an arithmetic based upon these numerals, and this was translated in the time of Adelhard of Bath (c. 1130). This system used by Al-Khowarizmi found its way into Europe through the Latin translation.

In this way when the importance of the place value was appreciated by the Arabs, the complete system of modern Arabic numerals grew up:



The Arabs, however, did not adopt the circle, since it bore some resemblance to the letter "five" of their system. The earlist Arabic zero known is the dot, used in a manuscipt of 873 A.D. Sometimes both the dot and the circle are used in the same work having the same meaning, which is the case in an Arabic Ms., an abridged arithmetic of Jamshid, 982 A.H. (1575 A.D.). As given in this work the numerals are :



I have already stated that the Hindus called the zero Śūnya or void. This passed over into the Arabic as assifr or sifr. When Leonardo of Pisa wrote upon the Hindu numerals he spoke of this character as zephirum. Maximus Planudes called it tziphra. The English cipher or zero, French chiffre, is derived from the same Arabic word assifr.

I have already cited the various forms of gobar numerals, an examination of which will show that the 5th form resembles to a great extent the modern Arabic numerals, except that there is no sign for zero in the gobar system. The sign for zero was added much

1 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, Hindu Arabic Numerals.

later when the Arabs came to appreciate the importance of place value from the Indian mathematicians. They finally adopted the modern numerals and helped to introduce them into Europe.

V. THE INTRODUCTION AND SPREAD OF THE NUMERALS IN EUROPE INDICATING A SOLUTION OF THE HINDU-ARABIC QUESTION

We have dealt with the origin and growth of Hindu numerals and also the use of the numerals among the Arabs ; here we shall take up the question of their introduction into Europe, a solution of which, we are led to believe, helps the solution of the Hindu-Arabic question of the numerals.

"One theory is that the Hindu system of numerals, without the zero, early reached Alexandria (450 A.D.), and that the Neo-Pythagorean love for the mysterious and specially for the oriental led to its use as something bizarre and cabalistic, that it was then passed along the Mediterranean, reaching Davius Bœthius in Athens or in Rome, and the schools of Spain, being discovered in Africa and Spain by the Arabs even before they themselves knew the improved system with the place value."[1] Another theory has been set forth by Bubnov that the numerals found their way in Europe from ancient symbols used on the abacus, but that the zero was of Hindu origin.[2] The latter theory is not tenable in the light of what has been said in previous chapters.

The Spanish forms of the numerals were called the hurūf al-gobar, the gobar or dust numerals, as distinguished from the hurūf al-jumal or alphabetic numerals. The signification of the term gobar is doubtless that these numerals were written on the dust abacus, this plan being distinct from the counter method of representing numbers. Al-Biruni states that the Hindus often perfomed numerical computation in the sand.

The gobar numerals themselves were first made known to Europe by Silvestre de Sacy, who discovered them in an Arabic manuscript from the library of the ancient abbey of St. -Germain-des-Prés. The

1 D. E. Smith and L.C. Karpinski, The Hindu Arabic Numerals.

2 Bubnov, Origin and History of our Numerals (Russian), 1908.

system has nine characters, but no zero. A dot above a character indicates tens, two dots hundreds, and so on, $\dot{5}$ meaning 50, and $\ddot{5}$ meaning 5,000. When we consider that the dot is found for zero in the Bakhsali manuscript[1] and that it was used in subscript form in the Kitab al-Fihrist[2] in the tenth century, and as late as the sixteenth century, although in this case probably under Arabic influence, we are forced to believe that this form may also have been of Hindu origin. The fact seems to be that the Arabs did not immediately adopt the Hindu zero, because it resembled their 5; they used the superscript dot as serving their purposes fairly well; they may, indeed, have carried this to the west and have added it to the gobar forms already there, just as they transmitted it to the Persians. Further more, the Arab and Hebrew scholars of Northern Africa in the tenth century knew these numerals as Indian forms, for a commentary on the Safar Yesirah by Abu Sahl ibn Tamin (probably composed at Kairwan, c. 950) speaks of "the Indian arithmetic known under the name of gobar or dust calculation"[3] The Indian use of subscript dots to indicate the tens, hundreds, thousands etc. is established by a passage in the Kitab al-Fihrist (987 A.D.) in which the writer discusses the written language of the people of India.

The gobar numerals varied more or less, but were substantially as those shown on page 359 above.

These gobar numerals resemble modern numerals much more closely than the Arab numerals do.

How did these gobar numerals reach Bœthius and Europe? Certainly along trade routes with the merchant people trading in India. Even in very remote times, before the Hindu numerals were sculptured in the cave of Nānā Ghāṭ, there were trade relations between Arabia and India. Indeed, long before the Aryans went to India the great Turanian race had spread its civilisation from the Mediterranean to the Indus. At a much later period the Arabs were the intermediaries between Egypt on the west, and the farther Orient. The Romans also exchanged products with the East. Horace says "a busy trader, you hasten to the farthest Indies, flying from poverty over sea, over crags, over fires."

There may be another theory of the spread of numerals in Europe. With the progress of Buddhism, severals centres of learning grew

1 Possibly as early as the third century A.D.

2 Ascribed by the Arabic writer to India.

up in India which attracted scholars from China, Persia, Central Asia, Greece and other far off countries. In 62 A.D., the then Chinese Emperor sent an ambassador to India. So that it was entirely possible for the numerals of the Punjab to have worked their way to western countries through Afganistan and Persia at that early date.

As regards the Arabs, in the fifth century they traded by sea with India and even with China, and Hira was an emporium for the wares of the East, so that any numeral system of any part of the world could hardly have been isolated. Long before the activity of the Arabs, ships sailed from the Isthmus of Suez to all the commercial ports of Southern Europe and up into the Black Sea. Hindus were found among the merchants who frequented the bazars of Alexandria, and Brahmins were reported even in Byzantium. The Gulistān of the Persian poet Sādī contains such a passage :—

"I met a merchant who owned one hundred and forty camels, fifty slaves and porters. He answered to me: 'I want to carry sulphur of Persia to China, which in that country, as I hear, bears a high price; and thence to take Chinese ware to Roum; and from Roum to load up with brocades for Hind; and so to trade Indian steel to Halib. From Halib I will convey its glass to Yeman, and carry the painted cloths of Yeman back to Persia."[1] Still another certain route for the entrance of the numerals into Christian Europe was through the pillaging and trading carried on by the Arabs on the northern shores of the Mediterranean. As early as 652 A.D. in the thirteenth year of the Hejira, the Muhammadans descended upon the shores of Sicily and took much spoil. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that in the Middle Ages as in the time of Bœthius, it was a simple matter for any enquiring scholar to become acquainted with such numerals of the Orient as merchants may have used for warehouse or price marks.[2]

To sum up, therefore, there was abundant intercourse between the East and the West for some centuries before the Hindu numerals appear in any manuscripts in Christian Europe. The numerals must of necessity have been known to many traders in a country like Italy at least as early as the ninth century, and probably even earlier, but there was no reason for preserving them in treatises. Therefore

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1 Gulistān-Sādī, born at Shiraz in 1193. He himself travelled from India to Europe.

2 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, Hindu Arabic Numerals.

when a man like Gerbert (afterwards Pope Sylvester II from 999 to 1003) made them known to the scholarly circles, he was merely describing what had been familiar in a small way to many people in a different walk of life.

In the 12th century A.D., four Englishmen: Adelhard of Bath (c. 1130), Robert of Chester (c. 1143) William Shelley, and Daniel Morley (1180) are known[1] to have journeyed to Spain in the twelfth century for the purpose of studying mathematics and Arabic. Adelhard of Bath translated from Arabic into Latin Al-Khowarazimi's astronomical tables, while Robert of Chester is known as the translator of Al-Khowarazimi's algebra. The earliest trace of computation with Hindu numerals in Germany is an Algerismus of 1143, now in the Hofbibliothek in Vienna. It was about the same time that Rabbi Abraham ibn Meir ibn Ezra of Toledo wrote a book called the Safar ha-Mispar, the Book of Number, in the Hebrew language. Probably he acquired his knowledge of the Hindu arithmetic in his native town of Toledo.

Of all the mediæval writers, probably the one most instrumental in introducing the numerals to the scholars of Europe was Leonardo of Pisa. But more popular were the treatises of Alexander de Villa Dei (c. 1240 A.D.) and John of Halifax (Sacrobosco, c. 1250 A.D.) who were responsible for the rapid spread of the numerals among the common people. Sacrobosco's work was of special interest inasmuch as the extended use of this work made the term 'Arabic numerals' commonly known. In the introduction it is stated that this science of reckoning was due to a philosopher named Algus, whence the name algorismus, and in the section on numeration reference is made to the Arabs as the inventors of this science. Though some of the commentators were aware of the Hindu origin of the numerals, they took the text as it stood; and hence the belief that Arabs were responsible for the invention of the numerals gained much ground in Europe.

In Europe the complete system with the zero was derived from the Arabs in the 12th century, and the arithmetic based on this system was known by the name of Algorithmus. This word is nothing more than a transcription of Al-Khowarizmi as was conjectured by Reinaud, and has become plain since the publication of a unique

1 Wallis, Algebra, 1685, p. 12 seq.

Cambridge manuscript containing a Latin translation, perhaps by Adelhard of Bath, of the lost arithmetical treatise of the Arabian mathematician. The arithmetical methods of Al-Khowarizmi were simplified by later Eastern writers, and these simpler methods were introduced to Europe by Leonardo of Pisa in the west and Maximus Planudes in the east. The term zero appears to come from the Arabic *sifr* through the form zephyre used by Leonardo.[1]

As a result of this brief survey of the evidence mentioned in this Chapter, we come to these conclusions:—(1) commerce and travel helped the spread of numerals in Europe: (2) merchants trading in India, China, Arabia, Persia and Palestine had every opportunity of knowing the elementary number systems of the peoples with whom they were trading, but they did not put this knowledge in a permanent written form; (3) there is every reason to believe that the numerals in some forms were known to European merchants, long before the Arabs introduced the perfect system into Europe; (4) the wonder is that though the Hindu-Arabic numerals were known in 1000 A.D., and formed the subject matter of an elaborate work by Fibonacci in 1202, more extended manuscript evidence of their appearance before that time has not been found, even when they were more or less known to many merchants and travellers of Christian Europe in the Middle Ages.[2]

VI. HINDU ORIGIN OF NUMERALS AND THE GRADUAL EVOLUTION OF THE MODREN FORMS

It has been said that the earliest Arabic documents containing the numerals are two manuscripts of 874 and 888 A.D. They appear about a century later in a work written at Shiraz in 970 A.D. There is also an early trace of their use on a pillar recently discovered in a church apparently destroyed as early as the tenth century, not far from the Jeremiah Monastery in Egypt. A graffito in Arabic on this pillar has the date 349 A.H., corresponding to 961 A.D. The complete system with the zero was introduced, however, in Europe by the Arabs in the 12th century, and the arithmetic based on this system was known by the name of Algorithmus, algorithm. But

1 Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th edition, Numerals.

2 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, Hindu-Arabic Numerals.

the use of numerals in India can be followed back to the Nānāghāṭ inscription, supposed to date from the early part of the 3rd century B.C. The forms of the later Indian numerals for the nine digits appear to be clearly derived from the earlier system. The Nānāghāṭ and "cave" numerals give forms earlier than the introduction of the system of position, while Devanāgarī, derived from a computaion of all the systems, was used with a zero and position value.[1]

"It was not apparently till 773 A.D." says C. E. Bayley, "that the Arabs became acquainted with the Indian ciphers and with the Indian method of notation and arithmetic. They obtained this knowledge from a book presented by the envoy of an Indian monarch to the Khalif Al-Mansur. Probably the Indian monarch was one of the Hindu kings of Kabul. At least the modern Arabic numerals seem to be derived from the peculiar form of those then employed in that part of India. At that date the complete Indian system (employing the zero) was used, it was with this that the Arabs first came in contact. This seems clear from the excessive eulogiums lavished by them upon the new system of numeration and calculation, as being infinitely superior to the Greek system."[2]

As a matter of fact there is abundant reason for believing that Hindu numerals would naturally have been known to the Arabs, and even along every trade route to the remote west, long before the zero entered to make their place-value possible, and that the characters, the methods of calculating, the improvements that took place from time to time, the zero when it appeared, and the customs as to solving business problems, would all have been made known from generation along these same trade routes from the orient to the occident. It must always be kept in mind that it was to the tradesman and the wandering scholar that the spread of such learning was due, rather than to the schoolman. Indeed Avicenna[3] (980-1087 A.D.) in a short biography of himself relates that when his people were living at Bokhara his father sent him to the house of a grocer to learn the Hindu art of reckoning, in which this grocer (oil dealer, possibly)

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1 Burnell, South Indian Paleography, 1874.

2 Sir C. E. Bayley, "On the Genealogy of Modern Numerals", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vols. XIV, XV.

3 Carrade Vaux, Avicenna, Paris 1900. His full name was Abū-Ali-al-Hossein ibn Sina.

was expert.[1] Even in very remote times, before the Hindu numerals were sculptured in the cave of Nānāghāṭ, there were trade relations between Arabia and India. Indeed long before the Aryans went to India, the great Turanian race had spread its civilisation from the Mediterranean to the Indus.[2] At a much later period the Arabs were the intermediaries between Egypt and Syria on the west, and the further orient. Indeed, there is ample testimony to the caravan trade from India, across Arabia, and on to the banks of the Nile. About the sixth century B.C. Scylax, a Persian Admiral under Darius, from Caryanda on the coast of Asia Minor, travelled to north-west India and wrote upon his ventures. Such number systems as there were in these lands would naturally have been known to a man of his attainments.[3]

For over five hundred years Arabic writers and others continued to apply to works on Arithmetic the name "Indian." In the tenth century such writers are 'Abdallah-ibn Al-Hasan, Abul Qasim (died 987 A.D.) of Antioch and Mohammed ibn Abdallah Abu Naser (c. 982), of Kalwada near Bagdad. Others of the same period or earlier (since they are mentioned in the Fihrist, 987 A.D.) who explicitly use the word "Hindu" or Indian, are Sinān ibn Al-Fath of Harran and Ahmed ibn Omar Al-Karābīsī. In the eleventh century came Al-Biruni (973-1048) and Ali ibn Ahmed Abul-Hasan Al Naswi (c. 1030). Even in the first half of the 14th century, Maximus Planudes, a Greek monk, followed the Arabic usage in calling his work "Indian" Arithmetic.

The next question is, therefore, the source of information of the Arabs. In the seventh century the Arab empire became an ellipse of learning with its foci at Bagdad and Cordova, and its rulers not infrequently took pride in demanding intellectual rather than commercial treasures. It was at this time that the Hindu numerals found their way to the north. It is not possible to find out the exact time when they were actually known. But this much is certain that in the eighth century they were taken to Bagdad.

It is stated in the preface to the Astronomical tables of Bin-

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1 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, Hindu-Arabic Numerals.

2 G. Oppert, On the Ancient Commerce of India, Madras, 1879, p. 8.

3 D. E. Smith and L. C. Karpinski, Hindu-Arabic Numerals.

al-Adami, published by his continuator, Al Qasim in 920 A.D., that in the reign of the second Abasside Khalif Al-Mansur, in 773 A.D. "an Indian astronomer, well versed in the science he professed, visited the court of the Khalif, bringing with him tables of the planets according to the mean motions, with observations relative to both Solar and Lunar Eclipses, and ascensions of the signs. The Khalif embracing the opportunity thus presented to him, commanded the book to be published for a guide to the Arabians." The task devolved on Mohammed Bin Ibrahim AlFazari, whose version is known by the name of the greater Sind-hind. Colebrooke was of opinion that the Sind-hind was a copy of the revised Brahma-sidhānata of Brahmagupta, and that the fact was deducible from the number of elapsed days between the beginning of the planetary motions and the commencement of the present age of the world according to the Indian reckoning as it is quoted by Abu Mashar (an astrologer of Balkh) and which agrees precisely with Brahmagupta.[1] The work of AlFazari, taken from the Hindu astronomy, continued to be in general use among the Arabs until the time of Al-Mamun for whom it was epitomised by Mohamed Bin Musa Al Khowarizmi; and his abridgment was thence forward known by the title of the less Sind-hind. Contemporary with Al-Khowarizmi and working under Al-Mamun was a Jewish astronomer, Abul-Taiyib Sened ibn Ali, who wrote a work on Hindu arithmetic. Abul-Hasan Ali Al-Masudi (d. 946) of Bagdad who travelled to the China Sea on the east, at least as far south as Zanzibar, and to the Atlantic on the west, speaks of the nine figures with which the Hindus reckoned.

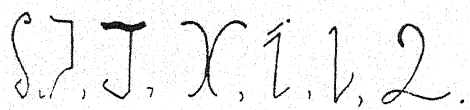
To sum up, therefore, we have up till now shown that the Indian claim to invention of the value of position and the zero rests first on the distinct testimony of Arab historians, and other Arab writers to that effect; on the certainty that it was practically used by the Indians at a date considerably anterior to that at which it can be really shown to have been used by any other people; and the Indian claim to the "zero" rests on exactly similar grounds. This claim is further establised by the early records of inscriptions on caves and hills during the reign of Asoka and other princes.

As to the forms of the numerals, fashion played a leading part until printing was invented. This tended to fix these forms, although in writing there is still a great variation.

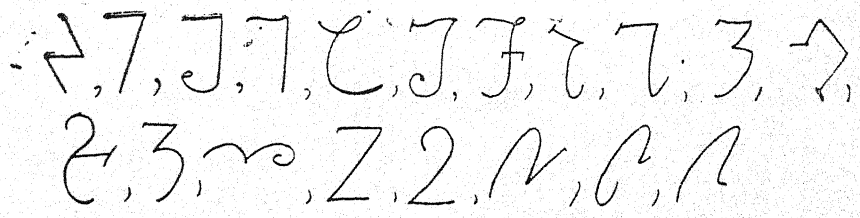
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1 Colebrooke, Essays, vol. II, p. 505.

1 In the early printed books "one" was often written as i, perhaps to save types, just as some modern typewriting use the same character for 1 and *I*. One appears in such forms as

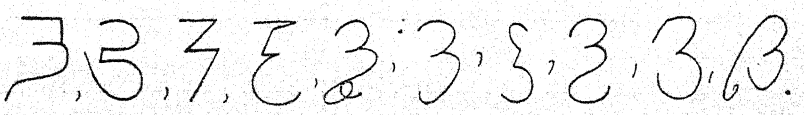


2 "Two" often as z. In early printed books 12 appears as 1 z. In the mediæval manuscripts the following forms are common:—

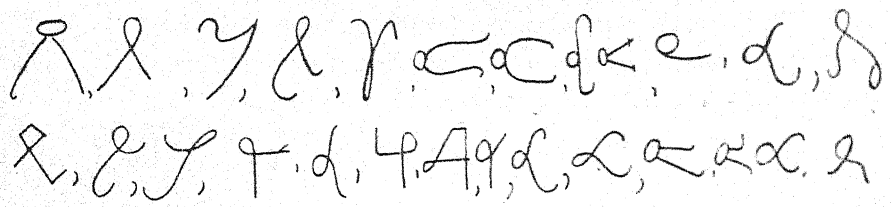


It is evident from the early traces that it is merely a cursive form for the primitive ⚌, just as 3 comes for ☰, as in Nānāghāṭ,

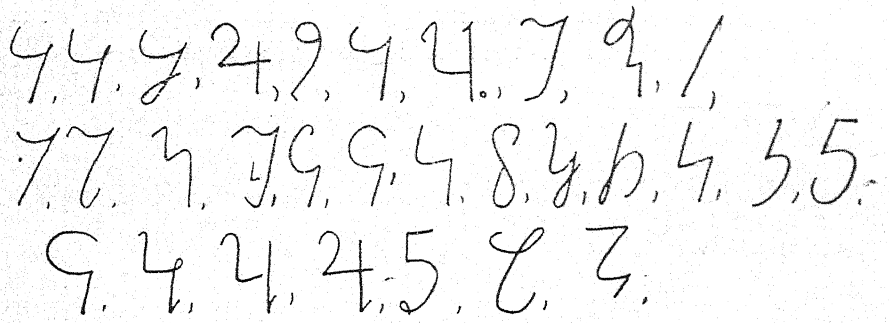
3 "Three" usually had a special type in the first printed books, although occasionally it appears as 3. In the mediæval manuscripts it varied rather less than most of the others:



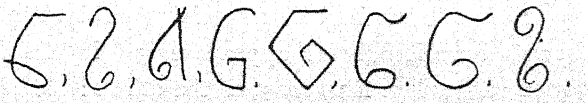
4 "Four" has changed greatly; and one of the first tests as to the age of a manuscript on arithmetic, and the place where it was written, is the examination of this numeral. Until the time of printing the most common form was  , although the Florentine manuscript of Leonardo of Pisa's work has the form *4*; but the manuscripts show that the Florentine arithmeticians and astronomers rather early began to straiten the first of these form up to forms like  , and  or  , more closely resembling the present form. The first printed books generally used the present form with the closed top 4, the open top used in writing  being purely modern. The following are other forms of the four, from various manuscripts:—



5 "Five" also varied greatly before the time of printing, as :—



6 "Six" has changed rather less than most of the others, chief variation being in the slope of the top



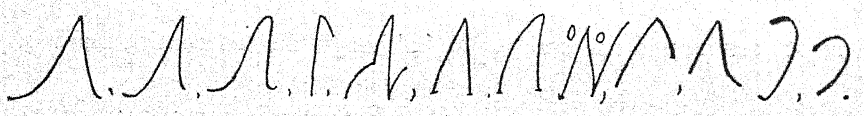
7 "Seven" like "four" has assumed its present form only since the fifteenth century.

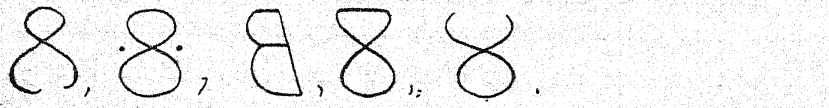
8 "Eight" like "six" has changed but little. In mediæval times there are a few variants of interest.

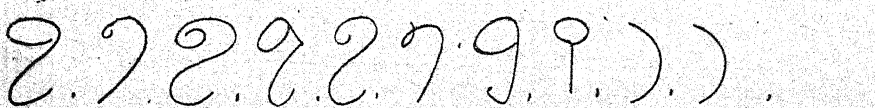
9 Nine has not varied much.

0 Variation of zero is given below.

The following are the variations.

7 

8 

9 

0 

Thus we see that the present forms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 0 have been obtained through a series of variations, obtained, no doubt, from adaptation of the Indian types of Nānāghāṭ and Cave numerals.

VII. EVIDENCE OF THE EXISTENCE OF NUMERALS WITH SPACE VALUE IN LITERATURE

So long we have mainly based our evidence on the "Cave" and "Hill" inscriptions and have proved that numerals with space value existed among the Hindus as early as the sixth century. Dr. D. E. Smith in his "History of Mathematics" (vol. II) and in "Hindu Arabic Numerals" by himself and Mr. L. C. Karpinski, has also given due credit to the Hindus for the existence of numerals with space value among them at such an early date as the sixth century. But here we shall show that there is ample proof in Sanskrit and Pāli literature regarding the existence of numerals even at an earlier date. Though figure numerals can only be found in inscriptions, yet there is sufficient evidence in literature to warrant the existence of a perfect system of numerals at a date much earlier than that of the inscriptions.

We have already seen that a system of numeration existed at the Vedic period i.e. about 2000 B.C. In the Upaniṣads also there is mention of *akṣarapūjā* (worship of letters) which indicates the existence of letters and words at the time of the Upaniṣads (1400 B.C.). From this time probably the word and letter system of numerals began to be used, though it was extended and improved at a later stage. For example, Rāma stands for *three*; it must have come into use at least after the birth of Balarāma (the third Rāma) i.e. after the Paurāṇic age. But *aga* (mountain) standing for *seven*, *abdhi* (sea) standing for *four*, and *agni* for *three* must have been used before the Paurāṇic age; as we get in the Purāṇas अष्ट कुलाचलाः (eight mountains and not seven) and सप्त समुद्राः (seven seas and not four).

This word-and-letter system of numerals was used even in the sixth century A.D. by Varāhamihira in his Pañcasiddhāntikā and Bṛhatsaṃhitā; and this system was the most popular one generally used by the masses. Then why is it that Āryabhaṭa did not use the word-and-letter system and used alphabetic numerals as क, का, कि, की, कु, कू, कृ, कॄ etc.? Because, we think Āryabhaṭa, a great scholar himself, wanted to introduce a simpler system to show his learning. In spite of this attempt to innovate a new system he could not but use the word *kha* (void, sky) to mean zero, as in the following,—

वर्गाक्षराणि वर्गेऽ वर्गेऽ वर्गाक्षराणि कात् ङ्मौ यः ।
खद्विनवके स्वरा नव वर्गेऽ वर्गे नवान्त्यवर्गे वा ॥

Thus the Hindus had three sets of numerals:—

1 Word-and-letter system. 2 Alphabet system. 3 Figure system.

In Sanskrit literature also there is ample evidence of a perfect system of numerals even before the sixth century A.D. In Śaṅkara's commentary on the Brahma-sūtras there is a passage :—

Yathā caikāpi satī rekhā sthānānyatvena niveśyamānaikadaśaśatasahasrādiśabdapratyayabhedam anubhavati (Śārīraka Bhāṣya, 2, 2, 17) i.e. as the same stroke (rekhā from lekhā meaning line or stroke) coming in different positions gives the idea of units, tens, hundreds, thousands etc. This clearly shows the existence of the knowledge of place value at the time of Śaṅkara. Now what is the approximate date of composition of Śaṅkara's commentary? Orthodox Hindus believe from the inscriptions in the archives in the Maṭhas (monasteries) that Śaṅkara lived in the first century B.C.; K. T. Telang fixes the date in the sixth century A.D.; Pathak followed by Wilson fixed the date at 778 A.D. Tilak found a mistake in the calculation on astronomical basis of Pathak and fixed a date a century earlier i.e., at 678 A.D. The popular view is that Śaṅkara lived in the sixth century A.D. and died at the age of forty. Any how the system with place value must have been very popular in the sixth century, otherwise Śaṅkara would not have illustrated his point by a reference to the system of place value. Moreover there is a passage in the Vyāsa Bhāṣya of the Yogasūtras of Patañjali to imply that "the same stroke is termed one in the unit place, ten in the ten's place, hundred in the hundred's place." This clearly refers to the place value system. The date of Vyāsa Bhāṣya has been fixed in the early part of the sixth century by all oriental scholars. Therefore, it is certain that the system with place value was known before the sixth century, probably one or two centuries earlier, so that within that time the system became so well-known that it served the purpose of reference even in philosophical dissertations.

There is also some reliable evidence of the existence of numerals with place value even before the Christian era. In Kauṭilya's Arathaśāstra, book I, chap. V, it is said regarding the education of a prince that "after the ceremony of tonsure, which is generally performed at the third year, (cf. Raghu, iii, 28) he is taught lipi and saṃkhyāna."[1] Saṃkhyānam here surely means numerals. Also in book II, chap. VII

1 Vṛttacaulakarmā lipiṃ saṅkhyānaṃ copayuñjīta.

where the business of keeping accounts in the office of the Accountant is mentioned, it is stated that the districts were divided into different *chaukies* and there was a perfect system of sending weekly, fortnightly, quarterly, half-yearly and annually accounts to the head-quarters. "Accounts will be submitted in the month of Āṣāḍha. When they (the accountants of different districts) present themselves with sealed books, commodities and net reveuue, they shall all be kept apart in one place so that they cannot carry on conversation with each other. Having heard from them the totals of receipts, expenditure, and net revenues, the net amount shall be received. Checking of accounts will be made by the minister in charge."

This examination of accounts pre-supposes a perfect system of numeration. For it could not have been by means of sticks as in Europe even till the 15th century, records of which are found in old monasteries. It is absurd to think that so many sticks could be gathered and checked at one place. There must, therefore, have been a perfect system of numeration at that time. Now the age of Kauṭilya is fourth century B.C. So that it is not unwarrantable to conclude that a system of numerals existed even in the fourth century B.C.

The question then arises why did not Asoka coming after two generations (as his grand-father, Candragupta, was a contemporary of Kauṭilya) use this system? Probably because it was not very popular even then; and as Asoka wanted publicity of his inscriptions he resorted to the popular system, and also wrote his inscriptions in Prakrit. Further he did not lay much stress on dates.

In the poetical portion of Lalita-vistara (x, 15) also it is stated in the tenth chapter that "lipi (alphabet) and saṅkhyā (numerals) are to be learnt by the prince. The poetical portion of Lalitavistara dates from the first century B.C.

This, however, does not settle as a matter of course the date of invention of the zero as numeral. Strictly speaking these illustrations do not mention whether the place value was indicated in writing numbers or was being indicated on the abacus. In other words it may be asked whether it will be safe to conclude that the zero was known in that early age. Hence instances of the use of the zero from any early writing will be at once decisive and settle the question altogether. We have an instance in Subandhu's Vāsavadattā (C. 620 A.D.)[1] and one in Śrīharṣa's Naiṣadhīyacarita (C. 12th century)[2]

1 Hall's edition, p. 181. 2 Canto I, stanza 21.

where the zero has been expressly stated to be śūnyabindu meaning a point or a dot. Better instances are furnished by Varāhamihira's Pañcasiddhāntikā (505 A.D.) where he incidentally states two fundamental arithmetical operations by the zero (kha, śūnya, ambara), viz., addition and subtraction in more than one place, e.g., chap. iii, 2, 17; chap. iv, 7, 8, 11, 12; chap. xviii. 35, 44, 45, 48, 51. It is noteworthy that all the above verses are from those chapters of Pañca-siddhāntikā where are summarised the teachings of the Paulisasiddhānta. Thibaut remarks: "Varāhamihira has in no case obliterated the characteristic features of the siddhāntas he has to deal with, and whatever distinguishes those works from one another in the text of the Pañcasiddhāntikā really distinguished them in their original form."[1] Unfortunately no means of verification of this conjecture has been left to us in the present age, the book not being now extant. It was known to Brahmagupta (C. 628 A.D.), to Bhaṭṭotpala (966 A.D.), and even as late as in the eleventh century to Al-biruni. There are, however, numerous quotations in Bhaṭṭotpala's excellent commentary on Bṛhat Saṃhitā[2] from an "original Paulisa-siddhānta" and probably also from a different edition of the same work. In any case this conjecture will lead us to the conclusion that the zero was known in India before 400 A.D., for that is the higher limit for the time of composition of the original Paulisasiddhānta as set by Thibaut.[3] It may further be stated that Whitney believed that in the time of Āryabhaṭa (476 A.D.), the Hindus had "invented their system of signs employed in decimal notation."[4]

The earliest instance of the use of zero is found in Chandaḥ-sūtra of Piṅgala or Piṅgalanāga, which is a manual of Vedic metres. One section of the book deals with the problem of determination of the number of possible variations for a metre with a given number of syllables. It is in this connection that Piṅgala has used the word śūnya in two successive sūtras (chap. VIII, s. 29-30). These two

1 Introduction to Pañcasiddhāntikā, p. xvii; cf. p. xvi.

2 Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary, edited by Dvivedi, Benares (1895).

3 Mr. G. R. Kaye says that the Paulisasiddhānta is an adaptation of a work by Paulus Alexandrinus, a Greek astronomer. But the two works are entirely different inasmuch as the latter work deals with astrology while the former with astronomy. Vide an article by the present author on Hindu Astronomy in "East and West," Aug. 1919.

4 Journal of Amer. Oriental Soc., vol. 6, p. 563 footnote.

sūtras, in fact the whole of the manual, are found re-stated in the Agni-Purāṇa (chaps. 328-34). There is no doubt that, by śūnya, Piṅgala was referring, not to the mere concept of nothingness, but to a definite symbol whose concept is akin to the concept of our zero numeral. Halāyudha, the earliest commentator of Chandaḥsūtra, has explained the sūtras fully and has adduced illustrative examples as well. He is of opinion that, in the sūtras referred to, śūnya denotes the zero, and he has been supported by Weber who remarks that there can be no doubt about that. Now Piṅgala lived about the middle of the second century B.C., and his book was popular among the Brāhmaṇas, the Vedic scholars of the age. This will be at once evident from its being raised to the level of a Vedāṅga from its being incorporated in the Agni-Purāṇa and also from its being quoted in the Bhāratīya Nāṭya-śāstra (chap. XV) and in the Pariśiṣṭas (Max Müller, Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 75). Hence it has to be admitted that the zero was known to the Brāhmaṇas of India in the second century B.C. The date of invention is probably a century or two earlier. There are also in the Atharva Veda, xix, 22, 23, two hymns where there is reference to the zero as well as to positive and negative numbers. In those hymns the zero has been called kṣudra (trifling)[1] and positive and negative numbers have been denoted by ṛca and anṛca respectively.[2]

From these instances from Sanskrit literature it is not unsafe to conclude that the numerals with zero existed even before the Christian era, at least in the first century B.C. in a perfect form. No records of any other country can furnish any instance of the existence of numerals at such an early date.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

1 Cf. Amarasiṃha's synonym for zero as 'tuccha', meaning insignificant, negligible. Amarsiṃha is a lexicographer of the 5th century A.D.

2 For the concluding portion of this chapter, I am indebted to an article by Dr. Bibhuti Bhusan Datta of the University College of Science, Calcutta, which was published in the American Mathematical Monthly, Nov., 1926.

The Gauḍī Rīti in Theory and Practice

Whatever might be thought about the antiquity of the term *rīti* as applied to a way of criticism of literary expression as well of the *rīti*, school or system which forms a pendant to it, there can be no two opinions on the view that there was from a very long time, one might even say, from the very adolescence of classical *kāvya* composition, an established code of critical thought in India consonant with the mode very much in vogue amongst a large number of writers holding that beauty in *kāvya* lies in charmingness of expression, so far as it is compatible with compactness of form and intelligibility. This tenor of literary appraisement could well take its rise in and suit an analytic language like Sanskrit, where an inherent favouritism for compounds has had to fight a tough fight with a desire for disintegration in expression through the use of inflections and expounded word-units—a desire that became growingly manifest in particular periods and localities along with the rise of Prākṛt literature, which swept the bounds of stiffness and elocution and loosened, softened and sweetened the language. Viewed from this stand-point, the *Gauḍī rīti* of the writers of poetics becomes as much a necessary entity in criticism as the *Vaidarbhī*, though all the while, criticism can be expected to be appreciative, lenient, severe or censorious towards the course which either of them had to take, influenced as the one was necessarily by a hunt after pedantry or word-bombast, the craze of the erudite of the locality[1] and the other by a pliant and elastic tone, born and bred of a sweetness, the characteristic of the best Prākṛt that was making its influence felt in the province[2]; while discreetly applied, each genus might have grown up and did actually grow up in certain instances, into the best type of literary composition[3].

And this is the opinion of Bhāmaha, the earliest known writer

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1 गौडाद्याः संस्कृतस्थाः परिचितरुचयः प्राकृते दाक्षिणात्याः—*Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara.

2 महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः—*Kāvyādarśa* (1) of Daṇḍin.

3 गौडीयमपि साधीयो वैदर्भं मिति नान्यथा—*Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha I. 35.

professedly on poetics whose work has come down to us. He holds up to ridicule the view of those who thought that the *Gauḍī rīti* was a separate entity, was no good and made much capital of the fact that the bulk of the best-known literary compositions was composed in the *Vaidarbhī* style.[1] We maintain that the best type of *Gauḍī* is as much relishing and charming as *Vaidarbhī*. It seems from this that Bhāmaha was blind to the charms of the *Vaidarbhī*, in which the prince of poets, Kālidāsa, had achieved distinction, and was partial towards the *Gauḍī*, as much as it would be to think, as some have done[2] that the *Gauḍī rīti* was the earlier to be patronised to be given the go-by later in the wake of the *Vaidarbhī*; at least the facts, as known from literature and poetics, preclude us from such an inference. It is Bhāmaha's illustrious successor Daṇḍin who has overdone his part of advocacy in the matter and has transgressed the limits of condonable patriotism—he being a Southerner and the *Vaidarbhī rīti* drawing its name and essence from the practice of the poets of Mahārāṣṭra—and is responsible for the anathema pronounced on the eastern style. He has been accused, and justly so, of being over-censorious in his attack thereon. Surely the *Vaidarbhī* style did not stand in urgent need of his advocacy; the *Gauḍī rīti*, which he has vilified did not deserve his castigation either. The *Gauḍī rīti* was not strangled to death because of this; but the mandatory character of the Alaṅkāraśāstra was all the while there and the arrow was shot. Daṇḍin differs from Bhāmaha in thinking that the *Gauḍī* is an easily distinguished mode of composition (प्रस्थानान्तर) from the *Vaidarbhī*, is by its very nature an inferior style and is the outcome of a misconception about the essentials of style (विपर्यय). The *Gauḍī rīti*, as he represents it, does actually suffer from a misconception of the nature of *bandha*, which is ultimately at the root of all styles, is sometimes loose (शिथिल), more often cumbrous and bombastic, is vitiated

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1 Kāvyālaṅkāra, I, 31-35.

2 Dr. Jacobi, Mahārāṣṭrī, pp. xv f.; Dr. Nobel's *Foundations of Indian Poetics and their Historical Development*, chap. VI.

The reverse i.e. "the *Gauḍī* is a sign of further development or decadence" as maintained by Dr. De (*History of Poetics*, vol. II, p. 115), is also hardly tenable.

by an inordinate craze for verbal jingles and alliteration and casts to the winds clarity of expression and all sense of proportion and welcomes verbosity, pedantry and hyperbole[1] It is to be noted that to the student of Indian Alaṅkāraśāstra the idea of the *Gauḍī rīti* can never be dissociated from what it is represented by Daṇḍin.

It would not be profitless if we examine the *raison d'etre* of this change in outlook of two writers who could not have been much distant from each other in point of age. The *rīti* school in its essence was much older than Bhāmaha or Daṇḍin; the pungency in the remarks of the latter could have been due as much to the urgency of rebutting the views of a remarkable earlier contemporary, as to the subject being much debated in practical and polemic poetics of the day, and therefore dealing with something which had not lost its freshness in time. Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa's observation on the style of the *Gauḍas* [गौड़े ष्वक्षरडम्बरः] is, in one aspect, at least, on a par with this—and may be supposed to reflect a partisan spirit when we remember the feeling which he, as a typical court-poet or courtier, entertained towards anything that smacked of the land of the *Gauḍādhama*, or *Gauḍabhujaṅga*. Bhāmaha's position is made clear by the two following verses of his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (I.33,35).

अपुष्टार्थमवक्रोक्ति प्रसन्नमजु कोमलम् ।
भिन्नं त्रेय[2] मिवेदन्तु केवलं श्रुतिपेशलम् ॥
अलङ्कारवदग्राम्यमर्थ्यं न्याय्यमनाकुलम् ।
गौड़ीयमपि साधीयो वैदर्भमिति नान्यथा ॥

Taking his stand on the three and not ten *guṇas, ojas, prasāda* and *mādhurya,* which unlike what we meet with in Daṇḍin, in no way are intimately and vitally (प्राणा दश गुणाः) connected with the *rītis*, he finds fault with the type of *Vaidarbhī*, which is not rich in ideas, and in which there does not occur *Vakrokti* (in Bhāmaha's phraseology, a general and convenient name for all figures of speech), but is clothed in clear and plain language (and this is, in the views of early as well as late rhetoricians, the fundamental characteristic of the *Vaidarbhī*) and is

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1 *Kāvyādarśa*, I. 42, 43, 50, 72 etc. The reference in I. 89 is to the *Gauḍas* and is sarcastic.

2 The reading गेयम् seems to be corrupt. We do dot follow Nobel in his interpretation of the first verse. (Vide his *Foundations of Indian Poetics.*)

withal soft and tender—i. e., in which there figure the *guṇas, prasāda* and *mādhurya*, as he has occasion to deprecate that type of *Gauḍī*, which has one merit to boot, viz., is pleasing to the ear. We may do well to remember that this is the vulnerable point of the *rīti* in the view of its denouncers[1] which, in addition to having the *guṇa ojas* (for Bhāmaha in II. 1-3 opines that *ojas* is regarded by many as the *sine qua non* of the *Gauḍī rīti*), has *mādhurya* (*sauśabdya*) in the shape of words pleasing to the ear. Not even the three *guṇas* will suffice to exalt a *kāvya*. There must be the *alaṅkāras* to adorn it; the *alaṅkāras* form the veritable crucial test of poetry—for Bhāmaha is an *alaṅkāra-māhātmyavādin* through and through. The *guṇas* are appreciated inasmuch as they form a plank of the *alaṅkāras*. Thus considered, the *guṇas* and for the matter of that, *rīti*, become meaningless as the principle of division of *kāvyas*. With Daṇḍin the position is different. The *rīti* (गिरां मार्गः) and its complementary or constituent *guṇas* (मार्गस्थ प्राणाः) are at least as important as the *alaṅkāras*[2] (काव्यशोभाकर धर्म्म) and are consequently a safe standard to be adopted in the classification of *kāvyas*.

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1 *Kāvyādarśa*, I. अनुप्रासधिया गौड़ैः सदिष्टम्...। अनुप्रासस्तु तत्प्रियः।...शब्दालङ्कारडम्बरौ। अपेक्षमाणा वहवे पौरस्त्या काव्यपद्धतिः॥

2 To think from the statement in *Kāvyādarśa*, II, 3. काश्चिन्मार्गविभागार्थाः सुक्ताः प्रागप्यलङ्क्रियाः, as Kane does (*H.A.L.*), that D. like Bh. hardly makes any distinction between *guṇas and alaṅkāras* is not compatible with D's views elsewhere (I. 42 & II. 1). When he includes *guṇas* under *alaṅkāras* he must be taken to mean that certain *alaṅkāras* are absolutely necessary, not all. The term *alaṅkāra* might also be taken in a non-technical sense as in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*, I. 1. 1. Bhāmaha and his follower Udbhaṭa are अभेदवादिन्s. Dr. De's remark, that "in this way he practically foreshadows, if he does not theoretically develop the rigid differentiation of the *guṇa* and the *alaṅkāra* of the *Rīti* school" (vol. II, p. 106), is a just and pertinent one. Kane's interpretation of विपर्य्यय as equivalent to *doṣas* and Dr. De's statement that "the ten *guṇas* are non-existent in the *Gauḍa*" (vol. II, p. 100), are rather bold generalisations. In इति वैदर्भमार्गस्थ प्राणा दश गुणाः स्मृताः:- the term *Vaidarbha mārga* is an *upalakṣaṇa*. Daṇḍin's treatment of *doṣas* affords sufficient indication of the fact that in his remarks about the *Gauḍī* he meant by विपर्य्यय nothing more than misapplication or misconception.

It lay with the general body of the later writers to follow up this cue and shower abuse on the already much-maligned *Gauḍī rīti*. With Vāmana, the next great writer and an acknowledged champion of the *rīti* school, *Vaidarbhī* is alone acceptable and not the *Gauḍī* or the *Pāñcālī*, because of their lack of all the ten *guṇas* (तासां पूर्व्वा गाढ्या गुणसाकल्यात्। न पुनरितरे स्तोकगुणत्वात् (I. 2. 14-15). The *Gauḍī* consists in compactness of structure as evinced by long compounds, in the use of rather unfamiliar, often harsh words, brilliance through richness of words, novel and charming expression as well as prominence of the *rasas*[1], and took its name from the style prevailing in the *Gauḍa* country (it must be Eastern *Gauḍa* when we remember Daṇḍin's description of the *rīti* as पौरस्त्य). This richness of word-structure is procurable through conjunct consonants etc., and tends to round-about expression, over-effort or circumlocution. Maṅgala (another writer known only from quotations in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* and several commentaries on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*), who seems to have been an authority on the subject, connects *rīti* with *guṇas*, but happens to differ from Vāmana and the predecessors of his class in thinking that *ojas* alone can differentiate the *Gauḍī* from the other *rītis*[2]. Rudraṭa, an author of considerable repute, while

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1 विदर्भादिषु दृष्टत्वात्तत्समाख्या I. 2, 10, and the *vṛtti* thereon:—विदर्भगौड़पाञ्चालीषु देशेषु तत्त्वैः; कविभिर्यथास्वरूपमुपलब्धत्वात्. I. 2. 12 is the *sūtra* ओजःकान्तिमती गौड़ीया on which the *vṛtti* reads :—माधुर्य्यसौकुमार्य्ययोरभावात् समासबहुला अत्युल्बणपदा च। On this the *Kāmadhenu* comments :—अत्र भूमार्थेन मतुप् ओजःकान्त्योः प्राचुर्य्यप्रतिपादनादनुकूलानामनुल्बणानामन्येषां गुणानामनिराकरणं प्रतिकूलयोस्तु माधुर्य्यसौकुमार्य्ययोरपवारणम्—अतएव दीर्घसमासत्वमत्युद्भटपदत्वञ्च सूचितम्। गाढ़बन्धत्वमोजः III. 1.5. On this the *Kāmadhenu* observes :—गाढ़त्वं कनकशलाकावयवघटनवन्निबिड़त्वं, तत्र हेतवः—संयुक्ताकारत्वं, निरन्तररेफशिरस्कत्वं वर्णानाम्·····See also III. 1, 25 and *vṛtti* for the definition of कान्ति.

2 His views are thus referred to in Someśvara's commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* entitled *Kāvyādarśa* :—तत्रावगीतस्य हीनस्य वा वस्तुनः पदार्थसम्पदा यदुदात्तत्वं निषिञ्चन्ति कवयस्तदोज इति भरतः (?)। अवगीतस्य हीनस्य वा वस्तुनः शब्दार्थयोरर्थसम्पदा पद उदात्तत्वं निषिञ्चन्ति कवयः—तर्हि तदनोजः स्यादिति मङ्गलः। The reference may, in all likelihood, be to dramatic literature, *vastu* standing for the plot. If the reading be correct, the views of Bharata(?) and Maṅgala are contrasted. The *Saṅketa* (p.292, Mysore ed.) reads :—दण्ड्युक्तं समासदीर्घत्वमोज इत्यपि न ; रीतित्रयेऽप्योजसः साधारण्यात् गौड़ीयनिर्देशो न युक्तिमानिति वामनमङ्गलौ। There the reference to Vāmana as an expounder of this particular aspect of the thing looks a little indirect and irregular.

regarding *rīti* as a *śabdālaṅkāra* and thus relegating it to a secondary position,seems to regard it as a function of words,compounded or otherwise. With him the *Gauḍī rīti* is a species of composition, which indulges in the use of compounds comprising seven or more words, an arbitrary number, however.[1] The गाढ़बन्धता, with the older writers the *sine qua non* of *ojas* and therefore of the *G. R.* also is independent of the sense-factor. From the stand-point of the feeling-element he discusses the five different categories of *vṛtti* or of *anuprāsa* (ललिता, परूषा, मधुरा etc.), which incorporate amongst them many of the constituent *guṇas* of the earlier writers on *rīti.* While it would be hazardous to equate any of his *vṛttis* with the G. *R.* of the theorists, it goes without saying that an analysis of the *rītis* (e.g. the *Gauḍī*) must have been his objective in his varied treatment of the topic. But in him too the business-like formality of the theorist in this particular at least dismisses any fresh and candid endeavour of reviving a subject which has grown antiquated and worn-out.

Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* refers to the three well-known *rītis* of Vāmana and is disposed to regard them as fundamentally associated with the *guṇas,* unlike Rudraṭa whose view he condemns. The G. R., according to him, like the *Oḍra-māgadhī pravṛtti* and the *Bhāratī vṛtti* (and in family connection with the former), developed in the East in the course of the wanderings of the *Kāvyapuruṣa,* who represents the spirit of poetry and *Sāhityavidyā* (who may in all likelihood, in conformity with tradition, represent the spirit of healthy appreciative and corrective criticism)[2] and ultimately becomes his bride in Vidarbha, thus representing the perfection in form and spirit of the *Vaidarbhī rīti* [तव दाक्षिणात्ये सम्पूर्णतया काव्यपुरुषस्य वशीकरणं विदर्भेषु वत्सगुल्मे तयोर्गान्धर्वविवाहः].[3] His definition of *rīti,* as distinguished from that of *vṛtti* and *pravṛtti,*[4] would indicate that he looks to the manner of juxtaposition of words as the cardinal principle and it is quite likely that he also is not an admirer of what was known in his days as the tough and tight composition of the *Gauḍas.* It is rather curious that in the *Karpūramañjarī*[5] our author mentions three *rītis,*

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1 Chap. II. 3-5, V. 9, XV. etc.

2 *Kāvyamīmāṃsā,* chap. VII. (p. 31).

3 *Ibid.,* chap. III.

4 *Ibid.,* p. 9. वैषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः, विलासविन्यासक्रमो वृत्तिः, वचनविन्यासक्रमो रीतिः ।

5 *Nāndī* verse, line 3.

in which *Māgadhī* takes the place of *Gauḍī*. The likely inference is either that Magadha formed a part of the *Gauḍamaṇḍala* which evolved the *Gauḍī rīti* or that the one name was substituted for the other traditionally wellknown because of the political supremacy of Magadha at the time. We shall have to revert to this point later on. That Magadha inspite of its political supremacy was not associated with a separate style is clear from the evidence of Rājaśekhara himself who opines गौड़ाद्याः संस्कृतस्थाः, and of Taruṇavācaspati who in his commentary on the *Kāvyādarśa*, following presumably an authoritative tradition, regards the *Māgadhī bhāṣā* as a *deśī bhāṣā*. Bhoja in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* [1] and in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, [2] however, regards the *Māgadhī* as a *rīti* separate from the *Gauḍī* and calls *rīti* a *śabdālaṅkāra*. The *Gauḍī* there—and with a slight difference this becomes the *Māgadhī*—is kept separate to have his usual favouritsm for a particular number (six) and therefore is a separate entity ; it is the ugly piece of composition so long passing under that name in the works of the earlier theorists. It is Mammaṭa, who has bridged this difference in view-point by trying to reconcile the views of Vāmana and Udbhaṭa and with a distinct bias towards the view of the latter, equates the *rītis* with the *vṛttis*, for these *rītis* are regarded as *śabdālaṅkāra* under *anuprāsa*.[3] The *Gauḍī rīti* becomes the *paruṣā vṛtti* and consistently with the name as far led by centrifugal course from Daṇḍin (who regards माधवीमाला खोलाखिकखिला—*Kavyādarśa* I. 42. as an instance of *Gauḍī rīti* bearing *anuprāsa*, its favourite device) as possible, becomes the synonym of every thing that is harsh and queer—and he is copied by later writers with an earnestness and deference never to be questioned.

With Mammaṭa, the Alaṅkāraśāstra was complete and except in one or two stray instances we have no novel treatment of things ;

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1 Chap. II. Elsewhere (chap. I.) he seems to regard *rīti* as a *śabda guṇa*. *Pāka* which is only a ramification of the old *rīti* idea, he regards as a *sabdaguṇa* ; the *Māgadhī*, in his opinion, is an *ardharīti*— पूर्वरीतेरनिर्वाहे खण्डरीतिस्तु मागधी ।

2 Chap. X. I am indebted to Dr. K. S. Sankaran of Madras for an authentic account of the contents of this work, a Ms. of which is deposited in the Government Oriental Ms. Collection.

3 Chap. IX. ओजःप्रकाशकैस्तु परुषा···। वक्रोक्त्यादिदेता वैदर्भीप्रमुखा रीतयो मताः ।

these later works are like books on books and seldom take their stand on information other than second-hand. In their consideration of the topic there has been brought forth, however, an innovation, a change in the angle of vision—for which credit must be given to Ānandavardhana, the author of the *Dhvanyāloka*, the greatest and most powerful writer on Alaṅkāra śāstra, which later writers carried in some degree to its logical sequence. In that work we have a reshuffling of issues. *Ojas*, which, *par essence*, was so long regarded as the distinguishing mark of the *Gauḍī* and implied brilliance of the sentiment (दीप्तरसता) in the usual elastic phraseology of the earlier writers, was proved to be suitable only for particular *rasas* (*Raudra, Vīra, Adbhuta*).[1] It is absurd to suppose that the *Gauḍī rīti*, being acknowledged to be the replica of the style prevailing in a particular locality, had been devised only for paticular *rasas* and restricted subjects ; at least we have no mention of that coming from any rhetorician. It is a pity that the later writers, who acknowledge Ānanda as their leader, did not fully realise this or we would have had materials for commencing earnestly a study of literary specimens unbiassed by the trammels placed on them by earlier theorists. These took the lead of Ānanda in subordinating *rīti* to *rasa* but retained the old conceptions about *rīti* which were hatched under different circumstances. This state continued in Bengal and Greater Bengal even, where the theorists should not have been blind to the tradition of composition and to the literary specimens known and available. Puruṣottama, a writer presumably on *rīti*, perhaps identical with the author of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, as quoted in the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (chap. IX), says :—

बहुतरसमासयुक्ता सुमहाप्राणाक्षरा च गौड़ीया ।
रीतिरनुप्रासमहिमपरतन्त्राऽलोभवाक्या च ॥

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1 *Uddyota*, II. 10—तत्प्रकाशनपरः शब्दो दीर्घसमासरचनालङ्कृतं गद्यम्···। The example cited there and the thing it is meant to illustrate (चञ्चज्जभमित···) are just what would come under the stereotyped G.R. That the रीति or बन्ध school in its essence and not in its exuberance attempted to reach a high level of poetic criticism is admitted by Ānandavardhana himself रीतिलक्षणविधायिनां हि काव्यतत्त्वमेतदस्फुटतया मनाक् स्फुरितमासीत् (*Kāvyamālā* edn., p. 231). A later writer Vidyānātha, the author of the प्रतापरुद्रयशोभूषण, with a leaning towards the views of Daṇḍin, attempts to reconcile the two view-points when he describes रीति as आत्मोत्कर्षवहाः स्वभावाः of *Kāvyas*.

The second epithet is the legacy of the earlier theorists, their immediate predecessors, and should be contrasted with

अल्पप्राणाक्षरोत्तरम् ।
शिथिलं, मालतीमाला लोलालिकलिला यथा ॥
अनुप्रासधिया गौड़ैस्तदिष्टम्.....

of Daṇḍin. Kavikarṇapura, the author of the *Alaṅkārakaustubha* (16th century), himself a skilful and brilliant writer with some pretensions to being reckoned as a real poet, follows earlier writers in thinking the *Gauḍī* to be असमगुणा and consisting of harsh words,[1] as if the very name *Gauḍī* is to be dreaded and avoided even in the very land of its inception. His contribution towards the subject consists in thinking that the *G. R.* like the other *rītis* is intended for particular *rasas* and finds suitable expression in particular matters. The *Kāvyacandrikā*, a useful little primer by a late Bengali writer Nyāyavāgīśa, son of Vidyānidhi Bhaṭṭācārya, much studied in the last century, thinks :

ओजःप्रसादमाधुर्य्यगुणत्रितयभेदतः ।
गौड़वैदर्भपाञ्चालरीतयः परिकीर्त्तिताः ॥

an innocent remark in the true spirit of noncommital, but yet an *a priori* statement which cuts at the root of real criticism.

A *resumé* of the above would show that while there were rather foreign characteristics of it introduced by some influential writers only to be copied by later writers and while an exhaustive account of it hardly appears in any writer known to us, certain characterstics stand out prominent showing the *Gauḍī rīti* in its proper form as a no mean achievement in literary composition. Summing them up as they stand in the works of the early theorists, equally as much as in works of a later period, it would appear that the fundamentals of the *G. R.* are :—

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1 Cf. वैदर्भी गर्भिणीव स्फुरति रसमयी काममुक्मिणीव गौड़ी गाढ़ोपगूढ़प्रकटदृढघटागर्भगर्व्वेव गौरी (cited in *Kiraṇa* IX). निष्ठुराक्षरविन्यासा दीर्घवृत्तिर्युतौजसा । गौड़ी भवेदनुप्रासबहुला (*Karikā* 326. Varendra Reaserch Society ed.) The commentator Viśvanatha Cakravartin listing the cue of the *vṛtti* notes :—अत्र वाशब्दो विशेषणसमुच्चयबोधको न विकल्पार्थकः so as to make his chief keep company with the older masters on the subject. A pertinent view occurs in the *vṛtti* :—तेन यस्य यस्य गुणस्यानुगुणो भवत्यनुप्रासस्तस्य बाहुल्यमेव गौड़ीरीतिमनुबध्नाति । एवम्—चनङ्गसङ्गरासङ्गे भङ्गिमेव स जङ्गमः । सङ्गीतरङ्गी तन्वङ्गीसङ्गी रासङ्गतो हरिः ॥ किन्त्वत्र न गौड़ीत्वम् । वल्गद्वल्गुवतंससंसे···p. 8 अत्र सत्यप्योजोगुणभूयिष्ठत्वे वृत्तिबाहुल्ये ऽप्यर्थकौमल्यप्रसादादिभिर्वैदर्भीमार्गपतितं वेद्यम् ।...No, comment is necessary on the latter remark in view of what has been said in the body of the paper.

(i) गाढ़बन्धता (बन्धगौरव) compactness discernible as well through *mṛdu* or अल्पप्राणाक्षर words as through harsh and hard words (उक्खणता, उत्कटता, उद्भटपदता). While long compounds are often the mark of this, they are to be used with an eye to the development of *rasa* and delectation to the ear.[1]

(ii) सौश्लिष्ट्य or पाक (Bhāmaha)[2] or परिणाम (in the language of Maṅgala) or sweetness of expression not so much through the use of haunting words as their skilful juxtaposition varied by alliteration or *śabdālaṅkāras* in general. This was often tolerated at the expense of the use of unfamiliar words and even at the total sacrifice of such figures of speech as उपमा, अर्थान्तरन्यास, समासोक्ति, दृष्टान्त etc. which charm, and heighten poetry.

(iii) प्रौढ़ि or pompous and elevated manner. On the *śabda* side this is tantamount to grandiloquence (डम्बर, आडम्बर *S. Darpaṇa*, IX.) and on the other involves प्रौढ़ोक्ति or अतिशयोक्ति. This is the only *arthālaṅkāra* that shines to a nicety in this style.

The above conclusion is also borne out by the remarks of Māṇikyacandra, who is one of the earliest of the commentators on the *Kāvyaprākaśa* (1160 A.D.). His commentary preserves much of useful information concerning *rīti* which should have filtered down through later commentators. He is conversant with old tradition and seems to know from first hand views of earlier writers whose works have been lost to us. This is indeed the one characteristic which almost all the Jaina writers on poetics, whether of original texts or of commentaries, have in common. Their collection is marvellously prepossessing and we have in them precious bits of information which in the paucity of original sources are of supreme value. In M's *Saṅketa* there appears a reference to the views of the *Gauḍas*.[3] The Gauḍa commentators on the *Kāvyas* do not as a rule mind these details, for with the exception of a solitary few (e. g. Vallabha, Jayamaṅgala)

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1 Cf. the verse quoted in Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (III. p. 25). पदनाससय गाढ़त्वं वदन्त्योजः कवीश्वराः। अनेनाधिष्ठिताः शब्दाः प्रायो श्रोवरसाधनम्॥

2 पाक (Bhāmaha II. 14), सुद्रा (of अग्निपुराण), and शय्या, the repose of words in consonance, the unchangeableness of words. (पदानां परिवृत्तिवै सह्य शय्या—Mallināṭha in *Tarala*, commentary on the *Ekāvalī* of Vidyādhara). Vidyādhara describes it (cf. अर्थगभीरिमा पाकः) thus :—पाकस्तु रसोचितशब्दार्थ-निबन्धनम्। Bhoja calls it प्रौढ़ि and enumerates it as a शब्दगुण (I. 77).

3 P. 292 (Mysore ed.).

they are late and are guided by principles which make light work of *rīti*. So much about the *G. R.* as known from the works of theorists.

Considered independently, the *G. R.* would be the *rīti* of *Gauḍa* or of the *Gauḍas*. As we have seen, the theorists also avow that the *G. R.* is not a product of their imagination but took rise and flourished in Gauḍa.[1] That this Gauḍa must be the easternmost of the five *Gauḍas*[2] known to the *Skandapurāṇa* is attested by the epithets पौरस्त्य and प्राच्य as applied to the *G. R.* by Daṇḍin.[3] A mediæval Tantra work (शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्र—७म पटल) lays down vaguely the boundaries of this Gauḍa country and praises it as the home of learning and

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1 Kuntala in his *Vakroktijīvita* apparently hurls abuse on this theory. Says he [I. 24—Dr. De's *V. J.* (2nd Edn.) p. 45]:—

चिरन्तनैर्विदर्भादिदेशविशेषसमाश्रयेण रीतयस्त्रिधाः समाम्नाताः।...एतच्च...

अयुक्तियुक्तम्। यस्माद्देशभेदनिबन्धनत्वे रीतिभेदानामानन्त्यादसंख्यत्वं प्रसज्यते।

The real point of his attack lies in this that like Bhāmaha and his greater (अभियुक्ततर) follower Udbhaṭa, Kuntala was an advocate of the *Alaṅkāra* school and meant to make light of the *rīti* (अलमनेन निःसारवस्तुपरिमलनव्यसनेन p. 46). He, however, admits in a way that these names were originally associated with the localities concerned—तदेवं निर्वचनसमाख्यामात्रकरणकारणत्वे देशविशेषाश्रयणस्य वयं न विवदामहे (p.46). The main contention in the present paper is also his view, and his treatment of the कविप्रस्थानहेतु (the गिरां मार्गः of Daṇḍin and others) is one of the many topics discussed by him with a refreshing degree of reasonableness, which, it is a pity, was not taken advantage of by later writers. The older modes of division (वैदर्भी, गौड़ी, etc.)—as different from those he suggests—(सुकुमार, विचित्र and मध्यम) are certainly important to the student of the history of Alaṅkāra literature but they served only to grant a long lease to an almost dead controversy which should have been checked in the proper spirit of the *śāstrā*, that had ever stifled the introduction of questions, bearing directly or indirectly on what may be called 'the *personal equation*' (vide the article by the present writer on the *Psychological Basis of Alaṁkāra Literature* in the Sir A. Mukherji Commemoration Vols., Orientalia, vol. III. p. 660).

2 सारस्वताः कान्यकुब्जा गौड़ा मैथिलिकोत्कलाः। पञ्च गौड़ा इति ख्याता विन्ध्यस्योत्तरवासिनः॥

3 Of course, the term प्राच्य is relative, denoting a quarter of the Indian continent, lying to the east of the locality where Daṇḍin flourished. प्राच्य (as undersood by Pāṇini in IV. I. 178) includes and justly so, the वैदर्भs and the पाञ्चालs as much as those dwelling in अङ्ग, वङ्ग and मगध.

culture.[1] That Gauḍa, though not known to very ancient works, was a generic name and included in the early centuries of the Christian era not only Vaṅga but also Rāḍha, Suhma, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and even Magadha on the west and the frontier of the Kāmarūpa on the east is borne out by stray references in the inscriptional literature, in Hiuen Tsang's account, in the *Harṣacarita*, in the *Gauḍavaho* and among later works in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* and in the *Prabodhacandrodaya*.[2] The present state of our information relating to the history of Bengal precludes us from thinking of any great upheaval there before the days of the Guptas of Magadha, which can be instrumental in the evolving of an original style of literary composition; the tussel between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin and the views of Bāṇabhaṭṭa about this point also point to the *G. R.* as a thing of not distant past (7th century A.D.). This would indeed lead one to the plausible surmise that the *G. R.* evolved because of the many sided progress of the country about the time of the earlier Guptas of Magadha and might have been named *Gauḍī* and not *Māgadhī* because of old associations. This surmise is lent support to by the facts that Gauḍa and Rāḍha were included in the countries ruled by the earliest of the Gupta emperors[3] and that a distinct type of culture had evinced itself there through new forms of sculpture and architecture, etc. There was a continued period of activity in arts and literature in Gauḍa from this time down to the days of king Śaśāṅka (4th-7th century A.D.) which gave the *Gauḍī*

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1 वङ्गदेशं समारभ्य भुवनेशान्तगं शिवे। गौड़देशः समाख्यातः सर्वविद्याविशारदः॥

2 H. Tsang's account of the *Gauḍīya* Śaśāṅka read in connection with that of Bāṇa in the *Harṣacarita* would indicate that he ruled over Karṇasuvarṇa, Mithilā and presumably Magadha. In the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja the lord of Gauḍa is also the lord of Magadha and is styled *Gauḍādhipa* generally. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* while dealing with an incident of the 8th century (IV. 461) has :—

व्यधाद्विनापि सामग्रीं तत्र शक्तिं प्रकाशयन्।
पञ्च गौड़ाधिपान्जित्वा स्वयं तदधीश्वरम्॥

The *Prabodhacandrodaya* has गौड़ं राष्ट्रमनुत्तमं निरुपमा तत्रापि राढा मता।

3 R. D. Banerji's *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, vol. I, pp. 45, 56, etc. Gauḍa, Puṇḍra and Rāḍha do not figure among the countries, the lords of which are described as प्रत्यन्तनृपतिs in Harisena's *Praśasti* of Emperor Samudragupta.

rīti a name and fame to be continued later during the ascendancy of the Pālas to power.[1]

The literary history of Bengal or Gauḍa of this period is a blank to us. The Dhanaidaha copper-plate grant, mostly illegible as it is, and those of emperor Puragupta or Budhagupta do not enlighten us much with respect to the *G. R.*, even if we take our stand, as we can well do, on the assumption that they were composed by poets who belonged to that quarter where they were found or inscribed. The Mandasor inscription of Bālāditya Narasiṃhagupta[2] as in the following verse

आ लौहित्योपकण्ठात्तलवनगहनोपत्यकादा महेन्द्रा—
दा गङ्गास्रिष्टसानोस्तुहिनशिखरिणः पश्चिमादा पयोधेः।
सामन्तैर्यस्य बाहुद्रविणहृतमदैः पादयोरानमद्भि-
श्चूडारत्नांशुराजिव्यतिकरशबला भूमिभागाः क्रियन्ते ॥

often evinces kinship with the *G. R.* of the theorists. In inscriptions and copper-plate grants of a later period—and here materials abound—we have the stereotyped *G. R.* in the prose portions,[3] as if with a vengeance and occasionally long compounds in the verses; the generality of the inscriptions betray characteristics agreeing fairly well with those of the *G. R.* which we have reconstructed above. The Khalimpur plate of Dharmapāla with its queer fondness for alliteration, the Bhagalpore grant of Nārāyaṇapāla with its preference for circumlocution, the *Garuḍastambha lipi*, which is a miniature *kāvya* with a peculiarity of expression and hyperbolic imagery, the like of which it is difficult to meet with elsewhere, Gopāladeva's short inscription of three verses, two of which may well find a place in any work on Alaṅkāra as apt instances of the verbose type of the *G. R.*, the

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1 That the period of political upheaval (4th-7th century and later) during the Pāla ascendancy was one of all-round development.

2 For this and other inscriptions etc., the references are to Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III; *Indian Antiquary*, *Gauḍalekhamālā* (published by the V. R. Society, Rajshahi); *Epigraphia Indica*; R. D. Banerji's *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, vol. I.

3 स खलु भागीरथीपथप्रवर्त्तमाननानाविधनौवाटसम्पादितसेतुबन्धनिर्हितशैलशिखरिणीविषमात् निरतिशयघनघनाघनघटाश्यामायमानवासरलक्ष्मीसमारब्धसन्ततजलदसमयसन्देहादुदीचीनानेकनरपतिप्राभृतीकृता-प्रमेयहयवाहिनीखरखुरोत्खातधूलिधूसरितदिग्गन्तरालात् परमेश्वरसेवासमायाताशेषजम्बद्वीपभूपालानल्पादा-तभरनमद्वनेः श्रीमुद्गगिरिसमावासितजयस्कन्धावारात्...in the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. Here there is not merely *ojas*, which is found in prose in all styles but also सौकुमार्य्य and प्रौढि.

Deopara inscription commemorating the erection of the temple of Pradyumneśvara composed by the otherwise well-known poet Umāpatidhara[1] in the verses throughout, to name but a few, evince a type of composition which is uniformly of the same tenor and can but have evolved in a particular environment and imitated the models of greater masters, most of whose works have passed into oblivion.

The *G. R.* must have overstepped the geographical limits of its place of genesis and found favour with poets, who wanted for their topic a vigorous and forceful style, as in the works of Bhavabhūti, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Murāri (inspite of his open assertion to the contrary Murāri chose this *rīti*, for *Vaidarbhī* became a name to conjure with and संज्ञा च्छाती विधीयते—Bhāmaha). Literary classics composed before Daṇḍin in Bengali are not available now. They may some day be discovered and would ultimately decide all doubts about the *G. R.* In their absence we have got to refer to contemporary inscriptions and grants, which as poetic compositions might well be regarded as third rate things. The *ślesa* and *yamaka kāvyas* like *Hariprabodha yamaka*, *Kīcakavadha*,[2] *Kapphiṇābhyudaya*, *Ghaṭa-*

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1 ताभ्यां श्रीधर्मपाल: समजनि सुजनस्तूयमानावदान:
स्वामी भूमीपतीनामखिलवसुमतीमण्डलं शासदेक: ।
चत्वारस्तीरमज्जत्करिगणचरणन्यस्तमुद्रा: ससुद्रा
यावां यस्य क्षमन्ते विभुवनपरिखा विश्वगाशा जिगीषो: ॥

Khalimpur Grant.

उत्कीलितोत्कलकुलं हृतहूणगर्वं खर्वीकृद्रविड़गुर्जरनाथदर्पम् ।
भूपीठसन्धिरशनाभरणं बुभोज गौड़ेश्वरश्चिरमुपास्य धियं यदीयाम् ॥
स्वयमपहृतचित्तानर्घिनो योऽनुमेने विषदि सुहृदि चासीन्निर्विवेको यदात्मा ।
भवजलधिनिपाते यस्य भीश्च त्रपा च परिमृदितकषायो य: परे धाम्नि रेमे ॥

Garuḍastambhalipi.

वंशे तस्यामरस्त्रीविततरतकलासाक्षिणो दाक्षिणात्य-
चौणीन्द्रै र्वीरसेनप्रभृतिभिरभित: कीर्त्तिमद्भिर्बभूवे ।
यच्चारित्रानुचिन्तापरिचयशुचय: सूक्तिमाध्वीकधारा:
पाराशर्य्यैश्च विश्वश्रवणपरिसरप्रीणनाय प्रणीता: ॥

Deopara Inscription.

2 Dr. S. K. De, who has undertaken to edit this work from manuscripts for the Dacca University, is of opinion that the style could not be regarded as the *Vaidarbhī* or *Gauḍī* either. However even in *yamaka* and *ślesa kāvyas* there were peculiarities prevailing differently in different localities.

karpara,[1] so profusely quoted in the *Ṭīkāsarvasva* of Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda, only serve to show that the *G. R.* was diverted into a new channel in a new age with a marked predilection for innovation in *śabdālaṅkāras*. The *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākara Nandin,[2] a historical *kāvya* of the eleventh century, is, in many respects, a critical poem illustrative at once of the *Gauḍī* mode of composition with its eccentricities and hobbies during the decadent days of the Pāla ascendancy (9th-11th century).

The name of Kṣemīśvara who flourished under king Mahīpāla, the reputed author of the drama *Caṇḍakauśika*, replete with action and episode, force and fury, completes the list of the known writers who distinguished themselves with the rise of the Pālas to power. In that drama there is much of compactness and occasionally sweet expression—compounds and avoidance of commonplace being as prominent as ever. But we must say that the tide had turned—a general tendency to softness of expression was gaining ground more and more. It is likely that the other drama *Naiṣadhānanda* of the author dealing with the life of Nala and Damayantī, which is known in Mss.,[3] when published, would reveal this tendency in a better form. This favouritism for sweetness (सौशब्द्य in another way) marks the literary outburst of the next period—the Sena ascendancy—which has been called the Augustan age of Sanskrit learning and culture in Bengal. Umāpātidhara, who, besides being the author of the Deopara Inscription noted above, is known from anthologies to have been the author of verse gems and is believed to have written the *Candracūḍacarita-*

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1 Is it from the pen of Vararuci, a name or pseudonym of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, king of Bengal, who was regarded as the Vikramāditya of Bengal, as would appear from a verse of the *Pavanadūta*, the latter half of which is quoted in the anthology *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa (1205 A.D.):—

ख्यातो यश्च श्रुतिधरतया विक्रमादित्यगोष्ठी-
विद्याभर्तुः खलु वररुचेराससाद प्रतिष्ठाम् ॥

This age has been called the Augustan age. There were also nine gems in his court.

2 Edited by M. M. Haraprasād Śāstrī in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. III. It must be noted that a liking for *śleṣa* and *virodha* (figures of speech) appears in several inscriptions also.

3 Sten Konow's *Gesichte der dramatischen litteratur* (*Grundriss*).

Kāvya,[1] Govardhana, the author of the *Āryāsaptaśatī*, Dhoyī or Dhoyika, author of the charming *Khaṇḍakāvya*, *Pavanadūta*,[2] and Jayadeva, the nightingale of Bengal, the author of the *Gītagovinda*, a work which was idolised and copied by later writers, reveal each in his own way a harmonious combination of pompousness, sweetness and softness, difficult to be met with elsewhere in Sanskrit literature. In Śrīharṣa, a many-sided genius, the author of the *Naiṣadhacarita*, the biggest and most ambitious (कविकुलाङ्गणाध्वपार्श्वे महाकाव्ये चारुणि—VIII, 109) of the *Bṛhattrayī* of the *mahākāvyas*, this predilection for sweet and sonorous language was coupled on the one side with an indirectness of expression and on the other with an atmosphere of hyperbole which has been the wonder and envy of many. The fondness for *śabdālaṅkāras*, particularly *anuprāsa*, of different varieties has almost surpassed itself, so much so that his own statement (यत्काव्यं मधुवर्षि) and the eulogy of critics (नैषधे पदलालित्यम्) can be taken to be literally true. That other characteristic of the *Gauḍī rīti* viz. गाढबन्धता,—we are apt to miss in him as in Jayadeva because of the other preponderating *guṇa*, and it would be hazardous to regard his style as *Vaidarbhī*,[3] because the *sine qua non*

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1 Known in Mss. Some of these verse gems are found utilised in the anthology *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*.

2 His verses are found quoted in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, *Śārṅgadharapaddhati*. Most of these have been collected in one place by the late Manomohan Chakravarti who edited the *Pavanadūta* in the *JASB.* (1905). Dhoyī, however, in his पवनदूत shows a preference for the *Vaidarbhī rīti* and his statement in verse 102 गोष्ठीवन्धः सकलकविभिर्वाचि वैदर्भरीतिः is not a misrepresentation of facts. The *Gauḍī rīti*, with its *saušabdya* and *bandha* is very aptly represented in the following verse of his, quoted in the सदुक्तिकर्णामृत (Mss. in Sans. College Library, Calcutta)—

दरविगलितदूर्वादुर्वलामङ्गलेखां क्षपयति न यदस्याः श्वासजन्मा हुताशः ।
स खलु सुभग मनोज्ञ लोचनद्वन्द्ववारामविरतपटुधारावाहिनीनां प्रभावः ॥

3 The verse धन्याऽसि वैदर्भि गुणैरुदारैः (III. 116) must not be stretched too far to prove the poet's preference in practice for the *V. R.* His own statement गद्यैरुद्यद्भिरिह क्वचिद् क्वचिदपि न्यासि प्रयत्नान्मया प्राज्ञम्मन्यमना दृढेन पठिती माऽस्मिन् खलः खेलतु (XXII) must dispel all doubts in the matter as much as his own practice as typified in verses like

चकास्ति बिन्दुश्च्युतकातिचातुरी धनाश्रुबिन्दुश्रुतिकैतवात्तव ।
मयारतारात्रि ससारमात्मना करोषि संसारमसंशयं यतः ॥

of that style *prasāda* is mostly non-existent; to call it *Pāñcālī* either is at best a subterfuge for which there is not much of justification.

The next great landmark in the history of Sanskrit literature of Bengal is the Renaissance during the early half of the sixteenth century, a movement that was almost coeval with the heyday of *Navya Nyāya* and the religious reformation heralded by Caitanya. The apostles of the great teacher together with their disciples included a few, who had the grit and talent of a poet in them and it was in their writings, spread over a period sufficiently long that a type of literary composition grew up, which inspite of the decadent atmosphere in the midst of which it took its rise, tried to imitate and emulate the best models of the previous period. Rūpa Gosvāmin,[1] a prolific writer together with his illustrious nephew, Jīva, Kavi Karṇapūra,[2] who, if Vaiṣṇava tradition is believed, lisped in numbers as numbers came, Rāmānanda Rāya, Murāri Gupta, to mention only a few, while retaining the गाढ़बन्धता and सौशब्द्य and शब्दालङ्कार्s of the earlier periods, imported into it, after the model of the writers of other parts, specially of South India like Līlāśuka,

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अस्मिन् मुनीनामपि मोहमूहे. Whether Śriharṣa was a Bengali or hailed from Mithilā does not affect our conclusions in any way.

1 See his dramas and lyrics, particularly the *Uddhavadūta* and the devotional lyric, *Mukundamuktāvali*, which is a short *Kāvya* in the *bhakti rasa* of the Vaiṣṇavas.

2 The *Ānandavṛndāvana-campū* as a whole, and the following verses, taken at random from his verse compositions would, indicate the preferential treatment he had given to the famous *G. R.* as known from the practice of earlier writers of Bengal :—

नवजलधरधामा कोटिकामावतार: प्रणयरसयशोर: श्रीयशोदाकिशोर: ।
अरुणदरुणदीर्घापाङ्गभङ्गया कुरङ्गीरिव निखिलकृशाङ्गी रङ्गिणि त्वं क्व यासि ।।
मां धवो यदि निहन्ति हनातां बान्धवो यदि जहाति हीयताम् ।
साधवो यदि हसन्ति हसातां माधव: स्वयमुरीकृतो मया ।।
लीलाविलासमहरिमगरिमा आहीरअकुमारिआणं ।
कण्हाणुराअगरुणा विअड्ढभावं पढाइदो भत्ति ।।

आशामात्रे विलसदुदय: पद्मिनीचक्रबन्धु: सिद्धाभोग: सततमनिशामोदमैवीकषाय: ।
राधास्नेहादिषु निरवधिव्याप्तत: शोणपादो रोचि:पूरैर्हरतु भजतां शीततां कृष्णचन्द्र: ।

The दशमस्कन्धे *Gadya* as per (pp. 41-43-44-45—जय जय गोपीरतिरसरोपी)... exhibits our poet's preference for the *G. R.*

an amount of grace and ease which linked the literary activities of Bengal in a line with those of other provinces and gave to it a continental outlook. The charge that is often levelled against the *kāvya* style of this period, that it verges on effeminacy is more pertinent when it is levelled against the vernacular literature, which however, be it marked, is unsurpassed in many other respects and has taken in view the devotional fervour and lyric impulse that accompany it. Henceforward the vernacular literature proved supreme and the best geniuses of the country, just in keeping with the spirit of the time, were attracted to it; though, all through even up till now there have been poets who have kept the old torch still ablaze maintaining the time-honoured traditions of the *Gauḍī rīti* and preserving for it life through *vicchitti* (beauty) and *vaicitrya* (speciality).

Thus the *Gauḍī rīti* in practice had its excellences and recommendations and deserved well of the theorists, who were led away from it, because of the bias of earlier writers, whose antiquity gave to them an unchallenged support. It might have been the angularities of the individual Gauḍa writers that brought on their heads abuse and reproach; while their good points, of which hints are available from the works of the great theorists as reconstructed in the *resumé* in the earlier part of the paper, were intrinsic and indigenous and throve well in the soil of Gauḍa. There is a point of caution to be noted here. It would be preposterous to think that the great writers, particularly the very best of them, were led by tenets of a type of compostion prevalent there or imported from abroad. Even the theorists do not go so far. Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*,[1] mentions the मार्गकवि as one of eight varieties of poets. Not unlikely, these were the lesser poets whom practice (यत्न or अभियोग in the language of Daṇḍin,[2] or अभ्यास in the opinion of the Jaina writers on *Kaviśikṣā*) in a particular line brought into limelight.

This leads us to remark on that one draw-back in Indian poetics, like that of several other departments of Indian learning and culture,

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1 Chap. V. In many cases these मार्गकविs were masters of a particular style and were highly esteemed. It is not unlikely that some characteristic verses of these poets have survived in the anthologies.

2 *Kāvyādarśa* I.

अमन्दाभियोगोऽस्या: कारणं काव्यसम्पद: ॥
श्रुतेन यत्नं न च वाग्युपासिता ध्रुवं करोत्येव जनप्रतुग्रहम् ॥

which has been brought into relief by the above discussion. What had once constituted as the *forte* of the *śāstra* tended to grow useless, out of a stifling of independent thinking and became its gravest defect in the matter of serving as an aid to literary venture.[1] It was deemed a sacrilege to raise up an old question in a new form ;—all ways were blocked for pouring old wine into new bottles. The *Gauḍī rīti* became a *rūḍhi* or grew stereotyped in the works of the theorists long before it had been given a chance of chastening its over-efforts and any consideration of this was nothing more than a dead issue. Unlike what has happened in the West, the Indian critic has not kept himself abreast of the spirit reigning in his time on all matters and has thus deprived himself and the general reader of the opportunity of checking and helping in the creation of good literature which is the *motif* of all sound criticism.

SIVAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA

1 Cf. लब्धात्मिका सती रूढ़िर्भवेद् योगापहारिणी—a dictum which served as a ruling on the formal manner and content of thought.

MISCELLANY

A note on the Avantisundarī-kathā in relation to Bhāravi and Daṇḍin

In my article on *Bhāravi and Daṇḍin* in *IHQ.*, vol. i, pp. 31f., I made an attempt to shew that the data furnished by Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi in his edition of the prose *Avantisundarī-kathā*, attributed to Daṇḍin, and its anonymous metrical summary *Avantisundarī-kathā-sāra* (referred to below as *Kathā* and *Kathā-sāra* respectively) are not conclusive with regard to his theory of the relationship of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin. The only place where Bhāravi is directly mentioned in the printed texts is in a verse in the *Kathā-sāra*, which runs thus :

sa medhāvī kavir vidvān bhāraviḥ prabhavo girām /
anurudhyâkaron maitrīṃ narendre viṣṇuvardhane //

I have already pointed out that this verse does not appear plausible in its readings and is therefore of doubtful import. The corresponding prose passage in the *Kathā*,[1] as printed by Mr. Kavi, is also hopelessly fragmentary and not at all clear. The name of Bhāravi, at least, does occur, in it so that a statement or theory, which is based upon this solitary and doubtful verse in an admittedly late metrical summary and which is not supported by anything in the prose original, could not be accepted as authoritative or conclusive.

I am glad to find that my doubts are confirmed, and further light thrown upon this question by G. Harihara Śāstrī, who has succeeded in obtaining an extract of the passage in question from another palm-leaf MS. of the prose Kathā in the collection of the Department for Publication of Sanskrit MSS. at Trivandrum, and who has contributed a short paper on this subject to the Allahabad Oriental Conference, held in November, 1926. In the summary of his paper, printed by the Conference (p. 45),[2] he has given the passage in question, which, as we have already noted, is fragmentary in Mr. Kavi's edition of the text. I give here an extract from it relevant to our discussion :

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1 The passage reads thus : *yataḥ kauśi.....va puṇya-karmaṇi viṣṇuvardhanâkhye rāja-sūnau praṇayam anvabadhnāt.*

2 After this article was sent for publication, I found that Mr. G. Harihara Śāstrī had printed his Conference paper (to which I wanted to draw attention) in *IHQ.*, vol. iii, no. 1, pp. 169f.

Yataḥ kauśika-kumāro (=Dāmodaraḥ) mahāśaivaṃ mahā-prabhāvaṃ pradīpta-bhāsaṃ bhāraviṃ ravim ivéndur anuruddhya darśa iva puṇya-karmaṇi viṣṇuvardhanâkhye rāja-sūnau praṇayam anvabadhnāt.

It is clear that the author of the metrical summary must have been summarising this prose passage in the verse quoted above, as closely as possible ; but his quotation also makes it clear that some emendations are necessary in this verse (as given in the printed text) to make it consistent and intelligible. The verb *anurudhya* in the verse stands—somewhat strangely—without an object, but this quotation makes it likely that we should read *bhāravim* and *prabhavaṃ girām* in the first line and construe them as the missing object to this verb. Let me now quote G. Harihara Śāstrī's remarks in this connexion : "It is evident, therefore, that the words *bhāraviḥ* and *prabhavaḥ* ending in *visarga*, which in the verse being construed as referring to *saḥ* (Dāmodara) has led Mr. Kavi to infer that Bhāravi and Dāmodara were identical, should be read as *bhāravim* and *prabhavam*. What we learn from the prose and metrical quotations is that Bhāravi was a Śaivite (*mahā-śaiva*) and a great poet (*girām prabhavaḥ*) attached to the Prince Viṣṇuvardhana, and that Dāmodara, who was also endowed with poetical gifts of a high order, secured the friendship of the Prince through the medium of Bhāravi."

On the evidence of the MS., all these conclusions with regard to Bhāravi may be accepted as plausible. And Bhāravi may further be assigned to the commencement of the 7th century A.D. The narrative in the *Kathā* mentions Siṃhaviṣṇu, the Pallava king of Kāñcī, and Durvinīta, the Gaṅga king as contemporaries of Viṣṇuvardhana. G. Harihara Śāstrī points out that three kings of the same name are revealed by the inscriptions as rulers of various provinces of the Dekkan in the beginning of the 7th century. On the other hand, the probable date of Bhāravi, who appears to have been already famous in the Aihole Inscription of 634 A.D., would roughly coincide with the dates of these rulers, with one of whom he is actually associated in this MS. If Bhāravi thus belongs roughly to the end of the 6th and beginning of the 7th century, the date of Daṇḍin, the supposed author of the *Kathā*, who is given as fourth in descent from Bhāravi's contemporary Dāmodara, would approximately fall towards the close of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century. But Mr. Kavi's bold conjecture that Bhāravi was the great-grandfather of Daṇḍin vanishes into thin air !

But the question still remains as to whether this Daṇḍin is the same as the author of the *Daśa-kumāra-carita*, who also bore the

same name. Of course, the name of the author cannot be discovered anywhere in the printed text of the *Kathā*, but taking into consideration the probability that the *Kathā-sāra* is a faithful summary of the original, there is no reason to doubt that in the original prose *Kathā*, one Daṇḍin was presented as the narrator of the story. The question, therefore, naturally arises as to whether this Daṇḍin is identical with the Daṇḍin of the *Daśa-kumāra-carita* (hereafter referred to as *Dkc*); and if so, what relation this newly discovered *Kathā* bears to *Dkc*, which also contains in the Prelude the story of Avantisundarī.

It is well known that the *Dkc*, as now extant, shares with Bāṇa's two romances the peculiarity of having been left unfinished; but it also lacks an authentic beginning. The end is usually supplied by a supplement often called *Uttara-pīṭhikā* or *Śeṣa*, which is now known to be the work of a late Dekkan author, Cakrapāṇi Dīkṣita, and with which we are not concerned here. The beginning is found in a *Pūrva-pīṭhikā* or Prelude, which is believed on good grounds to be the work of some other hand and not composed by Daṇḍin. The title *Daśa-kumāra-carita* indicates that we are to expect accounts of the adventure of ten princes; but Daṇḍin's work proper (excluding the Prelude and the Supplement) gives us eight of these in eight Ucchvāsas. The *Pūrva-pīṭhika*, therefore, was intended to supply the framework as well as the history of two more princes, while the *Uttara-pīṭhikā* undertakes to conclude the story of Viśruta left incomplete at the last chapter of Daṇḍin's work. It is to be noted, however, that the *Pūrva-pīṭhikā* is extant in various forms, and the details of the tales do not agree in all versions. Of these, the version which begins with the verse *brahmāṇḍa-ccatra-daṇḍaḥ* and narrates the story of Puṣpodbhava and Somadatta (along with that of Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī) in five Ucchvāsas, is the usually accepted one, found in most MSS. and printed editions. We shall refer to it below as the usual Prelude.[1] In this usual Prelude, there are, however, definite divergences

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1 It is remarkable that the usual metrical *namaskriyā* required by theory at the beginning of a *kathā* is not present in this Prelude, but it plunges into the narrative at once with the solitary verse referred to above. This verse *brahmāṇḍa-ccatra*° is quoted anonymously by Bhoja in his *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (ed. Borooah, 1884, p.114); and this fact would indicate that the Prelude must have been prefixed at a very early time, at least some time before the 11th century A. D.

respect of some matters of fact from the main text of Daṇḍin; and as Mr. Kavi himself points out, the main text is written in good style, compared with which the style of the Prelude is "stale". These and other reasons, which we need not detail here[1], have led scholars to doubt the authenticity of the usual Prelude. Wilson ventured the conjecture that the Prelude might be regarded as the work of one of Daṇḍin's disciples; but in view of the various forms in which it is now known to exist, this conjecture must either be discarded or modified to the extent of presuming more than one disciple of Daṇḍin's, each of whom must be supposed to have tried his hand, according to his own fancy and literary ability, to complete the master's incomplete masterpiece. At any rate, it will be enough for our purpose to presume that the original *Pūrva-pīṭhikā*, composed by Daṇḍin himself, must have been, for some reason or other, lost; and attempts were made to supply the deficiency by later ambitious authors, who might or might not have been Daṇḍin's pupils.

Now, Mr. Kavi seems to suggest that the prose *Avantisundarī-kathā*, discovered by him and attributed to Daṇḍin is the lost *Pūrva-pīṭhikā* of the *Daśa-kumāra-carita*.

Unfortunately, the extent of the work, as now recovered, is too slight and its character too fragmentary to give us a definite and convincing solution to the question. For its contents (even of the slight portion recovered) we have to depend entirely on the metrical *Kathā-sāra*, presuming it to be a faithful, if late, summary of the original. But certain features presented even by this hopeless fragment of 25 pages seem to throw doubt on Mr. Kavi's supposition, in support of which no other argument except the presence of a common theme and a supposed common authorship has been brought forward.

One of the main grounds on which a critic of Sanskrit literature would object to accept the *Kathā* as the lost Prelude to the *Dkc* is the extraordinary divergence of style between the two works, a point which cannot fail to strike even the most careless reader. If they are indeed by the same author and formed parts of the same work, one should expect an evenness of style in the two, unless it is presumed without good grounds that the author intended a more elaborate and florid

1 For the arguments, see Agashe's Introd. to *Daśakumāra*° (ed. Bomb. Sansk. Series).

style for the Prelude and a simpler and more vigorous style for the work itself. The twenty-five pages of the fragment of the *Kathā* that have been printed are taken up (leaving aside the metrical *namas-kriyā* and the introductory prose account of the narrator himself) entirely with the account of the parents of Rājavāhana, king Rāja-haṃsa of Magadha and his queen Vasumatī, their union and amorous sports. In the usual Prelude, this topic is dismissed, in proper imitation of Daṇḍin's usual method and style, in a few lines. The metrical summary devotes some sixteen verses to this erotic topic, which was thus undoubtedly an elaborate affair in the original *Kathā*, as this conclusion is also indicated by the recovered fragmentary portion of the *Kathā* itself which devotes several pages to it. Judging from the extent of this episode and the leisurely way of proceeding with the story, one should think that the lost *Kathā* was probably an independent composition, enormous in bulk, and could not have been intended as a Prelude to the *Dkc.* The erotic elaboration is in the right orthodox style of the later *kāvyas*; but such extended scale of elaborate descriptive writing is more suited to the romances of the type of *Kādambarī* than to *Dkc*, the prose style and treatment of which are saved from this tendency to over-elaboration, and are reasonably simple, direct and elegant. We have in this part of the *Kathā*, as in the *Kādambarī* or *Harṣa-carita*, the same love for long rolling compounds, the same stringing of epithets and similes, the same weakness for the jingling of alliterative sounds, for complex puns, for involved constructions, for sesquipedalian sentences having one subject and one verb either at the beginning or at the end, but beaten out with a generous supply of epithetic clauses upon clauses, which cease only when the author's ingenuity has for the moment exhausted itself. Mr. Kavi himself admits that "the *Avantisundarī-kathā* in style resembles *Kādambarī*, but it is less monotonous and more difficult"; he might have added that it least resembles the *Dkc* in this respect. No doubt, the author of the *Dkc* possesses descriptive power in a high degree, and one may quite pertinently refer to such passages as the description of the sleeping Ambālikā, where he indulges in this trick of florid description. But even here he never goes beyond moderate limits; and such descriptions occur only rarely in *Dkc* and never ranges over more than a few lines or even one printed page. He attempts a brilliant *tour de force* (as in Ucchvāsa VII), but wisely limits himself to a sparing use of it, only when it is happily motifed; and his employment of alliteration, chiming

and other verbal tricks are not so free and cloying as we find it in the works of Subandhu and Bāṇa. It is not maintained that the author of the *Dkc* makes no pretension to ornament, but in the main his use of it is effective, limited and pretty, and not recondite, incessant and tiresome. In the published *Kathā*, which affiliates itself in style and method to elaborate poetic romances like the *Kādambarī*, one fails to find those characteristics which give a distinction to the *Dkc* and make it a unique masterpiece in Sanskrit prose literature.

Turning to the story itself, the *Kathā* does not help us, for the portion recovered and printed breaks off with the union of Rājahaṃsa and his queen Vasumatī, and the hero Rājavāhana himself is not yet born. But taking the *Kathā-sāra* as giving us a faithful summary of the incompletely recovered original, we can profitably compare its method of story-telling with that pursued in the *Dkc*. In the usual Prelude, the preliminary story of Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī is given in five Ucchvāsas, but this includes also the adventures of Somadatta and Puṣpodbhava after their separation from Rājavāhana. This trend of the story is followed, but the *Kathā-sāra* gives it in seven chapters (which probably indicates that the original *Kathā* had about the same number of Ucchvāsas), but even with this extent it breaks off without completing the story. The sequence of the constituent tales and incidents are also not the same. Rājavāhana's adventure in the underworld is told in ch. v, while ch. vi and vii relate the adventures of Puṣpodbhava and Somadatta respectively; in the usual Prelude, the adventures of these two princes are given in the reverse order in Ucchvāsas iii and iv respectively while that of Rājavāhana is told in Ucchvāsa ii. Nothing, of course, can be concluded from this change of order, for the various versions differ from each other in this respect, as well as in respect of some details of names and incidents. But when we take into consideration the *manner* of story-telling, we perceive a marked difference. It is noteworthy that we find in the *Kāthā* what we do not find in the *Dkc*, viz., a tendency towards beating out the main story with numerous episodes, repetition of old legends, side-stories and digressions. No doubt, the episodic method of story-telling is very old in Indian literature and obtains from the time of the *Bṛhatkathā* or even earlier; but in the *Dkc* itself, such subsidiary tales never hamper or hold up the main thread of the narrative, in such a way as we find in the *Kathā*. In ch. iv of the *Kathā* (as summarised in the *Kathā-sāra*), for instance, the king begins to narrate previous history in

detail to his queen, and the interpolation of episodic stories like those of Vararuci, Vyāḍi, king Mahāpadma, Cāṇakya and so forth makes us believe that the work was written after the manner and model of the *Bṛhatkathā*, in which also most of these stories occurred (as we know from Somadeva's and Kṣemendra's Sanskrit versions). In the same way, the legends of Śūdraka, Śaunaka, Mūladeva and Samudradatta are brought in to embellish the main story. All the stories cannot strictly be taken as relevant, but in some of them, the object in introducing heroes and heroines of old is to maintain, in the form of rebirth, an intimate connexion between these ancient heroes and the chief characters of the story. In the Prelude to *Dkc*, this device is employed only once where Rājavāhana alludes to the curse pronounced on him in a former birth when Avantisundarī was also his wife, but this incident is skilfully interwoven into the plot itself. It seems, therefore, that the author of the *Kathā* (whoever he was) carried this trick to its utmost possibilities and introduced in imitation a large number of stories of reborn heroes and heroines. It is also remarkable that the whole of the story of *Kādambarī*, as set forth up to the end of Bāṇa's portion of the work, is interpolated in ch. v of the *Kathā-sāra*. In ch. iii, again, it is predicted that Rājavāhana would have a brother, named Haṃsavāhana, who would conquer the three worlds; possibly the author had also the intention of narrating his exploits or bringing him in as a character. This manner of story-telling and the enclosing of narrative within narrative as well as the leisurely and extended scale of descriptive writing that is adopted in the *Kathā*, would make one legitimately suspect that the work was probably an independent treatment of the story of Avantisundarī with a large infusion of relevant or irrelevant episodic tales, derived from other sources, and could not possibly have been the lost Prelude to *Dkc*.

If this conclusion is accepted, explanation of the common theme, viz., the story of Rājavāhana and Avantisundarī, does not present any difficulty. Nor should the fact of a common theme urge us to accept this *Kathā* as the lost Prelude to the *Dkc*. It is probable that some later author, ambitious of writing a romance in the approved vein of Bāṇa's works (with which he appears to have been well acquainted), simply took this story of Avantisundarī from the original lost Prelude of the *Dkc* and embellished it in the approved fashion. It is not at all clear from the texts that the actual authorship of the *Kathā* itself is attributed to Daṇḍin or even belonged to him, but rather the anonymous author of the *Kathā* gives us at the beginning a story, I

biographical and half fanciful, of Daṇḍin, who was the author of the original source of the *Kathā*, introducing him as the narrator of the main story and setting forth his motives of narration. Otherwise, the presence of supernatural elements in this part of the *Kathā* is hard to explain; for it does not stand to reason that Daṇḍin himself introduced the supernatural incident in his own biographical account in connection with himself. It is also noteworthy that no trace of such biographical and supernatural stories is to be found in any known version of the Prelude to *Dkc.* The common theme and the supposed common authorship may thus be reasonably explained; and if this is agreed to, there is no other ground on which the *Kathā* can be taken as the lost Prelude to the *Dkc.*

It may also be pointed out that the *Avantisundarī-kathā* commences with 26 introductory stanzas in the *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh* metre concluding this preliminary part with a verse in *āryā*. These verses contain an obeisance (*namaskriyā*) to Īśāna and homage to Vyāsa and Vālmīki, and then dwell upon poets and poetry generally, incidentally praising great poets and poems of the past and mentioning the author's motive in composing his work. After this comes the prose story, the preliminary part of which gives us an account of Daṇḍin and his family, making him the narrator of the main story, which is said to have been related by him to his friends. If we take the *Harṣa-carita* as a typical surviving specimen of the later *ākhyāyikā*, it will be seen at once that our so-called *Kathā* really conforms to the established tradition and requirements of an *ākhyāyikā* and not of a *kathā*. In the *Harṣa-carita*, we have a similar metrical obeisance to Śiva and Pārvatī and homage to Vyāsa, followed by several verses in praise of older poets and poems (all in the *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh* metre) and concluding in a *jagatī* verse which praises Harṣa, devotion to whom supplies the motive of Bāṇa's literary venture. In the preliminary prose part of the *Harṣa-carita*, again, we have also a rather lengthy account of the poet's youth, his reception at the court of Harṣa, his return to his native country and the relation of the story to his relatives. From this it is clear that the author of the *Avantisundarī-kathā* very closely follows the model of the *Harṣa-carita*, which however is designated an *ākhyāyikā* and not a *kathā*. No doubt, a *kathā* has an introductory metrical *namaskriyā* of a different kind to *devas* and *gurus*, a statement of the author's family and his motives of authorship, and all these elements are to be found in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*. But in a *kathā* there is no metrical praise of older poets and poems, and the preliminary prose portion does not contain any

biographical account of the poet but plunges directly into the narrative.

It is well known that Daṇḍin, the author of the *Kāvyâdarśa*, refuses to admit the fine distinctions made by theorists between a *kathā* and an *ākhyāyikā* : but his own definition of these two species of prose composition is entirely negative and does not help us in fixing his conception of them. It is not until we come to Rudraṭa, who has accepted and generalised the characteristics of Bāṇa's two works into universal rules governing the composition of the *kathā* and the *ākhyāyikā* respectively, that we find these two species entirely stereotyped in theory[1]. It is possible, therefore, that the *Avantisundarī-kathā* was composed before this fixing of characteristics in Rudraṭa's time ; and this would explain the apparent confusion of the characteristics of a *kathā* and an *ākhyāyikā* made by its author. But he could not have been very far from the time of the author of the *Dkc*, whose work he utilises and whose biographical details were not yet entirely lost in his time.

S. K. Dé

Where did Prince Vijaya come from ?

Prince Vijaya of Rāḍha (vulgarised in the Sinhalese language into Lāḷa) who afterwards became the first Kṣatriya king of Ceylon, it will be seen, belonged to the Sengar clan of Rajputs.

Inspite of a number of ruling families of non-Kṣatriya origin, and not overwhelmingly large alien hordes *en masse*, having in the past here and there intermarried with and eventually merged indistinguishably into the vastly multitudinous Kṣatriya community now represented chiefly by the Rajputs, the one predominant racial element among the Rajputs of the present day is essentially the ancient Kṣatriya element.

The Rajputs are found all over Northern India but are by far the most numerous in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Many of

1 On this question, see my article on *The Kathā and the Ākhyāyikā* in the *Bulletin of the London School of Oriental Studies*, 1924, vol. iii, pp. 507-17.

the old Rajput traditions, including some of all-India importance, have either been lost or are on the brink of being lost irrevocably and the old tradition about the Sengar Rajputs having in ancient times established a kingdom in Ceylon is one of them.

The Sengar Rajputs formed "a powerful clan"[1] numbering about 80,000 souls and "are recognised as one of the thirty-six royal clans."[2] They are "naturally warlike and turbulent"[3] and possess "very good qualifications as soldiers."[4] "Their history is remarkable, for at all times they were renowned for their strength and courage."[5] Even in the early years of British rule when the East India Company held only the eastern districts of the United Provinces, "the Sengars were considered the most independent and troublesome of all the subjects of the Company."[6] They claim descent from the great sage Ṛṣyaśṛṅga or Ekaśṛṅga, popularly known as Śṛṅgī Ṛṣi, who figures so prominently in the story of the birth of the famous king Rāma of Ayodhyā, whose sister he had married. He had his hermitage on the river Kauśikī, in Aṅga,[7] somewhere near the site where the ancient shrine of Śṛṅgeśvara[8] now stands. His son Caturaṅga succeeded his maternal grandfather, Romapāda, the (Lunar race) king of Aṅga, as the latter's adopted son. The Ṛṣyaśṛṅga Jātaka is one of the oldest Jātaka stories, and medallions bearing scenes therefrom have been found among the sculptures of the first or second century B.C. at Bhārhut and Sāñci.

Karṇa (Kaunteya)[9] of Mahābhārata fame, the most powerful ally

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1 Ethnographical Handbook for N. W. P. and Oudh, by Crooke.
2 Gazetteer of Jalaun District, U. P. 3 Ibid.
4 Bingley's "Rajputs"
5 Gazetteer of Ballia District, U. P. 6 Ibid.
7 The country round Bhagalpur, adjacent to Rāḍha. Some Sengars are still found there.

8 The name must originally have been 'Ṛṣyasṛṅgeśvara. Ṛṣyaśṛṅga literally means 'a deer's horn' and the legend (Varāha Purāṇa, II, 207-10) about the foundation of the Shrine preserves this name in this way that Śiva once became a deer, Viṣṇu caught hold of his horns, Śiva thereupon disappeared leaving a horn in the hands of Viṣṇu who then set it up there with his own hands for worship as a Śivaliṅga.

9 His descendants are now known as Bisens after his son Vṛṣasena. King Rāma Varma of Śṛṅgaverapura, the patron and disciple of Nāgeśa (Nagoji) Bhaṭṭa, was a Bisen Kṣatriya.

of the Kauravas, was a cadet of the royal house of Aṅga and belonged to a junior branch of the descendants of Caturaṅga. He usurped the throne of Aṅga to the exclusion of king Karṇa's[1] son's (king Vikarṇa's) one hundred sons, the 'Śata-Karṇas'. Some of the latter thereupon took possession of the adjacent country of Rāḍha and made Burdwan their capital and some migrated south-west and carved out, in Cedi, a kingdom which came to be known by the name of Dāhala after its first great Sengar king Dāhala Deva.

About seventy years ago Hume came to know of an old tradition among the Sengar Rajputs to the effect that one of their ancestors had, in ancient times, migrated to Ceylon and established an independent kingdom there. From the valley of the Ganges in the North to far off Ceylon in the South appeared to him, however, to be too far a cry and in a memorandum that he subsequently wrote on the history and ethnology of the district of Etawah[2] he referred to the tradition in the following words:—

"Claiming, like the Gautam Rajputs, to be descended from Shringhi Rishi, they (the Sengar Rajputs) pretend that their own immediate ancestor, Puran Deo, migrated southward, and established an independent kingdom in the Deccan, or as most will have it in Ceylon.[3] The constant allusion to a monarchy of Rajputs in Ceylon which haunts us at every turn of their old traditions may embalm some long-forgotten reality, but nothing as yet discovered warrants our treating it as anything but a pure myth." (N. W. P. Census Report, 1865, I, App. B.).

At the time Hume wrote these lines he had obviously no know-

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1 King Karṇa, father of king Vikarṇa (of the senior branch), is not to be confused with king Karṇa (Kaunteya) of the junior branch.

2 Etawah formed part of the tract of country ceded to the East India Company by the Nawab Vazir of Oudh in the year 1801. "In the new country were several Zemindars who, as usual under native governments, had enjoyed a sort of sovereignty and of whom little more was exacted than an annual tribute, and sometimes the use of their troops in war." (Mill's History of British India). Many of these sovereign princes were Sengar Rajputs.

3 Hume here blundered in mixing up two independent traditions, i.e., one about Ceylon and the other about the Deccan, together.

ledge of the corresponding Sinhalese tradition as preserved in the Mahāvaṃsa about Prince Vijaya's advent in Ceylon from North-East India in the fifth or sixth century B.C. or he would have opined quite differently.

The tradition among the Sengar Rajputs has been that an ancestor of theirs, Bhoja[1] by name, who was, according to some genealogists, a son of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga and according to others a distant descendant of the sage—and this seems more reasonable because Ṛṣyaśṛṅga was a contemporary of Daśaratha and Rāma and thus lived at a time too remote for Bhoja to have been his son[2]—migrated from Burdwan in Rāḍha to Ceylon and became the first Sengar king of that island, that he was succeeded by his younger brother Padma Deva (or, according to a few genealogists, Padma Deva's son Pūrṇa Deva)[3] who had subsequently followed him there and that the latter, after reigning there for some time, placed his son on the throne of Ceylon and himself came back to India.

Rāḍha is the "ancient name of a portion of Bengal west of the Bhāgīrathī river." It "corresponded roughly with the kingdom of Karṇa-Suvarṇa[4] and with the modern districts of Burdwan, Bankura, Western Murshidabad and Hooghly." (Imp. Gaz. of India, 1908, vol. xxi).

The Gangarides of ancient Greek writers must have been the Sengars of Rāḍha because "Burdwan (the ancient capital of the Sengars of Rāḍha) has been identified as the Parthalis or Portalis which according to Greek geographers was the royal city of the Gangarides." (Imp. Gaz. of India 1908, vol. ix, pp. 92).

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1 Some genealogists give the name as 'Vijaya Ṛṣi, son of Śṛṅgī Ṛṣi.' Other variants are Bhojarāja, Vijayarāja and Bhoja Ṛṣi. Bhoja is however the name more commonly met with.

2 Moreover we know from the Purāṇas that the name of the son of Śṛṅgī Ṛṣi (Ṛṣyaśṛṅga) was Caturaṅga and not Bhoja. The genealogists have obviously confused Śṛṅgī Ṛṣi with his descendant Siṃha, father of Siṃhabāhu.

3 But most genealogists make Pūrṇa Deva the first great Sengar King of the Deccan, and not a King of Ceylon.

4 The country of Rāḍha may have got the name 'Karṇa-Suvarṇa' after king Karṇa, or his son Vikarṇa, or the latter's 100 sons, the Śata-Karṇas.

The tradition among the Sengar Rājputs that they once ruled at Burdwan in Rāḍha is corroborated by a tradition among other Rajput clans also. The Chauhan Rajputs, for instance, claim that their king Īśvara who lived 35 generations before Pṛthvīrāja, the last independent Hindu king of Delhi, was a son-in-law of the Sengar king Śaṅkara of Burdwan. (Vide Vaṃśa-bhāskara by Kavirāja Sūryamalla of Bundi, 1899, Jodhpur edition, p. 1262).

There is not, so far as I am aware, anything in Sinhalese tradition to corroborate the alleged return of Padma Deva or Pūrṇa Deva to India but all the other important details are practically identical.

"The members of the clan to which Vijaya belonged, appear to have been called Sīhalā,[1] the 'Lion-men'." (Dr. Geiger, I. H. Q., II, 7), and in India the family bard of the Sengar Rajputs while singing the eulogies of his forefathers reminds him of Sengars having once ruled in Siṃhala-dvīpa and in doing so calls him a Singhel (Siṃhella)[2] down to the present day.

As regards the original home of Vijaya the Sinhalese tradition as preserved in the Mahāvaṃsa is strikingly identical with the old tradition of the Sengar Rajputs in India. The Mahāvaṃsa states that the mother of Vijaya's father Siṃhabāhu was a daughter of the king of Vaṅga and grand-daughter of the king of Kaliṅga and that it was in Lāḷa, on the road from Vaṅga to Magadha, that she gave birth to Siṃhabāhu. Dīpavaṃsa also mentions Vaṅga as the home of Siṃhabāhu's mother Susīmā. All these facts point unmistakably to Lāḷa (Rāḍha) in North East India, and not to Lāṭa in Western India as some scholars will have it, as the original home of Vijaya and his forefathers. What is most important is that the Mahāvaṃsa definitely locates Lāḷa on the road from Vaṅga to Magadha and this condition is literally fulfilled by Rāḍha which is, moreover, surrounded by Vaṅga, Kaliṅga and Magadha, the three countries mentioned in the story of Vijaya as preserved in Ceylonese annals.

The Lāṭa theory is an erroneous and impossible theory based on nothing beyond the fanciful adoption by the annalists of Ceylon of the names of the two Indian West coast seaport towns—Bharukaccha

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1 Sanskrit 'Siṃhala' (whence Siṃhala-dvīpa) and an inscription of 1134 A.C. gives the name of the Sengar clan as Siṅgara' (E. I., IV, p. 131).

2 Literally Lion-born. From Siṃha, as Chandel (Candella) from Candra ; Baghel from Bāgh (Skt. Vyāghra) and so on.

h) and Suppāraka (Sopara)—as falling on Vijaya's route to
. The authors of the 'Dīpavaṃsa' and the 'Mahāvaṃsa' lived
800-1000 years after Vijaya. They knew that the original
of the Prince was Lāḷa (Rāḍha) in India and that he came to
by sea-route but did not know that the only route connecting
with Ceylon by boat lay along the East coast of India. They,
e, groped in the dark and caught hold of the much-frequented
ll-known Indo-Ceylonese trade route along the West coast,
arukaccha and Suppāraka which appealed to their fancy as
t hazardous and, therefore, the most probable route to have
ken by Vijaya on his adventurous voyage from Lāḷa (Rāḍha)
n.

KUNWAR SHIVNATH SINGH SENGAR

"Śrī Magaradhvaja Yogī 700."

ame Magaradhvaja with a mysterious number 700 almost
attached to it was found by various archæologists inscribed
and idols scattered over a vast area lying between Baijnath
he Ganges in the North and Bhairamgarh in the Bastar State
on the Godāvarī in the South and Chittorgarh in the
t to Cuttak in the East, covering the whole of the Central
and parts of Bihar, Orissa, Central India and Rajputana.
on temples at Mārkaṇḍa and Chural in the Chanda District,
d Bhairamgarh in the Bastar State, Khurda near Cuttak,
in Bihar, Pali in the Bilaspur District, Boramdeo and Kan-
Kawardha State, Dewarbija in Khairagarh State, Amara-
nd Chandrehe in Baghelkhand, Khajuraha in Bundelkhand,
the Jubbalpore District, Hindoria in the Damoh District,
in the Narsinghpur District, Kelod in the Nagpur District,
in the Nimar District, and Chittorgarh in Rajputana. In
places whether they be the walls of temples, pillars or
figure "700" invariably accompanies the name. Sir Alexander
am with his Assistants took it to be the year of some era
Yogin visited all those sacred places. He first tried to fit in
or Kalāchuri era and later on with the Harṣa era, but

it would fit in with none. Judging from the formation of characters Sir Alexander Cunningham accorded his opinion that they were not older than the 12th or 13th Century.[1] Thus every time the name was found, it offered a riddle to the archæological officers to solve with reference to other circumstances of the locality. The question remained unsolved till 1904 A.D. when Mr. Cousens, Superintendent of Archæology, met me at Raipur and suddenly sprang the question as to the meaning of the figure. The explanation given to him was considered satisfactory and he recorded it in his Progress Report for 1904. Magaradhvaja measured his importance by the size of his following. He was the leader of 700 disciples. This is supported by the fact that the inscription is not in the same handwriting in each case, as one should expect it to be, were it written by one solitary Yogin wandering from shrine to shrine. The name was no doubt engraved by some ones of his many disciples, but not always by the same man.

Till then I had never thought of this Yogin at all and although according to Mr. Cousens I had solved the mystery of the figure, which had puzzled Sir Alexander Cunningham and his officers, my curiosity was excited as to who this Yogin could be. Whenever I visited any ancient remains, I tried to search for the name of this ubiquitous Yogin and found it where the archæologist's eyes had failed to catch it. The latter had seen it in about ten places and my curiosity brought to light as many more. In the Kawardha State and in the Damoh District, I found it inscribed on even the pedestal of the Viṣṇuite idols enshrined in the old temples now reduced to ruins and in the Khairagarh State and Raipur District I found the name carved on huge *liṅgams*. It may be permissible to inscribe a name on walls and pillars but one must be extremely holy and extraordinarily popular before he could be allowed to have his name inscribed on the object of the worship itself. Garrick[2] rightly conceived the importance of this Yogin, when he said that this pilgrim was no common mendicant. He must have commanded considerable resources to have enabled him to visit the numerous places at vast distanses from each other at which his name remains inscribed. This too at a time when travelling was very expensive and seldom

1 Archæological Reports, vol. XVII, p. 43.
2 Arch. Reports, vol. XIX, p. 23.

undertaken without a due number of elephants, camels and attendants. What this number might have been 6 or 7 hundred years ago can be judged from the present day paraphernalia of the Jagadgurus of the Śaṅkara maṭhas, who move about with a tremendous following accompanied with a variety of vehicles from carts to cars, yet I do not think that they are considered sufficiently holy to have their names carved on the sacred images and liṅgams they worship. A Yogin is usually a Śivite and may well be highly honoured by the followers of that sect, but we find Magaradhvaja equally revered by the Viṣṇuites, as the inscribing of his name on Viṣṇuite idols indicates. The natural conclusion is that he must have been looked upon something like a Śaṅkarācārya. This further sharpened the craving for finding out his native place and I am glad to say that a manuscript history of Ratanpur kings was finally found, which recorded the existence of a Maṭha of Magaradhvaja with 700 *celās* at Ratanpur during the reign of Jājalladeva. The latter flourished about 1114 A.D., the period to which the characters of the pilgrim record belong. The Haihayas of Ratanpur were Śivites. They were a branch of the Tripuri house, which created an empire for itself comprising almost the whole of India within it, at least in the times of Karṇa Daharia, who unfortunately has not received full justice at the hands of the writers of Indian History. Mr. Jayaswal rightly calls him an Indian Napolean, a title which Vincent Smith has conferred on Samudra Gupta. The Tripuri kings belonged to the Kālāmukha braneh of the Pāśupata sect of the Śivites and were very liberal to their priests. One of them had in fact made a gift of 3 lakhs of villages to the high priest Sadbhāva Śambhu, who did not keep the estate to himself, but with its income founded what was called Golaki Maṭha, of which branches spread even to the Madras Presidency as the Malkapuram inscription indicates, Nearer home there were branches at Gorgi and Chandrehe in the Rewa State and Khajuraha in Bundelkhand. What wonder that a branch of the same institution was established at Ratanpur, a place known as Devikhol before King Ratnadeva gave his name to it. The oldest shrine at this place is that of Mahāmāyā, (female energy), the object of special worship by the Pāśupata Śivites. Magaradhvaja lived at a time when the Tripuri house had decayed and the Ratanpur house was ascendant, having become independent of the former. The grandeur of the Ratanpur Maṭha must have consequently much increased over that of other branches or even the original Golaki Maṭha, which according to my

view was located at Bheraghāṭ on the Narmadā river in the Jubbulpore District. It is quite close to Tripuri (present Tewar) and was apparently included in that town when it was founded. I am aware of the grandeur of the ancient remains at Gorgi, 11 miles from Rewa, this and the inscriptions found there, describing the maṭha as a very prosperous institution, set up a rival claim further strengthened by the name of Gorgi which is merely a natural corruption of Golaki, still the vicinity of the capital Tripuri to the Causaṭ Yoginī shrine, a round cloister situated on a round hill Golagiri, of which Golaki itself is a corruption. These lead me to stick to the first identification.

On the strength of the peculiarity of names ending in *dhvaja*, a question arises whether the traditional kings of Ratanpur were really mahāntas of the maṭhas. The local tradition avers that the first king was Mayūradhvaja, a descendant of the great Kārtavīrya who ruled at Māhiṣmatī, the present Māndhātā in the Nimar District. His successors are mentioned as follows :—Tāmradhvaja, Citradhvaja, Viśvadhvaja, Candradhvaja, Makhapāladhvaja, and a host of others without *dhvaja* endings.

Tāmradhvaja has been identified with the Haihaya king of that name mentioned in the Mahābhārata as having been defeated by Arjuna, whose sacrificial horse he had captured and tied at a tank at Ratanpur still called Ghuḍabandhā tank. On the face of it this story is absurd, as Ratanpur had not been founded then. If the names noted above were those of real personages I am inclined to take them as predecessors of Makaradhvaja on the religious *gaddi* of Devikhol, to which the name of Ratanpur was given when the kings began to live there as stated before. On the back of the Mārkaṇḍa temple there is an inscription of Ratnadhvaja dated in the saṃvat year 1519 or 1462 A.D. Although an isolated record, I take it to be very suggestive. Apparently the Yogin received his name from the Ratanpur Maṭha when he became its head. Probably the traditions of Magaradhvaja's visit to that renowned shrine carried him to Mārkaṇḍa where seeing his predecessor's name inscribed at the door, he carved his own on the back of the temple. Of course this is highly conjectural, but so far as Magaradhvaja is concerned I think it is now well established that he was the Śivite head of the Ratanpur maṭha and had a following of 700 celās. That also explains why in shrines close to Ratanpur he enjoyed the privilege of inscribing his name on idols. In remoter places we do not find that honour extended to him.

HIRALAL

The Malla Era

With reference to Mahāmahopādhyāy Dr. Haraprasād Śāstrī's note on the Malla Era of Viṣṇupur in *IHQ.*, vol. iii, no. I, pp. 180,181, I am in a position to confirm, from another independent ms. Mm. Śāstrī's indication that 616 *śaka* was the initial year of this era. The manuscript is a commentary composed by Sarvānanda-nāga on the *Kīcaka-vadha-kāvya* of Nītivarman and was lent to me several months back by Mm. Śāstrī himself for my edition of this poem. The scribe of this ms., who calls himself Rāma-śaraṇa Śarman, writes at the end of the ms.,

टीकेयं लिखिता.....[1] रामशरणशर्मणा।
पचवेदरसचौणीयुक्शाके पाठहेतुका॥
मल्लाब्दे रसयुग्माशायुजि टीकेयमालिपत्।
शुक्रे शनौ नवाह्नि सा (?) पूर्वाह्ने पाठहेतवे॥

This gives us *śaka* 1642 and *mallābda* 1026 as the date of the writing of the ms. The initial year of the Malla Era would therefore be *śaka* 616.

S. K. De

Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Works known to Nāgārjuna

Nāgārjuna, if not the founder, was the chief exponent of Mahāyāna Buddhism and may well claim the credit as a great systematiser of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This will be evident if we critically look to his mighty works like *Prajñāpāramitā-Śāstra*[2] and *Daśabhūmivibhāṣā-*

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1 The two *akṣaras* here are indistinct ; but the metre appears to be irregular as in the next line we read श्रीरामशरण° which would give us one redundant *akṣara.*

2 This is a commentary compiled by Nāgārjuna on the *Pañca-viṃśātisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā.* It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva during the period A.D. 402-405, of the Later Tsin Dynasty (A.D. 384-417). The original work has not yet been discovered. It consists of 100 fasciculi. This work is so important and deals with so many subjects that it may be regarded as an encyclopædia of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Śāstras[1]. The former is the commentary on *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Sūtra* and the latter on the first two of the ten Bhūmis of the *Daśabhūmi-Sūtra* of the Avataṃsaka class.

In these two Śāstras the author incidently mentions both Mahāyānic and Hīnayānic Sūtras.

(1) Those mentioned in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra* are as follows :—

	Names of the Sūtras and Śāstras	Nos. of the Fasciculi in which they are mentioned.
1	Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 137)	7, 9, 10, 26, 30, 32, 33, 38, 46, 50, 57, 79, 84, 88, 93, 100
*2	Māyājāla-Sūtra	6
3	Vimalakīrtti-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 146)	9, 15, 17, 28, 30, 65, 85, 88, 92, 95
4	Buddhasaṅgīti-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 401) ...	9
5	Sūraṅgamasamādhi-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 399)	10, 26, 29, 33, 34, 40, 75
6	Amitāyur-vyūha-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. Nos. 26 & 27)	9, 22
*7	Acintyamukti-Sūtra (one of the Avataṃsaka-Sūtras)	33,50,73,100
8	Bhadrakalpika-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 403) ...	29, 46
9	Pratyutpanna-Buddhasammukhavāsthita-Samādhisūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 72)	29
*10	Saṅgīty-artha-Sūtra	1
11	Puṣpahasta-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 425?)	33, 46, 101
12	Megha-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 187&188)	33, 46, 100
*13	Jñānaprasthāna-Sūtra	2
14	Sūtra on making gradually complete all wisdom and virtue or Daśabhūmika-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 110)	29
*15	Dharmamegha-Sūtra	33, 46
16	Brahmajāla-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 1087) ...	5, 18
17	Mahāmegha-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. 244) ...	33, 46, 100
18	Ṣatpāramitā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 1004?)	33, 46
19	Śrīmatīstrīparipṛcchā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 343?)	5, 18

1 This commentary also was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva about A.D. 405 of Later Tsin Dynasty (A.D. 384-417). It consists of 15 fasciculi divided into 35 chapters. The original work has not yet been discovered.

	Names of the Sūtras and Śāstras	Nos. of the Fasciculi in which they are mentioned.
20	Maitreyaparipṛcchā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 42 ?)	46
*21	Nagaraupamya-Sūtra	80
22	Kālākāla-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 750)	1
23	Madhyamāgama-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 542) ...	1, 33, 50
24	Guhyapadavajra-Sūtra [Nanjio cat. No. 23 (3)]	1, 9, 10, 26, 57, 88
25	Saṃyuktapiṭaka-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 676) ...	5
26	Dīrghāgama-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 545) ...	9
27	Saṃyuktāgama-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 547)	7, 9, 10, 32, 54
*28	Bahugotra-Sūtra	24
29	Dhammapada (Nanjio cat. No. 1321. 1353, 1365, 1439)	1
30	Sūtra on the well-coming king Binsā (Bimbisāra) (Nanjio cat. No. 900 ?)	1, 18
*31	Viśuddha-Sūtra	24
*32	Buddhadverātrī-Sūtra	1
*33	Vaśīkṛtabahumithyā-Sūtra	1
*34	Sārīputrajātaka-Nidāna	1
*35	Kalāvadāna Sūtra	1, 31, 55
36	Devaparipṛcchā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 753) ...	1, 26
*37	Śakradevānām-Indramukta-Sūtra	2
*38	Sīlamukta-Sūtra	2
*39	Nadhakātyāyana-Sūtra	2
*40	Avadāna-Sūtra or Sūtra on 'Leking caws go' (Nanjio cat. No. 627 ?)	2
*41	Nandavaradanāgarājavaśīkṛta-Sūtra ...	3
42	Pūrṇa-Sūtra [Nanjio cat. No. 23 (17) ?] ...	3
*43	Śubhadaparivrājaka-Sūtra	3
*44	Pārayāṇa-Sūtra	3, 4, 31
*45	Karaṇḍaka-Sūtra	3
46	Candanāvadāna-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. 778 ?) ...	3
47	Avadāna-Sūtra (do 735 ?) ...	11
48	Catur-mahārāja-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 722) ...	13
49	Sūtra on the origin of Heaven and Earth ...	13
*50	Sudarsanarāja-Sūtra	14
*51	Nīlotpalabhikṣujātaka-Nidāna	13
*52	Bodhisattvamūlagotra-Sūtra	16, 33, 93
*53	Rāhulamātājātaka-Nidāna	17
54	Karmavibhāga-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 699 ?) ...	14

	Names of the Sūtras and Śāstras	Nos. of the fasciculi in which they are mentioned.
*55	Samādhi-Sūtra ...	17, 22, 24, 28, 91
56	Sangītidharma-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 426 ?) ...	2
*57	Sarvāśravāvarana-Sūtra	50
*58	Sundarī (Saundarānda ?)-Sūtra	25
*59	Sarvānācāra-Sūtra	26
*60	Saṃghahita-Sūtra	27, 31
61	Dīrghanakhaparivrājaka-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 734 ?)	25
*62	Vidyājālabodhisattva-Sūtra	20, 28
*63	Tathaikajātaka-nidāna-Sūtra	28
*64	Hṛdayādhāra-Sūtra	27, 32, 66, 77, 81
*65	Preta-Sūtra	30
*66	Saṃyuktāgamamahāpāśa-Sūtra	18, 31
*67	Saṃyuktāgamaśālīputrasiṃhanāda-Sūtra ...	32
*68	Trayastriṃśaparivarta-Sūtra	32
*69	Udāna-Sūtra	33
*70	Dīrghāgamāpādāna-vivaraṇa-śatadve-pañcadaśa-vinayasūtra (sūtra on the two hundred fifty vinaya as explanation of apādāna of Dīrghāgama) ...	33, 74
*71	Buddhanidāna-Sūtra	33, 46, 100
*72	Trayadharma-Sūtra	34
*73	Saptarathāvadāna-Sūtra (one of Madhyamāgama-Sūtra)	46
*74	Sarvabahujanasamdeha-Sūtra	46
*75	Bodhisattvanidāna-Sūtra	38
*76	Satadvepañcadaśavinaya-Sūtra (or Sūtra on two hundred fifty vinaya)	33
77	Buddhabhāṣitajātaka-nidāna-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 669 ?)	49
78	Akṣaramatinirdeśa-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 74 & 77)	53
79	Dharmacakrapravartana-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 92&657)	2, 33
*80	Vāṣpa-Sūtra	93
81	Jñānamudrā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 255 ? & 1014 ?)	98
82	Mahākaruṇāpuṇḍarīka-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 117)	100
*83	Upāyakauśalya-Sūtra	100
84	Nāgarājaparipṛcchā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 456) ...	100
*85	Asuraparipṛcchā-Sūtra	100
86	Avadāna-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 735 ?) ...	97
*87	Pratyekabuddhaparipṛcchā-Sūtra ...	20, 81
*88	Sarvadevaparipṛcchā-Sūtra	5, 90
*89	Vinavana(?)rāja-Sūtra	5

	Names of the Sūtras and Śāstras	Nos. of the fasciculi in which they are mentioned.
*90	Bahūdhara-Sūtra	9
*91	Jātakāvadāna-Sūtra	11
92	Ekottarāgama-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 543) ...	20
93	Romakūpajāta-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 954 ?) ...	24
94	Akṣaramatinirdeśa-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 77 ?) ...	27
*95	Ratnoṣṇīṣa-Sūtra	28
*96	Daśabalā-Sūtra	31
97	Pātragamayat-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 183) ...	38
*98	Nāgarāja-Sūtra	51
*99	Sarvabahujanahita-Sūtra	28
*100	Sāṅkhya-Sūtra	70
*101	Sarvabuddhanidāna-Sūtra	100
102	Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat, No. 1	100
103	Mādhyamika-Śāstra (Nanjio cat. No. 1179)	1, 19, 25, 38
104	Daśabhūmika-Śāstra (Nanjio cat. No. 1194) ...	49
*105	Ṣatpadābhidharma-Śāstra ...	68, 49, 100
*106	Abhidarma-Sūtra	73
*107	Abhidharmavibhāṣā Śāstra (Nanjio cat. No. 1264)	4, 6, 29, 39

Those Hīnayānic and Mahāyānic Sūtras which have been mentioned in the *Daśabhūmivibhāṣā-Śāstra* are as follows:—

	Names of the Sūtras	Nos. of Fasciculi in which they occur.
*1	Suddhavinaya-Sūtra	2, 15
2	Daśabhūmi-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 103) ...	1, 16
*3	Raurava-naraka Sūtra	2
4	Ārydharmamudrā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 652)	1, 2
*5	Mahottamabuddhadharma-Sūtra	2
*6	Sahāyamārga-Sūtra	1, 5, 13
7	Mahāyānaratnacandrakumāraparipṛcchādharma-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 826)	5
8	Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 4) ...	5, 6, 7
*9	Praparimāṇa-Sūtra	10
*10	Trayāṅga-Sūtra	6
*11	Maharddhi-Sūtra	10
*12	Mahāyānaniścitarāja-Sūtra	7, 8, 16
13	Mahāyānamahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 113)	1, 11
14	Sarvadharmapravṛttinirdeśa-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 164)	8
*15	Mahāyāna-Sūtra	8

	Names of the Sūtras	Nos. of Fasciculi in which they occur.
*16	Ekottarāgamakālī-Sūtra (Kālī-upāsikā-Sūtra of A. N., Vol. V, xxvi pp. 46?)	11
*17	Ekottarāgamabāla-Sūtra (Bālavagga of A. N. Vol. I, pp. 59?)	11
*18	Abhayarājakumāra-Sūtra	11
*19	Sarvatathāgatagatiṃgatanyāya-Sūtra ...	11
*20	Bhodyuttora-Sūtra	11
*21	Mahāprajñā-Sūtra	15
*22	Kāśyapa-Sūtra	10
*23	Viśuddhaguṇa-Sūtra	17
*24	Saptopāyakauśalya-Sūtra	10
*25	Karma-Sūtra	6
*26	Kūpajataromaparidhāna-Sūtra	24
*27	Lokāyata-Sūtra	9
*28	Buddhabhāṣitavibhaktābhaya-Sūtra ...	16
29	Tathāgatajñānamudrā-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 1014)	6
30	Karmavibhāga-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 697) ...	11
*31	Kolāupamana-Sūtra	11
32	Pratyutpannabuddhasanmukhāvasthita samādhi-Sūtra (Nanjio cat. No. 73)	11
*33	Sarvadevanirdeśa-Sūtra	11
84	Dharmapada (See Nanjio cat. No. 1304) ...	13

The above facts sufficiently convince us that long before the time of Nāgārjuna many Mahāyānic Sūtras were in exsistence. So it may be definitely asserted that both Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools are based upon these Mahāyāna Sūtras and that Nāgārjuna, Maitreyanāth, Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu established there respective schools in order to systematize these doctrines.

R. KIMURA

*Those marked with asterisk are author's own restoration from Chinese while all others are Nanjio's.

Rohitagiri in the Plate of Śrī Candra

I am thankful to my friend Mr. Haridas Mitra, M.A., for criticising my reading of the Kedārpur plate of Śrī Candra Deva in I. H. Q., vol. II, no. 2. But much of my young friend's long article is but fighting with a shadow. Students of antiquarian studies in Bengal may remember that my first hurried reading of the Belaba plate of Bhojavarman appeared in the *Dacca Review* of 1912 and Prof. Basak easily made some improvements upon the readings and his reading, again, was improved in one or two particulars by Mr. R. D. Banerjee. In my first hurried reading of the Kedārpur plate published in the *Pratibhā* and the *Dacca Review*, there were undoubtedly some defects; but they were easily removed on a revised reading published by myself in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XVII, p. 188. Mr. Mitra in his long dissertation has not been able to suggest a single improvement, which I myself had not already made in my article in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The only substantial points on which we differ are two in number.

(i) Are the adjectives in *śloka* 3 to apply to Suvarṇa Candra or to his father Pūrṇa Candra? I have taken them to apply to the father and interpreted accordingly, as there are many adjectives in the next *śloka* that apply to Suvarṇa Candra.

(ii) In the 6th *śloka* Mr. Mitra reads *Pīta* while I read *Pīna*. There is not much use in breaking each other's head in discussing whether the letter is *ta* or *na*. To me the letter looks like *na*. Mr. Mitra is inclined to take it as *ta* and I gave him all opportunity to satisfy himself from the original plate when he came over to Dacca.

As regards Rohitā-giri fresh light is forthcoming from a new plate of Śrī Candra found two years ago at Dhullā in the Manikganj Sub-Division of Dacca District and acquired for the Dacca Museum. The name Rohitā-giri is clear on this new plate. I think with Mr. Mitra that possibly this is some hill-range of East Bengal and I still think that this may be the Lalmāi Hills near Comilla. I have a close personal acquaintance with the topography of this hill and I have no doubt that the plateaus at the top were thickly inhabited and studded with Buddhist and Brahmanical temples in pre-Muhammadan days.

N. K. Bhattasali

The Tibetan Translation of the Sādhanamālā: A Rejoinder

In this Quarterly (vol. II, pp. 628 ff.) I made an attempt to show the readings of the two *sādhanas* of the *Sādhanamālā* as could be suggested from its Tibetan version in the Tanjur. In the same journal (vol. III, pp. 160 ff.) Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Śiromaṇi, Śruta Paṇḍita of the Central Library, Baroda (=RS) from which the work is published in the GOS under the editorship of Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, has written a reply to it lacking in scholarly restraint and not appearing to show its author's love for truth. Truth can never be realized until and unless one's mind is free from all sorts of passion. It is, therefore, not to him but to the lovers of truth that I want to write the following few lines about what I think of the reply given by him.

At the very outset I should like to say that I never consider myself infallible. I want to be corrected and I am thankful to any one who may correct me in the discussion, as, in fact, I am, I frankly confess, to RS on two or three points mentioned below.

RS misrepresents me when he says that my conclusion is "that *only* the Tibetan translation has preserved the true readings and *not* the Sanskrit Mss." (Italics are mine.) What I actually said is that "it is Tibetan and not Sanskrit that has preserved the true readings in *many* cases, and that the former helps us in understanding many obscure points in those Sanskit works which are extant." This is my considered opinion which I still hold after having perused what RS has written against me. I never think that the Tibetan translator is right in *every* case; it is impossible. Man is liable to mistake, and, in fact, I myself pointed out his defects or wrong readings in my paper. In most cases RS has identified me with the Tibetan translator subjecting me to strong languages. But why? Certainly I am not responsible for whatever the latter might have written. Of course, with others I must hold myself responsible for mistakes I might have made in showing the readings in Sanskrit as suggested by him. But RS is silent on this point. I am responsible also for the comments stating which of the two readings, Sanskrit or Tibetan, is better or wrong.

It appears to me from his paper that RS could not read my paper dispassionately or he has been actuated by a strong *zid*, and consequently he could not understand my position. Or it may also be possible that I could not express myself as clearly as I should have

done. Moreover, he seems not to be acquainted with Tibetan ; otherwise, in all likelihood his attitude would have been quite a different one. He could easily understand what I meant to say.

I should like to point out one thing specially and it is this: I wanted to show in Sanskrit *all* the different readings suggested from Tibetan not meaning thereby that *every one* of them is good or better than the corresponding one in the Sanskrit text. Nor did I ask the editor, as RS charges me with having done, to adopt them *all*. On the contrary, I myself pointed out some wrong or bad readings, as has already been said. One other point RS seems to have missed altogether and it is that I attempted to reconcile some obscure readings suggested from Tibetan with the Sankrit ones, and indeed in some cases I had to meet great difficulties. It may be true, as RS implies, in all the cases or in a large number of them I could not achieve success. Why then does he not come forward as a scholar with his new suggestions so that we might be certain about the readings coming from the Tibetan sources? It is a common cause, no doubt. He discards the Tibetan translator altogether, but I cannot, for I have my own reasons to believe that in most cases he understood the text far better than a man of my calibre to whom, unlike the former Buddhism, or its literature is almost nothing but a dead thing or a thing of mere curiosity. Whatever may be said by RS in defence of the present edition of the *Sādhanamālā*, I have not the least hesitation in saying that by wholly ignoring the materials from the Tibetan sources, it can in no way claim to be absolutely reliable.

Let me now say a few words about my mistakes pointed out by RS. I shall, however, purposely refrain from discussing every thing said by him against me, as it will serve no purpose.

P. 15, verse 1.

In *a, samata-*, as it is in the Sanskrit text, does not give any sense unless it is taken for *samatā*, as RS wants to do, while *samati-* (prefixes *sam* and *ati*) suggested by T gives a clear meaning. The following line from the *Lalitavistara*, ed. S. Lefmann, 1902, p. 436, may, however, be cited in favour of RS:—

*Samatādharma*nirdeśaṃ dharmacakraṃ pravartitam/

In deciding the case one should also take into consideration that obscure and difficult readings are often found simplified in some Mss. Let the readers now decide as to which of them is acceptable or preferable.

In *c* I preferred T *asamāna-* (*mñan-med*) to Sanskrit *asmanta-* thinking that as the Bodhisattvas are *asama* 'without equals', so is *asamāna* (=*asama*), the *sarvaguṇasiddhi* which they grant. As regards the meaning of *asamanta* it may be said that one cannot support °*parā-samantinī* in verse 3, *c*, as done by me, without knowing what the word actually means. Nowhere did I strain my "imagination by explaining Tibetan *asamāna* by amūrta." What I wrote with reference to verse 2 is as follows: "In *d* for *asamanta*° T appears to read *samanta*° (*ma lus pa*=*nikhila*=*samanta*, lit. *amūrta*)." The Tibetan phrase *ma lus pa* literally means *aśarīra* and thus *amūrta* (*lu can ma yin pa*). See *Nyāyapraveśa*, §§ 42, 43. It also means *nikhila* (S. C. Das: Tibetan-English Dictionary, p. 951), *niravaśeṣa* (*Madhyamaka-karikā*, X. 15), 'all.'

In *d* RS wants to interpret *sama* by *samata* or *samatā*. This can hardly be defended. Nor can it be accepted that "in *d* the concluding word *samavarāgadharmiṇaḥ* is only a repetition." Their difference is very clear. In defence of T *asama-* (*mtshuṅs med*) for Sanskrit *sama*, it may be observed that the author seems here also to say that as the Bodhisattvas are *asama*, so *asama* is their *dharma* too. I do not think that the suggested compound is "meaningless."

Verse 2.

On his comment on what I wrote with regard to the reading in *a*, I have nothing new to add simply asking one to think over the case as presented by us both.

RS writes: "Strangely enough, the critic is not in favour of the reading *asīmike* and therefore changes it to *asīmake* and goes so far as to dub the Sanskrit reading as ungrammatical." Then he goes on writing a grammatical note in defence of *asīmike*. This comment is on my following sentence: "T fully supports *b*, but there is nothing, as cannot be expected, in favour of the reading *asīmike* for *asīmake*." I did not mean hereby that *asīmike* is ungrammatical. What I meant is that whether it was *asīmike* or *asīmake* cannot be ascertained from T. And it is a fact.

In *c* I maintained and still maintain that the actual reading as supported by T must be *sada sattvadhātu*° and not *sadasattvadhātū*° as edited in the present edition. In defending the latter RS observes: "We have seen in many instances in Buddhist Sanskrit the ommission of *ākāra* in compounds but *never* have we come across a *single* example where the *ā* of short *avyayas* has been dropped." (Italics in English

words are mine.) It may be so, but my reading is different as the following lines from the *Lalitavistara* will show :

(I) *yatha* for *yathā*.

(1) suvidita sugaṇita *yatha* tahi kiśalā, p. 166.
(2) bhramati bhramaro *yatha* kumbhagato, p. 173.
(3) vrajatāyu jage *yatha* vidyu nabhe, p. 176.
(4) *Yatha* munja pratīya balbajaṃ, p. 176; quoted in the *Sikṣā-samuccya* p. 238.
(5) araṇiṃ *yatha* cottarāraṇim, p. 177; quoted in the *Sikṣās°*, 240; and *Madyamakavṛtti*, p. 216.
(6) *yatha* tantri pratītya dāru ca, p. 199; quoted in the Sikṣā°, p. 241.

(II) *tatha* for *tathā*.

(1) *tatha* kāma ime vititā viduṣām,
(2) *tatha* kāma ime viditāryajanaiḥ,
(3) *tatha* svapnasamā viditā°,
(4) *tatha* māyamarīcisamā alikā, p. 174.

(III) *yada* for *yadā*.

(1) māya *yada* gṛhāto nirgata, p. 80.
(2) *yada* puna pramudita ratikara pramada, p. 164.
(3) *yada* nārigaṇa, p. 173.
(4) *yada* nārigaṇa prahaṣito, p. 195.

(IV) *tada* for *tadā*.

(1) mūrdha *tada* phaleyā, p. 81.
(2) paryaṅkabandu *tada* dhyāyatu, p. 134.
(3) tyaji *tada* pramaditu, p. 165.
(4) labhi *tada* dhanamaṇi, p. 166.

The list can easily be made a very long one. Even the very word *ṣada* for *sadā* is also found in use as in the following lines of the same work :

(V) *sada* for *sadā*.

(1) eṣa *sada* kṣāntivādī,
(2) eṣa *sada* vīryavanto,
(3) eṣa *sada* dhyanadhyāyi, p. 223.
(4) eṣa *sada* maitracitto, p. 224.
(5) te na gopi *sada* roditavyakāḥ, p. 237.

RS says: "The S. *sadasatta* evidently means both *sattva* and *asattva* and gives quite a good sense." But what is that "good sense?" What do the words *sattva* and *asattva* mean here? Do they mean 'existence and non-existence', or 'a sentient being and a non-sentient being' (*jīva* and *ajīva*) respectively? I think, neither of them is tenable. In the first case, I do not know how to construe the sentence. The same difficulty arises also in the second case. Besides, the form in compound of the two words would have been *sattvāsttava* and not *sadasattva*. The fact is that in the line under discussion the first word is *sada* for *sadā* as shown before, and the next word is *sattvadhātu*, here *sattva* meaning '*jīva*' as in the following line in Candrakīrtti's commentary on the *Catuḥśataka* of Āryadeva, VIII. 189 (*Memoirs* of *ASB.*, vol. III, no. 8, 1914, p. 477): "trividho (Tibetan *vividho*, *rnam pa sna tshogs*) hi *sattvadhātuḥ* hīnamadhyamottamabhedāt." The Tib. phrase for *sattvadhātu* there (*sems can gyi khams*) is actually the same as in the Tib. version of the *Sādhanamālā* (*sems can khams*). The following sentence from the *Sādhanamālā* itself (p. 57 ll. 15-16) may be cited here: "agādhāpārasaṃsārasāgaramadhye patitam ananta*sattvadhātuṃ* samuddharāmīti." See also p. 26, l. 9: yaḥ *kaścit sattvadhātuḥ*.

Verse 4.

RS writes: "In *b* the critic quite contrary to his habit of justifying the metre breaks it mercilessly by suggesting *Triloki vrajate* instead of S. *vrajate triloki*." I did *not* suggest it. Here are my words: "In *b triloki* is compounded with *vara*°, but according to T it is evidently used as locative, *triloke*, *e* in classical Sanskrit being changed to *i* in Buddhist Sanskrit." I think, it does not imply what RS says. As regards the last line I do not know if it can come from my writing, as RS thinks that the Tibetan translator gives the sense in prose. It is the present writer who gave the prose line under discussion. A mere glance at the Tib. text printed with my paper would clearly show that the translator composed it in verse. It is perfectly clear in my paper that it is in accordance with Tib. and not Sanskrit that *su* cannot be taken with *dharmatā*. For such is the Tib. syntax. What could I do? I did not ask any one to accept the prose line *aho tatra dharmatā*.° I gave the line in prose, for otherwise the meaning might have been more obscure.

Verse 5.

With reference to my observation on *a* RS writes: "That San-

skrit is quite right can be undestood even by a school boy when the line is explained as *varadāḥ* (Bodhisattvāḥ or Nāthāḥ) *Trisamaye agrasiddhi(m) me dadantu.*" Quite so. But I said why I could not do so. Throughout, my attempt was at giving and understanding the reading we can get from the Tib. version. As shown, T reads *agrasiddhivaradā(ḥ)*, and as indicated, the object of the verb *dadantu* is *varadāna* in the next line taking it for *varadānāni* as suggested by T. In my last paper, read *tā* for *te* which is a mistake. Thus for Sanskrit *varadānatā* as in the present edition T appears to have been taken *varadāna tā* meaning *varadānāni tām.* Here is a question: How could the Tib. translator explain *tā* in the sense of *tāni*? We may overcome the difficulty by taking it as a Vedic use which sanctions both *tā* and *tāni.* It need not be noted that Buddhist Sanskrit like Pali and Prakrit gives ample evidence for Vedic uses. Of course, this is a mere suggestion for understanding the Tib. translator.

Following the strict order of T (*rtag tu legs par gsol*) I suggested the reading *sadā suvṛtāḥ* not recommending thereby a change for *agragatitāṃ gatāḥ sadā.* Taking T reading as it stands in the Xylograph first, I suggested the reading given above; then being not satisfied with it and discussing as to whether the Skt. reading could in any way be defended, I proposed to emend T *gsol* to *soṅ.* And thus I supported the Skt. reading under discussion. (Read *sugatitāṃ gatāḥ* for *sugatāṃ*° which is a misprint.) Therefore, *my* Tib. cannot seem "to be very fertile, so that one Ms can produce many readings for one and the same passage."

P. 16.

For *sakalās triloki*° I suggested that "according to T *triloki* is to be taken separately for its classical form *triloke* as in the preceding verse." Then having quoted the actual T words, I wrote the meaning in prose, "Skt. *triloki* (*e*) *sakalāḥ* or *sakala triloke.*" I do not know how by this T readings become "worthless" and "a beautiful grammatical passage is disturbed."

Lines 3 and 4.

With regard to my comment on the prose line, I am utterly misunderstood. When I said that "the prose line is put in T in verse etc.," obviously I meant that the corresponding T is put in verse. But RS is absolutely free to accuse and ridicule me by composing a

"beautiful stanza for examination by the impartial readers," or in any way he may like. Here one is referred to the printed Tib. text (p. 635, verse 6).

P. 17, verse 15.

I wrote : "In *b* for mudrādīṣu gauravam which is evidently wrong T has *mudrāyām* or *mudrādiṣu agauravam* (*phyag rgya mi gus*)." In order to support the reading *gauravaṃ* by refuting my suggestion RS quotes from a different work a stanza which condemns the practice of *mudrā, mantra, maṇḍala*,etc. and he writes "Now the readers should judge for themselves whether *gaurava* or *agaurava* should be shown to the *mudrās* and to the opinion of the critic." It follows from his remarks that according to the *Sādhanamālā, mudrās, mantras.* and the like are to be discarded. If so, what are we to understand from the very work which prescribes various kinds of *mudrās* and *mantras* from the beginning? For instance,

P. 1. (1) sahasraṃ japet ।
(2) *vajramudrāṃ* baddhvā trir uccārayet ।
(3) *mantraḥ* । Om hara hara° ।
P. 4. (4) *samayamudrāṃ* bdhnīyāt ।
(5) *mantraḥ* । namaḥ° ।
(6) *vajramudrāṃ* baddhvā° anusmaret ।
(7) *uṣṇīṣamudrāṃ* śirasi nyaset ।
(8) *mantraḥ* । *namaḥ* sarva°।
(9) *mantrakavacamudrayā*° kavacaṃ kuryāt ।
(10) *mantraḥ* namaḥ ।
(11) *Vajramaṇḍapamndrayā*° adhitiṣṭhet ।

See also pp. 6, 8, 12, 31, 34, 36, 37, 41, etc., and the preface (p. xvi) of the editor himself.

Apart from this the *Trisamayarājasādhana* itself supports the reading *agauravam* when it says (verse 13) :—

na svayaṃ mantramudrāś ca kāryā *nāśyāś ca natva tāḥ*॥

Besides, the reading supplied by the Ms A, viz. *mudrādiś ca* for *mudrādiṣu* in other Mss, as shown in the foot note, clearly suggests the reading *mudrādiṣv agauravam*, °*diś ca* in A being either wrongly written by the scribe or wrongly read by the editor himself for °*diṣva*°.

Verse 18.

The question with regard to *a* is as to whether *ājīvamalam* in the Skt. text is *ājīva-malam* or *ājīvam-alam*. Neither of them is

quite satisfactory. The former may be explained as meaning that livelihood by wickedness is impurity or sin. The latter is very difficult to explain. RS wants to take *alam* in the sense of *adhika*. But it cannot be appropriately construed with *a* or *b*. He appears to construe *a* and *b* with *antarāyakarā dharmāḥ* (verse 19). But in that case one would expect *ratiḥ* instead of *ratiṃ* in *b*. T is, however, clear. As shown in my first paper, according to it *a* would literally read *kaukṛtyasahitājīvo na kāryaḥ*; and *b* as emended by me would give us *ratiḥ saṅgaṇikāsu* (=lit. *gaṇakathāsu*) *nānujñeyā*. It is to be noted that in my former paper I gave the reading: *ratiṃ gaṇakathāsu ca*. But it was not exactly literal. The reading *ratiḥ saṅgaṇikāsu*° may also be put in active voice, there being no difference in Tib. between the two voices, active and passive. It is difficult in Skt. to put the above two lines (*kaukṛtya sahitā*° and *ratiḥ saṅga*°) in the metre in which the following two lines are done. The following may, however, be suggested, the verb *kuryāt* being understood:

na kaukṛtyānvitājīvaṃ ratiṃ saṅgaṇikāsu ca//

It is perfectly clear from Tib. that leaving out the first two lines, *a* and *b* of this verse, the last two, *c* and *d*, are to be taken with the following verse. If *kaukṛtya* is explained somehow or other as an adjective of *ājīva*, as RS wants to do, and *a* and *b* together with *c* and *d* are taken with *antarāyakarā dharmāḥ*, is it not that *kaukṛtya* and *ājīva* in *a* as well as *rati* in *b* should be put in the first case-ending? As for myself, in order to reconcile Tib. with Skt. as found in the edition, I had to twist the text; yet, I am fully aware, it could not give me satisfaction. Nor does RS help me on this point.

As regards the meaning of *saṅgaṇikā*, I see no reason to modify my opinion. A single example showing that it means *gaṇikā* 'courtezan' can easily decide the case.

With reference to *bhūriḥ* in *c* I myself now say with RS that I "do not quite understand why the word" "which means 'much' was "beyond" my "comprehension." Indeed, I was blind! Here is then at least one instance of the remarks of RS that I am "enamoured of the Tibetan translation" (p. 161). In re-examining the Xylograph I see there is no mistake in copying the readings. In Tib. there is no objective whatever of *pariṣkāraparigrahaḥ* (*d*). For Skt. *bhūri* which is a very reasonable reading here we have in Tib. *maṅ po* (*Amarakośa*, Tib. version, BI, 1912. p. 276, v. 13). Evidently it is left out in the Tib. text through mistake.

Verse 21.

As noted in my previous paper, verses 20-21 are put in prose in Tib. which literally reads *a* and *b* of the last verse: *trisamayoktena sādhanena īpsītā siddhir bhavet* (*dam tshig gsum las gsuṅs paḥi sgrub thabs kyis chags ḥdod paḥi dṅos grub du ḥgyur ro*||) In order to reconcile Skt. with Tib. we shall have to accept here either a wrong metre with the reading *sādhanenepsitām*, or a grammatically defective reading *sādhanepsitām* somehow or other construing *trisamayoktena* with *sādhana* (*sādhanena*). In rejecting the reading *sādhanepsitām*, a compound of *sādhanena īpsitām*, the objection of RS is of a different kind. Obviously he takes here the third case-ending as denotiug the agent (*kartari tṛtīyā*). But, I hope, he does not explain *vidhinā* in the same way, though both the cases are same. The fact is that the third case-ending is to be taken here instrumentally (*karaṅe tṛtīyā*).

P. 20, ll. 5-6.

RS says: "the critic objects to the reading *utsaṅgasthitaṃ* because its T equivalent means, in his opinion, *uttānasthitaṃ*" and goes on supporting the first reading. No; I did not object. I simply said that "for *utsaṅga*° T reads *uttāna*° (*gan kyal du*; in the paper *khal* is a misprint far *kyal*)" observing that it is "quite right."

The most important point in the passage is the meaning of the words *savya* and *avasavya* and I thankfully accept the interpretation given by RS. One thing that I may point out here in favour of Tib. version is that in such cases Tib. helps us more in understanding the text than Skt. which employs ambiguous terms.

L. 9.

With a view to support the view that a *cāmara* can be taken in the left hand RS rightly refers to a plate (XIII)[1] in Dr. B. Bhattacharyya's *Buddhist Iconography* where a picture of a stone image of Vajrāsana (Indian Museum) with his two attendant deties, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, is reproduced; it will be seen that Maitreya carries the *cāmara* in the left hand while Avalokiteśvara holds it in the right." He adds that this arrangement seems to be logical, "otherwise, the purpose for which the *cāmaras* are given will be

1 At least there are two other figures known to me in which the *cāmara* is held in the left hand by the attendant on the right side. But these are sporadic cases and can be explained in various ways.

frustrated in case the attendant to the right holds the same in the right hand."

Here arise two questions the first of which is as follows: Is the image of Vajrāsana referred to made strictly in accordance with the description found in authoritative works? If so, as regards authority what place is to be assigned to the *Sādhanamālā* in which, as shown in my first paper from the Tib. version, and apparently accepted by RS, both the attendants of Vajrāsana, Maitreya and Lokeśvara (= Avalokiteśvara), are mentioned as carrying a *cāmara* in the right hand and not in the left? Let me quote the passages:

(i) tato Bhagavato dakṣiṇe Maitreyaṃ° savyagṛhītacāmararatnam• tathā vāme Lokeśvaram° dakṣiṇe gṛhītacāmararatnam°/ p. 20.

(ii) tasya Bhagavato dakṣiṇe Maitreyabodhisttvaṃ° savyakareṇa cāmararatnadhāriṇaṃ tathā vāmato Lokeśvaraṃ° dakṣiṇakareṇa cāmaradharaṃ°/ p. 24.

The second question is: If that arrangement (i.e. carrying a *cāmara* in the left hand by an attendant on the right side) is held to be logical, are we to understand that the other arrangement (i.e. holding a *cāmara* in the right hand by an attendant on the right side) in such figures as referred to below is illogical and the purpose of holding a *cāmara* is frustrated? See plates XXIII and XXVI in the *Beginnings of Buddhist Art* by Foricher; XVII (Ajanta cave in *Cave Temples of India* by Fergusson and Burgess; Fig. of Mahāparinirvaṇa of Buddha in *Buddhist Art in India* by Grünwedel; Fig. 123, p. 178, in *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylone* by V. Smith.

RS is silent on some readings discussed by me; considering his remarks on p. 162, it may be said that they are all "obvious mistakes" or "immaterial points." However, I wish he had discussed at least the following three points which seem to me very important:

(1) p. 16, verse 9. For *śuddhamamogharājaṃ T siddhāmogharājaṃ* (= Amoghasiddharājaṃ).

(2) p. 17, verse 16. In *b* for *suśīlānaparādhayoḥ* which has hardly any sense T *suśīle nāparādhayet.*

(3) In *c* for *na kāryaṃ karaṇīyaṃ* which cannont be defended T *nākāryaṃ kara.*°

In conclusion, I should like to suggest that it will be very interesting if the editor of the work, Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, himself will now deliver his judgment in the case after having heard both the sides as presented by RS and myself, for as editor, he is expected to have studied the text far better than any body else.

VIDHUSHEKHARA [illegible]

"Outlines of the History of Buddhism in Indo-China."

In a valuable article on the above subject contributed by the distinguished Professor L. Finot in vol. II of this Journal (pp.673-689), the writer traces the existence of Buddhism in Campā up to the end of the twelfth century, and then remarks:

"Afterwards we have no more document. Nevertheless, a fragment which seems to date from the second half of the thirteenth century begins with the invocation "*oṃ namo Buddhāya*" which at least proves that Buddhism was not yet extinct in that time."

This statement must be due to an oversight on the part of the learned scholar. For the Kim Choua Inscription of Jaya Parameśvaravarman [Journal Asiatique, 1888 (I) pp. 92-93, no. 411] contains the names of Buddhist divinities such as Śrī Jina, Śrī Jina Vṛddheśvarī, Śrī Jina Lokeśvara, Śrī Saugatadeveśvara and Śrī Jinadevadevī. The reign of Jaya Parameśvaravarman has to be placed in the second quarter of the 13th century A. D.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

Recent Progress in Archæology in South India and the Deccan

The *Report* of the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, for the year 1924-25 (that for the year ending March, 1924 was reviewed in our *Journal* for June, 1926, pp. 410-12) contains notices of three interesting Sālaṅkāyana copper plate grants, the first two of which were found buried underground in Kanteru in the Guntur District. The first two of these, both being records of grants of land issued from the prosperous city of Vengi were published by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao in the *Vizianagram Maharaja's College Magazine* for October, 1922. The third grant found underground in the village of Pedda-Vigi threw clear light on the otherwise indefinite genealogy of the Sālaṅkāyanas; and it "gives confirmation to the suggestion made by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao that Hastivarman, the king of Vengi whom Samudragupta defeated must have been Sālaṅkāyana." This record begins with Hastivarman who is regarded as the founder of the family by Mr. Lakshmana Rao. There is some difficulty about the assignment of kings Vijayadevavarman, Vijayanandivarman and Yuvarāja Buddhavarman of the Prakrit grants to a period subsequent to Samudragupta whose inscription is

in classical Sanskrit and it is suggested that these three might have been the predecessors of Hastivarman.

A copper-plate dated Śaka 1034 coming from Korni in the Ganjam District (No. 7) gives the genealogy of the Eastern Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga and the lengths of their reigns down to Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga who claims to have established the king of Vengi in the west, and to have settled the Utkala ruler in his own kingdom.

The Coḍa inscriptions of the year do not afford any information except that a few of them record the practice of selling women to temples, and one records a gift of land to a professional actor staging themes from the Sanskrit *Purāṇas* and still another proclaims the royal order that mischievous people in the village would be punished with heavy fines and made liable to the forfeiture of their lands.

Vijayaraṅga Cokkanātha, a ruler of the Nāyaka line of the Madma is known from a grant which he gave to a certain Yatirājasvāmin of Śrīperumbudur; he was of a religious and charitable bent of mind; and statues of himself and of several members of his family are preserved in the Srirangam Temple. There are also noticed records connected with the famous Ragunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore and with his son Vijayarāghava the last Nāyaka ruler of that place.

Six inscriptions in Tamil verse copied during the period are of literary interest as they refer to the chief Sadaiyan of Pudeevai, the patron of the famous Kamban, the author of the Tamil version of the Rāmāyaṇa, and his son Pillai-Perumal. In Mysore, where the *Anunal Report* for the year ending June, 1925 was recently published (the previous year's report having been reviewed in our *Journal* for March, 1926, pp. 188-191), besides the work of survey and protection of monuments like the Jain *Basti* at Markuli, the Hariheśvara temple at Hariharapura, and Kempe Gauda's *Nilepattana* near Savandurga Hill. Among the manuscripts studied by the Department are 3 important Sanskrit works which narrate the stories of the 63 Śaiva Nāyanmārs in the Purāṇic style and some works in Kannada, both prose and verse. The Report discusses the question of the chronology of some of the more important among these saints, describes the methods employed by them for rooting out the rival Jaina and Bauddha religions and fixes the dates of Dabhrabhakta (Siruttarda Nāyanār), of Kūn Pāṇḍya and Gnānasambandar and of Sundaranambinayanar. The date for Kūn Pāṇḍya and Gnānasambandar is suggested to be the epoch between A.D. 770 and 820, somewhat later by nearly a century than the epoch usually assigned to them.

Among the epigraphical finds of the year the most important are the Hebbata grant of the Kadamba king Viṣṇuvarman and the Bedirur Grant of the Western Gaṅga king Bhūvikrama. This Kadamba ruler was installed on the thrown by a Pallava ruler Sāntivarman and was thus a feudatory of the Pallavas from whom Mayūraśarman, the first Kadamba king wrested his dominion. The Gaṅga grant mentions the name of Karikāla Coḍa as having caused the construction of the banks of the Kaverī.

The Archæological Department of H. E. H. The Nizam's Government recently published their Reports for the years 1921-24 and for 1924-25. These give a fairly good record of work well done. Three important forts, Elgandal, Qandhar and Parenda, were surveyed and their military architecture studied—especially that of Parenda should be noted, as its defences are extremely ingenious. Some old buildings in the suburbs of Hyderabad the Bārādāri of Tāra Mati, the Mosque of Pema Mati, and some of the monuments of Golconda have been repaired. The Kailāsa Temple at Ellora has been also repaired, with a view to prevent the disintegration of the decayed roof. In Ajanta which was first taken over for restoration by Prof. Cecconi und Count Orsini and is now under the hands of an Indian mechanic, the deterioration of the frescoes has been stopped for at least a century to come, and attempts are being made by the process of three-colour photography to produce faithful copies of the original paintings. The frescœs in Cave no. XIII have been cleaned and fixed; and the second Report includes coloured illustrations of the figures of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi found in Cave no. I, the great Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi in Cave no. I and two scenes from Cave no. XVII.

Besides other work of conservation, the Department has published two monographs, the Bodhan Stone Inscription of Trailokyamalla Someśvara I (A.D. 1056) edited by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya and the Kotagiri Plates of the Kakateya Queen Rudramba (A.D. 1273) edited by Prof. S. Hanumantha Rao with the help of Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Sastri. Some Persian inscriptions have been unearthed, two referring to Mohammad bin Tughlaq and one Ghias-uddin Tughlaq. Coins have been abundantly acquired—among them being some *padmatankas* of the later Yādava kings of Devagiri, one gold coin of king Muhammad Adil Khan, a coin of Haider Ali and a very rare Sinhalese Jayabāhu *fanam*. The Hyderabad Archæological Society has been recently revived; while a *Guide to the Ajanta Frescoes* has been also published. The mingled wealth of Hindu and

Moslem antiquities for which the State has been noted is now actively beginning to be quarried and is bound to afford us new accessions to our knowledge from year to year.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Imprecatory Verses in Copper-plate Grant

At the end of almost every Copper-plate grant three or four imprecatory verses are found; they are said to be taken from Vyāsa. But as yet they have not been identified either in the Mahābhārata or anywhere else. It is curious to note that exactly these verses occur in a work of Smṛti which however cannot in any way be considered to be older than all the inscriptions which contain these verses—they are seen in copper-plates even of the fifth century A. D. It is the Bṛhaspati-smṛti, one of the innumerable later metrical smṛtis, consisting of about 80 verses altogether. The verses 26-27 and 28-29 of this smṛti as published from Calcutta (san 1296) under the title *Bṛhaspati-saṃhitā* are the two well-known imprecatory verses—*Bahubhir vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ sagarādibhiḥ / yasya yasya yadā bhūmis tasya tasya tadā phalam // Svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vā yo hareta vasundharām / Svaviṣṭhāyāṃ kṛmir bhūtvā pitṛbhiḥ saha pacyate //* This smṛti although belonging to the latest phase of the *smārta* literature must be older than Hemādri (thirteenth century), for the latter quotes from it several verses (see Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 25). It may thus roughly be dated in the 11th or the 12th century.

It is all the more interesting because the *Bṛhaspatidharmaśāstra* as quoted by *Mitra Miśra* (seventeenth century) in his *Vīramitrodaya* (p. 192) contains in a slightly different form these very ślokas. It may therefore be taken for certain that the last *Bṛhaspatidharmaśāstra* contained these verses, though even that cannot be regarded as the original source from which the copper-plates borrowed. The original source without doubt was a recension of the Mahābhārata now lost to us, drawn upon by the authors of the copper-plates as well as by Bṛhaspati.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

REVIEWS

THE ŚATAPATHA BRĀHMAṆA IN THE KĀṆVĪYA RECENSION edited for the first time by Dr. W. Caland, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Utrecht. Vol. I, containing Introduction and part of the text. The Punjab Sanskrit Series, no. x, Lahore, 1926.

The Mādhyandina recension of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is well-known to Sanskrit scholars from the critical edition of Weber (Berlin 1855 : Reprint, Leipzig, 1924) as well as from its admirable translation by Eggeling in the S. B. E. series. It has also been printed in India several times (Calcutta, 1903, Bibl. Indica ed. with Sāyaṇa's commentary ; Ajmeer, 1902 etc.). Of the Kāṇva text of this great Brāhmaṇa, however, very little has been hitherto known. Prof. Eggeling, who made use of it in his translation of the Mādhyandina version, had at one time the intention of editing this recension ; but as the manuscript material at his disposal was not adequate for a critical edition, he made over all his materials later on to Prof. Caland in the hope that the latter might in time be able to secure the necessary additional materials for a scholarly edition. Prof. Caland has now ably succeeded in carrying out the hopes of his predecessor and has with his philological equipment and his unrivalled knowledge of Vedic ritualistic texts, prepared for publication Bks. I-II (corresponding to I-V of the Mādhyandina) of the Kāṇva text, of which the first instalment (up to II, ii, 4, 16) is now published. Of the rest of the work (VIII-XVI, corresponding to VI-XIV of the Mādhyandina), which agrees on the whole in the two recensions, it has been thought sufficient to give only a list of distinctive readings of the Kāṇva text, so that when the work is completed the whole Kāṇva text will be made available to scholars.

It is not necessary to dilate upon the importance of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which has been long recognised ; but the Kāṇvīya recension, now edited for the first time by Prof. Caland with a skill and scholarship worthy of his predecessors in the field, has many interesting features of its own, which justify a separate critical edition. With regard to its matter it agrees, in general, with the Mādhyandina version, but it differs in respect of its arrangement of parts and in respect of some of its traditions. Its linguistic and lexical peculiarities are also remarkable and worthy of detailed study. The relation

of the two recensions to each other and to the cognate Yajurvedic and non-Yajurvedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras has been made the subject of a careful and detailed investigation in the masterly Introduction which prefaces this edition. Prof. Caland comes to the cautious conclusion that "from the beginning there existed two independent recensions of a Vājasaneyi-Brāhmaṇa, comprising the materials of K. 1-7 and M. 1-5, closely related to one another, one of which, the Kāṇva, has been influenced in some way by the other". There is no doubt that the Kāṇva text preserves some of the older traditions and original archaisms and presents the impression of having been older than the Mādhyandina text, but there are also other features which point to undoubted Mādhyandina influence on it and indicate a later date. All these peculiarities of the Kāṇva text, as regards grammar, phonology, morphology and lexicography are set out and discussed with an overwhelming wealth of detail in the Introduction ; and every Vedic scholar will be especially grateful for Prof. Caland's valuable and much needed study of its accentuation.

While one does not fail to appreciate the enterprise of the publishers in undertaking this edition, one must point out that the typography and printing (inspite of four pages of Corrigenda) are not such as could be desired for this erudite edition. Let us hope that the future volumes will contain lesser number of vexatious misprints, and that the edition will be completed as speedily as possible.

S. K. DE

2. THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ART OF INDIA AND JAVA—by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. (A Chapter from "The Influences of Indian Art"). London: The India Society, 1925.

In this well-written little book of 54 pages, Prof. Vogel gives us, in an interesting and popular way, an account of the Javanese art of the Hindu-Buddhist period of Javanese history, and of the cultural and artistic influence of India on Java. The splendid monuments of Javanese architecture still bear the impress of Indian (especially South Indian) influence, but in most cases primitive Javanese (or rather old Malay-Polynesian) ideas react upon and modify purely Indian motifs and legends with a unique result. In this little book which contains ten good illustrations, the author gives us a skilful history of what the national genius of Java has been able to produce in the past with the inspiration derived from Indian ideals.

S. K. DE

BHAGAVADAJJUKĪYAM—A Prahasana edited with an old commentary, critical notes and Introduction by P. Anujan Achan. Hony. Curator, Paliyam Mss. Library, Jayantamangalam, with a preface by Prof. M. Winternitz of the University of Prague, Czechoslovakia. Published from the office of Paliyam Mss. Library, Jayantamangalam, 1925.

This is a small drama of the Prahasana type with the manifold points of interest and importance. And as such even before it had the fortune of seeing the light it had attracted the attention of scholars. The different problems that it gives rise to have from time to time been dealt with by various scholars in different oriental journals. The present edition of this important work will therefore be welcomed by all who are interested in the fascinating history of Sanskrit drama.

It was previously edited from two manuscripts by Dr. A. Banerji Sastri in the pages of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society (March—June, 1924). Mr. Achan's edition, however, has had the advantage of being based on more manuscripts—six in number, including that of one commentary, in addition to this printed edition, from which also he has taken help in determining correct readings. He has taken much trouble in noting down variants profusely. But inspite of the pains taken by the learned editor, the variants suffer from one great disadvantage to which we would think it our duty to draw his attention. He has not given any description of the manuscripts from which he notes the various readings. And in the absence of such descriptions the variants are necessarily of very little use as their respective value is not possible to be judged. And we do not understand what principle he has laid down for himself in preferring one reading to another. Neither has he always incorporated in his text the readings found in the two manuscripts (A, C) on which, he says, 'this edition is chiefly based.' Thus at page 25 he adds वा after अहीआमि and इति after ख तम् though their omission as in A, C. and A respectively (cf. f. n. 24, 25) would have undoubtedly been better and more idiomatic. Any insistence on the adoption of better readings would surely have led him to accept अवोच्च in place of अवार्य्य (verse 14, p. 47), उब्भमदि in place of उब्भमन्ती (p. 67, f. n. 72), भवति इषल-इड्ढे for इषलइड्ढे (p. 80, l. 1). At p. 79 the words ण पइदिआ जह instead of being allotted to the 'mother' should better have been given as continuation of the previous speech spoken by the Ceṭis is reasonably done in Ms. A (cf. f. n. 86), for these words bring very little sense

if detached from एसा अज्ज आसत्था चिट्ठइ which is spoken by the Ceṭī. The reading given at f. n. 100 is decidedly better than what is given in text (p. 95. l. 1).

His reference to the edition of the Nāgānanda, a verse of the *bharatavākya* of which occurs in one of the Mss. of his book, as simply 'Bombay edition', is vague and not worthy of a critical edition, as more than one edition of the Nāgānanda were published from Bombay from time to time.

But in spite of these minor defects, the edition has got many things that reflect credit on the editor. He has spared no pains to make it useful, critical and learned. In the Introduction he has discussed most of the important problems presented by the book. But curiously enough even here he has not taken note of all points that were discussed by scholars before the publication of the book.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SAMARĀṄGANASŪTRADHĀRA.—By King Bhojadeva, vols. I, II, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganapati Sastri. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, nos. xxv, xxxii, Central Library, Baroda.

In recent years we have witnessed the publication of some valuable technical Sanskrit treatises on Śilpaśāstra (art of architecture and sculpture and allied topics). Among the works of this class may be mentioned the Vāstuvidyā, the Mayamatam and the Śilparatnam, all published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series under the able editorship of Ganapati Sastri. The two sumptuous volumes under notice consisting of 290 and 324 pages respectively constitute a very important addition to this list. The task of the editor appears to have been one of uncommon difficulty especially in the second volume, when he had to depend upon only one faulty manuscript requiring frequent substitutions and emendations on his part which are wisely connected with interrogatory remarks or consigned to the footnotes. The name of the editor is a guarantee that the task has been done with consummate skill and learning. The work abruptly closes in the middle of the 83rd chapter (it is not clear why the learned editor in his English preface to the first volume mentions his only available manuscript as coming down only up to the 82nd adhyāya). Regarding the authorship of this work the editor cautiously attributes it to the famous King Bhoja of Dhāra, the reputed author

of numerous Sanskrit works, who reigned in the early part of the 11th century, or more precisely between 1018 and 1060 A.D. Of the varied contents of the present treatise it is impossible to give here even a bare outline. Suffice it to say that the editor's claim to the effect that the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra describes the construction of cities, palaces and mansions etc., with greater clearness of expression and wealth of detail than any other available work of śilpaśāstra is abundantly justified by facts. We may mention without comments the description of various classes of grounds suited for the foundation of realms, forts, towers etc., (pp. 23-36), the rules for the foundation of towns, including high roads, ramparts, ditches, coping stones (pp. 39-40), the rules relating to the foundation of king's palace (pp. 61-65) and the festival of Indra's banner (pp. 70-86). Of particular interest is the chapter on various kinds of designations (pp. 86-91), such as those of nagara, janapada, rāṣṭra, gṛha, śālā and prāsāda; it is noticeable in this connection as bearing on a recent controversy that janapada is defined as including the whole realm except the nagara. We have next (chs. 19-23) elaborate accounts of different types of buildings (Catuḥśālā, triśālā, dviśālā, and ekaśālā), which are followed by descriptions of bedsteads and seats of different kinds. Of very special interest, as the editor rightly points out in the prefaces to his two volumes, is the chapter on mechanical contrivances (yantra), some of which as described by the author are sufficiently striking. Such are the mechanical elephants (we would suggest this translation of yantrahastin for the editor's 'elephant machine'), the mechanical birds singing and dancing according to time, birdlike machines propelled by men which fly in the air and machines doing the duties of servants, doorkeepers as well as watchmen at night. Then follow accounts of sheds for elephants (gajaśālā) and for horses (aśvaśālā) (pp. 188-195). The second volume opens with an elaborate account of palaces (prāsādas) of various specified kinds. Of special interest is the description of prāsādas sacred to various specified deities, such as Viṣṇu, Brahman, the Sun, Caṇḍikā (Durgā), Gaṇesa and Lakṣmī. There are also chapters on painting (pp. 252ff.), the construction of images with full accounts of measures and the forms of various deities (pp. 266-276) etc.

The value of the publication is greatly enhanced by the addition of a very full analytical table of contents at the beginning of each volume.

U. N. G.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Indian Antiquary, March, 1927

R. R. HALDER.—*Dhārāvarṣa Paramāra of Ābu and his Inscriptions.*

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.—*Brahmavidyā and Sufism.* The author discusses in this continued article the opinions of the European scholars regarding the source of Sufism, and doubts the conclusiveness of the theory of Kremer and others holding that Sufism owes it origin mainly to the Vedānta school of Indian Philosophy.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. II (N. S.), no. 2

V. A. GADGIL.—*The Village in Sanskrit Literature.* The writer of this article opposes the arguments of scholars who hold the view that the ancient Indian villages had an autonomous form of government. In support of his proposition he adduces evidences from Sanskrit literature to prove that the king himself used to exercise his supreme authority in the administration of a village.

Journal of Oriental Research, April, 1927

M. HIRIANNA.—*Prapañcavilayavāda—a doctrine of Pre-Śaṅkara Vedānta.* The *Prapañca-vilaya-vāda*, referred to by Śaṅkara, Sureśvara, Rāmānuja and others is based on the doctrine that the Self or Brahman is *niṣprapañca* or *nirguṇa* which has been taken to imply the theory of *māyā*. One aspect of the view has been pointed out to be that it finds in ritualistic passages of the Veda a two-fold import—metaphysical as well as ritualistic, and holds karmakāṇḍa as subsidiary to jñānakāṇḍa.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Forgotten Kārikās of Kumārila.* The writer of this article points out that Kamala-śīla in his commentary on the *Tattvasaṅgraha* attributes many of the kārikās in that work to Kumārila, and that a number of those Kārikās is ascribed to the same authorship in some Jaina works. As the Kārikās cannot be traced in any of the extant works of Kumārila, it has been suggested that he had another work not yet discovered.

From the nature of the topics dealt with in the Kārikās, it has also been inferred that the *Ślokavārtika* is an abridged form of that missing work which, perhaps, was entitled *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* mentioned in the *Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathi Miśra.

T. R. CHINTAMANI.—*A Note on the Date of Śrīkaṇṭha.* From statements found in Appayya Dīkṣita's commentary on the *Śaivabhāṣya* of Śrīkaṇṭha, the latter has been assigned a date much posterior to that of Śaṅkara.

K. G. SUBRAHMANYAM.—*Pāṇini and Yāska.* This is an attempt to prove Pāṇini's priority to Yāska.

Quarterly Journal of the Andhara Historical Research Society, January, 1927

S. K. RAMANATH SHASTRIAR.—*Bhavabhūti and his Identity* (translated from Sanskrit by M. Ramakrishna Kavi). This is an attempt to identify the poet Bhavabhūti with Umbeka, who, according to the writer, is also called Sureśvara and Viśvarūpa. The question of the identification of Sureśvara with Maṇḍana has been left open.

M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI.—*Tāpasavatsarāja. Tāpasavatsarāja* is a Sanskrit drama in six Acts (still in manuscript). It has been given a high place by Bhoja, Kuntalaka, Hemacandra, Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta in their rhetorical works. Its plot, similar to that of the *Svapnavāsavadatta* has been outlined in the article. Mātrarāja also known as Anaṅgaharṣa, the author of the drama, has been identified with Māyurāja or Māurāja and assigned a date towards the end of the sixth century A.C.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, April, 1927

H. HERAS.—*Aśoka's Dharma and Religion.* The paper detailing, on the basis of the contemporary documents, the nature of Aśoka's dharma with the exposition of its principal precepts and tenets, describes his activities for their propagation. The writer supports the opinion that Aśoka's inscriptions contain nothing to prove that he was a Buddhist, his religion being based on Hinduism and largely influenced by Jainism.

L. L. SUNDARA RAM.—*The Sanctity of the Cow in India.*

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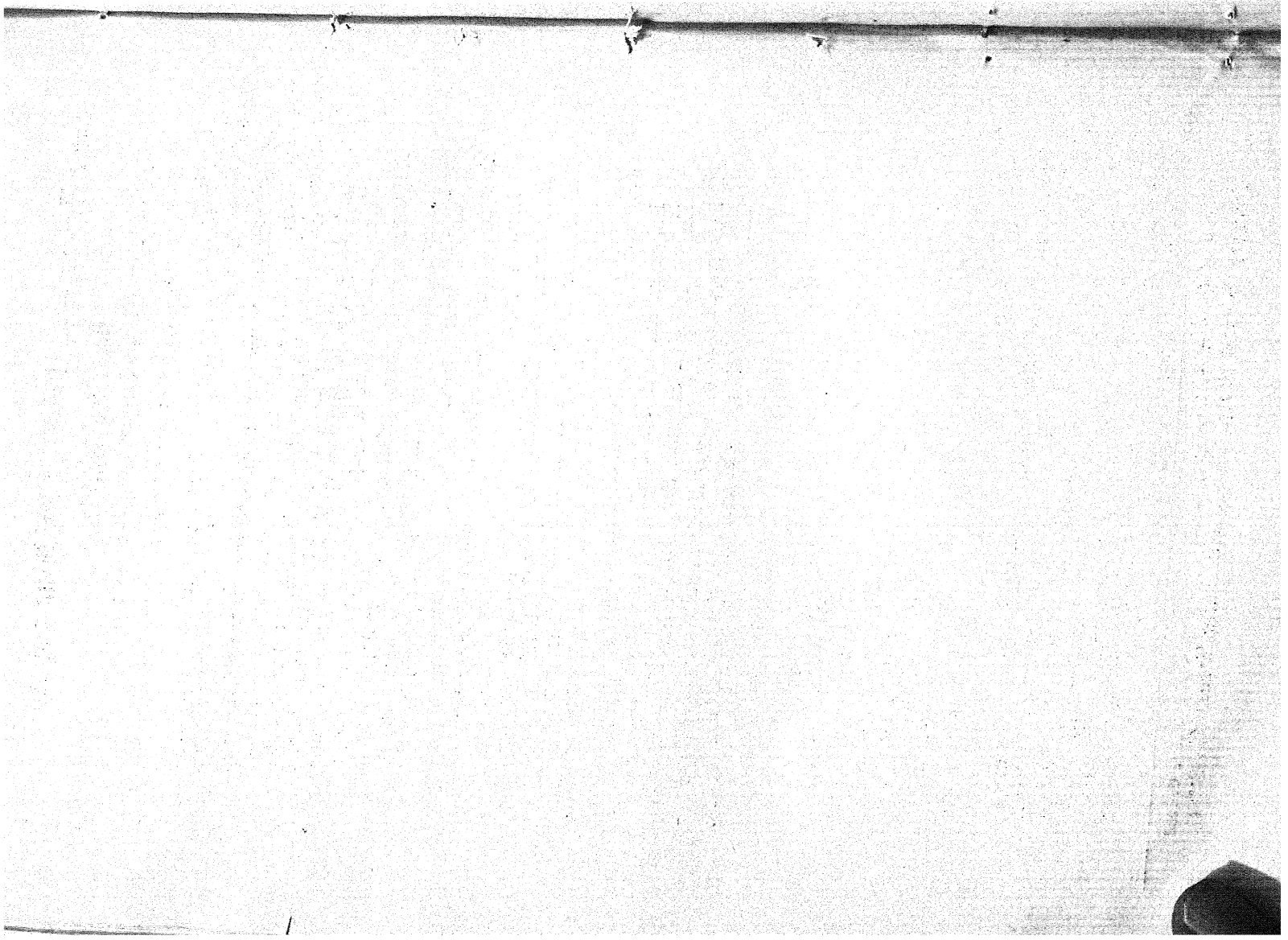
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purisassa rāgo na uppajjatī ti na sakkā vattuṃ. Sace pana taṃ rattacitto upasaṃkamitukāmo hoti pādā na vahanti dibbasaṃkhalikā viya[1] bajjhanti tasmā 'anatikkamanīyā' ti ādi vuttaṃ.

20. *Pañcannaṃ kāmaguṇānan* ti pubbe kāmaguṇūpasaṃhitan ti iminā purisādhippāyavasena vatthupaṭikkhepo kathito, idha ārammaṇa-paṭilābho dassito. Tadā kira deviyā evarūpo putto kucchimhi uppanno ti sutvā samantato rājāno mahagghābharaṇaturiyādivasena pañca-dvārārāmmaṇavatthubhūtaṃ paṇṇākāraṃ pesenti. Bodhisattassa ca Bodhisattamātu ca katakammassa ussannattā lābhasakkārassa pamāṇa-paricchedo nāma natthi.

21. *Akilantakāyā* ti yathā aññā itthiyo gabbhabhārena kilamanti hatthapādā uddhumātākādīni pāpuṇanti na evaṃ tassā koci kila-matho ahosi.

Tirokucchigatan ti antokucchigataṃ. *Passatī* ti kalalādikālam atikkamitvā sañjāta-aṅga-paccaṅga-ahīnindriyabhāvam upagataṃ yeva passati. Kim atthaṃ passati? Sukhavāsatthaṃ. Yatheva hi mātā puttena saddhiṃ nisinnā vā nipannā vā hatthaṃ vā 'ssa pādaṃ vā olambantam ukkhipitvā saṇṭhapessāmī ti sukhavāsatthaṃ puttam oloketi, evaṃ Bodhisattamātā pi yan taṃ mātu uṭṭhānagamana-parivattananisajjādīsu uṇhasītaloṇaka[2]tittakakaṭukāhārajjhoharaṇa-kālesu ca gabbhassa dukkham uppajjati, atthi nu kho me taṃ puttassā ti[3] sukhavāsatthaṃ Bodhisattam[4] olokayamānā pallaṅkam ābhujitvā nisinnaṃ Bodhisattaṃ passati. Yathā hi aññe antokucchigatā pakkā-sayam avattharitvā āmāsayam ukkhipitvā udarapaṭalaṃ piṭṭhito katvā piṭṭhikaṇṭakaṃ nissāya ukkuṭikaṃ dvīsu muṭṭhīsu hanukaṃ ṭhapetvā deve vassante rukkhasusire makkaṭā viya nisīdanti, na evaṃ Bodhisatto. Bodhisatto pana piṭṭhikaṇṭakaṃ piṭṭhito katvā dhamma-māsane dhammakathiko viya pallaṅkam ābhujitvā [5]puratthābhimukho nisīdati. Pubbe katakammaṃ pan' assa vatthuṃ sodheti. Suddhe vatthumhi sukhumacchavilakkhaṇaṃ nibbattati. Atha naṃ kucchi-taco[6] paṭicchādetuṃ na sakkoti. Olokentiyā bahi ṭhito viya paññā-yati. Tam attham upamāya vibhāvento Bhagavā 'seyyathā pī' ti ādim āha. Bodhisatto pana antokucchigato mātaraṃ na passati. Na hi antokucchiyaṃ cakkhuviññāṇaṃ uppajjati.

22. *Kālaṃ karotī* ti na [7]vijāyanabhāva-paccayā āyu parikkhayen' eva. Bodhisattena vasitaṭṭhānaṃ hi cetiyakuṭisadisaṃ hoti, aññesam aparibhogāraham. Na ca sakkā Bodhisattamātaram apanetvā aññam

1 Si. omits it 2 B. -loṇika-; Si. -loṇa- 3 Si. -pīti 4 B. omits it
5 Si. puratthima- 6 Si. adds here bodhisattaṃ 7 Si. vijāta-

aggamahesiṭṭhāne ṭhapetun ti tattakaṃ yeva Bodhisattamātu āyuppamāṇaṃ hoti tasmā tadā kālaṃ karoti.

Katarasmiṃ pana vaye kālaṃ karotī ti. Majjhimavaye. Paṭhamavayasmiṃ hi sattānam attabhāve chandarāgo balavā hoti. Tena tadā sañjātagabbhā itthī gabbham anurakkhituṃ na sakkoti. Gabbho bahvābādho hoti. Majjhimavayassa pana dve koṭṭhāse atikkamma tatiye koṭṭhāse vatthu visadaṃ[1] hoti. Visade[1] vatthumhi nibbattadārakā arogā honti. Tasmā Bodhisattamātā paṭhamavaye sampattim anubhavitvā majjhimavayassa tatiye koṭṭhāse vijāyitvā kālaṃ karotī ti ayam ettha dhammatā.

23. *Nava vā dasa vā* ti ettha 'vā' saddo[2] vikappanavasena. Satta vā aṭṭha vā ekādasa vā dvādasa vā ti evam ādīnaṃ pi saṅgaho veditabbo. Tattha [3]aṭṭhamāse jāto jīvati, sītuṇhakkhamo pana na hoti. [4]Sattamāse jāto na jīvati sesā jīvanti.

25. *Devā paṭhamaṃ paṭiggaṇhantī* ti khīnāsavā Suddhāvāsa-Brahmāno paṭiggaṇhanti. Kathaṃ[5]? Sūtivesaṃ gaṇhitvā ti eke. Taṃ pana paṭikkhipitvā idaṃ vuttaṃ, tadā Bodhisattamātā suvaṇṇakhacitaṃ vatthaṃ nivāsetvā macchakkhisadisaṃ dukūlapaṭṭaṃ[6] yāva pādantā pārupitvā aṭṭhāsi, athassā sallahukaṃ gabbhavuṭṭhānam ahosi dhammakarakato udakanikkhamanasadisaṃ, atha te pakati Brahmavesen' eva upasaṅkamitvā paṭhamaṃ suvaṇṇajālena paṭiggahesuṃ, tesaṃ hatthato cattāro Mahārājāno ajinappaveṇiyā paṭiggahesuṃ, tato manussā dukūlacumbiṭakena paṭiggahesuṃ, tena vuttaṃ 'devā paṭhamaṃ paṭiggaṇhanti pacchā manussā' ti.

26. *Cattāro naṃ devaputtā* ti cattāro Mahārājāno. *Paṭiggahetvā* ti ajinappaveṇiyā paṭiggahetvā. *Mahesakkho* ti mahātejo mahāyaso lakkhaṇasampanno.

27. *Visado*[1] *va nikkhamatī* ti yathā aññe sattā yonimagge laggantā bhaggavibhaggā nikkhamanti na evaṃ nikkhamati. Alaggo hutvā nikkhamatī ti attho. *Udakenā* ti udakena. *Kenaci asucinā* ti yathā aññe sattā kammaja-vātehi uddhapādā adhosirā yonimagge pakkhittā sataporisaṃ narakapapātaṃ patantā viya tālacchiddena nikkaḍḍhiyamānā hatthī viya mahādukkham anubhavantā nānā asucīhi sammakkhitā va nikkhamanti na evaṃ Bodhisatto. Bodhisattañ hi kammaja-vātā uddhapādam adhosiraṃ kātuṃ na sakkonti. So dhammāsanato otaranto dhammakathiko viya nisseṇito otaranto puriso viya ca dve hatthe ca dve pāde ca pasāretvā ṭhitako va mātukucchisambhavena kenaci asucinā amakkhito nikkhamati.

1 S. visuddhaṃ 2 B. saddassa 3 B. & Si. satta- 4 B. & Si. aṭṭha-
5 B. & Si. repeat paṭiganhanti 6 S. paṭaṃ

28. *Udakadhārā* ti udakavaṭṭiyo. Tāsu sītā suvaṇṇakaṭāhe patati, uṇhā rajatakaṭāhe. Idañ ca paṭhavītale kenaci asucinā asammissaṃ tesaṃ pānīyaparibhojanīyam udakañ ceva aññehi asādhāraṇaṃ [1]kīḷana-udakavattiñ[2] ca dassetuṃ vuttaṃ. Aññassa pana suvaṇṇarajataghaṭehi āhariyamāna-udakassa ceva haṃsavaṭṭakādi pokkharaṇīgatassa ca udakassa paricchedo natthi.

29. *Sampati-jāto* ti muhuttajāto. Pāliyaṃ pana mātukucchito nikkhantamatto viya dassito na kho pan' evaṃ daṭṭhabbo. Nikkhantamattañ hi naṃ paṭhamaṃ Brahmāno suvaṇṇajālena paṭiggaṇhiṃsu, tesaṃ hatthato cattāro Mahārājāno ajinappaveṇiyā, tesaṃ hatthato manussā dukūlacumbiṭakena, manussānaṃ hatthato muñcitvā paṭhaviyaṃ patiṭṭhito.

Setamhi chatte anudhāriyamāne ti dibbasetacchatte dhāriyamānamhi. Ettha ca chattassa parivārāni khaggādīni pañca rājakukkuṭa[3]bhaṇḍāni pi āgatān' eva. Pāliyaṃ pana rājagamane rājā viya chattam eva vuttaṃ.

Tesu chattam eva paññāyati na chattaggāhako. Tathā khaggatālavaṇṭamorahatthakavālavijanī-uṇhīsapaṭṭā yeva paññāyanti na tesaṃ gāhakā. Sabbāni kira tāni adissamānarūpā devatā gaṇhiṃsū ti. Vuttam pi cetaṃ :

Anekasākhañ ca sahassamaṇḍalaṃ
chattaṃ marū dhārayum antalikkhe.
suvaṇṇadaṇḍā vivattanti cāmarā
na dissare cāmarachattagāhakā ti.

Sabbā ca disā ti idaṃ sattapadavītihāruparitthitassa viya sabbadisānuvilokanaṃ vuttaṃ na kho pan' evaṃ daṭṭhabbaṃ. Mahāsatto hi manussānaṃ hatthato muñcitvā paṭhaviyaṃ patiṭṭhito puratthimadisam olokesi. Anekāni cakkavāḷasahassāni ekaṅgaṇāni ahesuṃ. Tattha devamanussā gandhamālādihi pūjayamānā 'mahāpurisa, idha tumhehi sadiso pi natthi kuto uttaritaro' ti āhaṃsu. Evaṃ catasso disā catasso anudisā heṭṭhā uparī ti dasa disā[4] anuviloketvā attanā sadisam pi adisvā ayam uttarā disā ti uttarābhimukho sattapadavītihārena agamāsi. Evam ettha attho veditabbo.

Āsabhin ti uttamaṃ. *Aggo* ti guṇehi sabbapaṭhamo. Itarāni dve padāni etass' eva vevacanāni. *Ayam antimā jāti natthi dāni punabbhava* ti padadvayena imasmim attabhāve pattabbam arahattaṃ byākāsi.

Ettha ca samehi pādehi paṭhaviyā patiṭṭhānaṃ catu-iddhipādapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittam, uttarābhimukhabhāvo mahājanam ajjhottha-

1 Si. & B. kīḷā- 2 Si. & B. omit it 3 Si. -kakudha- 4 S. upari disā

ritvā abhibhavitvā gamanassa pubbanimittaṃ, sattapadagamanaṃ sattabojjhaṅgaratanapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, dibbasetacchattadhāraṇaṃ vimuttivarachattapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, pañca rājakukkuṭa[1]-bhaṇḍānaṃ paṭilābho pañcahi vimuttīhi vimuccanassa pubbanimittaṃ, sabbadisāvilokanam anāvaraṇañāṇapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittam, āsabhivācābhāsanam appaṭivattiyadhammacakkappavattanassa pubbanimittaṃ, 'ayam antimā jātī' ti sīhanādo anupādisesāya nibbāṇadhātuyā parinibbāṇassa pubbanimittan ti veditabbaṃ. Ime vārā pāliyam āgatā. Sambahulavāro pana nāgato āharitvā dīpetabbo.

Mahāpurisassa hi jātadivase dasasahassīlokadhātu kampi. Dasasahassīlokadhātumhi devatā ekacakkavāḷe sannipatiṃsu. Paṭhamaṃ devā paṭiggaṇhiṃsu. Pacchā manussā. Tantibaddhā vīṇā cammabaddhā bheriyo ca kenaci avāditā sayam eva vajjiṃsu. Manussānam [2]aṭṭabandhanādīni khaṇḍākhaṇḍaṃ[3] chijjiṃsu. Sābbarogā vupasamiṃsu[4] ambilena dhotatambamalaṃ[5] viya vigacchiṃsu. Jaccandhā rūpāni passiṃsu. Jaccabadhirā saddaṃ suṇiṃsu. Pīṭhasappī javasampannā ahesuṃ. Jātijaḷānam pi eḷamūgānaṃ sati patiṭṭhāsi. Videsaṃ [6]pakkhandanāvā supaṭṭanaṃ pāpuṇiṃsu. Ākāsaṭṭhakabhummaṭṭhakaratanāni sakatejabhāvo[7]bhāsitāni ahesuṃ. Verino mettacittaṃ paṭilabhiṃsu. Avīcimhi aggi nibbāyi. Lokantaresu āloko udapādi. Nadījalaṃ nappavatti. Mahāsamudde madhuram[8] udakam ahosi. Vāto na vāyi. Ākāsa[9]-pabbata-rukkha-gatā sakuṇā bhassitvā paṭhavigatā ahesuṃ. Cando ativirocati.[10] Suriyo na uṇho na sītalo nimmalo utusampanno ahosi. Devatā attano attano vimānadvāre ṭhatvā [11]apphoṭana-seḷana-celukkhepādīhi mahākīḷanaṃ kīḷiṃsu. Cātuddisika-[12] mahāmegho pi vassi. Mahājanaṃ neva khudā[13] na pipāsā pīḷesi. Dvārakavāṭāni sayam eva vivariṃsu. Pupphūpagaphalūpagarukkhā pupphaphalāni gaṇhiṃsu. Dasasahassīlokadhātu ekadhajamālā ahosi.

Tatrāpissa[14] dasasahassīlokadhātukampo sabbaññutaññāṇapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, devatānam ekacakkavāḷe sannipāto dhammacakkappavattanakāle ekappahāren' eva sannipatitvā dhammapaṭiggahaṇassa pubbanimittaṃ, paṭhamaṃ devatānaṃ paṭiggahaṇaṃ catunnaṃ rūpāvacarajjhānānaṃ paṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, pacchā manussānaṃ paṭiggahaṇaṃ catunnam [15]arūpajjhānānaṃ paṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, tantibaddhavīṇānaṃ sayaṃ vajjanam-anupubbavihārapaṭilābhassa pubba-

1 Si. kakudha
2 Si. & B. andu-
3 Si. khaṇḍakhaṇḍāni
4 Si. omits it
5 Si. dhotatambalohamayaṃ
6 Si. pakkantā
7 Si. omits bhāva-
8 Si, madhurasaṃ
9 S. puts here gatā
10 Si. ativīya viroci
11 Si. appoṭhana
12 Si. & B. cātuddīpaka-
13 S. khuddā
14 B. omits assa
15 B. arūpāvacara-

nimittaṃ, cammavaddhabherīnaṃ vajjanaṃ mahatiyā dhammabheriyā anusāvanassa pubbanimittaṃ, [1]aṭṭabandhanādīnaṃ chedo asmimānasamucchedassa pubbanimittaṃ, mahājanassa rogavigamo catusaccapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, jaccandhānaṃ rūpadassanaṃ dibbacakkhupaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, badhirānaṃ saddasavanaṃ dibbasotadhātupaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, pīṭhasappīnaṃ javasampadā-catu-iddhipādapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, jātijaḷānaṃ[2] satipatiṭṭhānaṃ[3] catunnaṃ satipaṭṭhānānaṃ paṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, videsapakkhandanāvānaṃ supaṭṭanasampāpuṇanaṃ catupaṭisambhidhādhigamassa pubbanimittaṃ, ratanānaṃ sakatejabhāvobhāsitattaṃ[4] yaṃ lokassa dhammobhāsaṃ dassessati tassa pubbanimittaṃ, verīnaṃ mettacettapaṭilābho catubrahmavihārapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, avīcimhi agginibbāpanam ekādasagginibbāpanassa pubbanimittaṃ, lokantarikāloko avijjandhakāraṃ vidhamitvā ñāṇālokadassanassa pubbanimittaṃ, nadīsu toyassa appavattanaṃ catuvesārajja-paṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, mahāsamuddassa madhuratā nibbāṇarasena ekarasabhāvassa pubbanimittaṃ, vātassa avāyanaṃ dvāsaṭṭhidiṭṭhigatabhindanassa pubbanimittaṃ, sakuṇānaṃ paṭhavigamanaṃ mahājanassa ovādaṃ sutvā pāṇehi saraṇagamanassa pubbanimittaṃ,candassa ativirocanaṃ bahujanakantatāya pubbanimittaṃ, suriyassa uṇhasītavivajjanam utusukhatāya kāyikacetasikasukhuppattiyā pubbanimittaṃ, devatānaṃ vimānadvāresu ṭhatvā [5]apphoṭanādīhi kīḷanaṃ buddhabhāvaṃ patvā udānaṃ udānassa pubbanimittaṃ,cātuddisika[6]-mahāmeghavassanaṃ mahato dhammameghavassanassa pubbanimittaṃ, khudāpīḷanassa abhāvo kāyagatāsati amatapaṭilābhassa pubbanimittaṃ, pipāsāpīḷanassa abhāvo vimuttisukhena sukhitabhāvassa pubbanimittaṃ, dvārakavāṭānaṃ sayam eva vivaraṇaṃ aṭṭhaṅgikamaggadvāravivaraṇassa pubbanimittaṃ, rukkhānaṃ pupphaphalaggahaṇaṃ vimuttipupphe hi pupphitassa ca sāmaññaphalabhārabharitabhāvassa ca pubbanimittaṃ, dasasahassīlokadhātuyā ekaddhajamālitā ariyaddhaja[7]mālitāya pubbanimittan ti veditabbaṃ ayaṃ sambahulavāro nāma.

Ettha pañhaṃ pucchanti, yadā mahāpuriso paṭhaviyaṃ patiṭṭhahitvā uttarābhimukho[8] gantvā āsabhivācam abhāsi tadā kiṃ paṭhaviyā gato udāhu ākāsena, dissamāno gato udāhu adissamāno, acelako gato udāhu alaṅkatapaṭiyatto, daharo hutvā gato udāhu mahallako, pacchā pi kiṃ tādiso va ahosi udāhu pana bāladārako ti—ayaṃ pana pañho heṭṭhā lohapāsāde samuṭṭhito Tipiṭaka Cūḷābhayattherena visajjito va.

Thero kir' ettha niyati-pubbekatakamma-issaranimmāṇa-vādavasena

1 B. & Si. andu- 2 B. elānaṃ 3 Si. samālapanam
4 Si. sakatejobhāsanaṃ 5 Si. appoṭhana- 6 Si. cātuddīpaka ; B. catudīpika-
7 Si. adds here -mālā- 8 B. adds padesā

taṃ taṃ bahuṃ vatvā avasāne evaṃ byākari: mahāpuriso paṭhaviyā gato mahājanassa pana ākāsena gacchanto viya ahosi, dissamāno gato mahājanassa pana adissamāno viya ahosi, acelako gato mahājanassa pana alaṅkatapaṭiyatto viya upaṭṭhāsi, daharo va gato mahājanassa pana soḷasavassuddesiko viya ahosi, pacchā pana bāladārako va ahosi na tādiso ti. Parisā cassa buddhena viya hutvā Sundaro[1] therena pañho kathito ti attamanā ahosi. Lokantarikavāro vuttanayo eva. Imā ca pana ādito paṭṭhāya kathitā. Sabbadhammatā sabbabodhisattānaṃ hontī ti veditabbā.

31. *Addasā kho* ti dukūlacumbiṭake[2] nipajjāpetvā ānītam addasa. *Mahāpurisassā* ti jātigottakulapadesādivasena mahantassa purisassa. *Dve gatiyo* ti dve niṭṭhā dve nipphattiyo. Ayaṃ hi gatisaddo 'pañca kho imā Sāriputta gatiyo' ti ettha nirayādibhedāya sattehi gantabbagatiyaṃ vattati. 'Imesaṃ kho ahaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ sīlavantānaṃ kalyāṇadhammānaṃ neva pajānāmi agatiṃ vā gatiṃ vā' ti ettha ajjhāsaye vattati.[3] 'Nibbāṇam arahato gatī' ti ettha paṭisaraṇe. 'Api ca tyāhaṃ brahme gatiñ ca pajānāmi cutiñ ca pajānāmi uppatiñ ca pajānāmi evaṃ mahiddhiyo bako brahmā' ti ettha nipphattiyaṃ vattati. Svāyam idhā pi nipphattiyaṃ vattatī ti veditabbo. *Anaññā* ti aññā gatinipphatti nāma natthi. *Dhammiko* ti dasakusaladhammasamannāgato agatigamanavirahito. *Dhammarājā* ti idaṃ purimapadass' eva vevacanaṃ. Dhammena vā laddharajjattā dhammarājā. *Cāturanto* ti puratthimasamuddādīnaṃ catunnaṃ samuddānaṃ vasena cāturantāya[4] paṭhaviyā issaro. *Vijitāvī* ti vijitasaṃgāmo. Janapado assa[5] thāvariyam[6] thirabhāvam patto ti *janapadatthāvariyappatto.* Caṇḍassa hi rañño balidaṇḍādīhi lokaṃ pīḷayato manussā majjhimaṃ janapadaṃ chaddetvā pabbata-samuddatīrādīni nissāya paccante vāsaṃ kappenti. Atimudukassa[7] corasāhasika-[8]janavilopapīḷitā manussā paccantaṃ pahāya janapadamajjhe vāsaṃ kappenti. Iti evarūpe rājini janapado thirabhāvaṃ na pāpuṇāti. Imasmiṃ pana kumāre rajjaṃ kārayamāne etassa janapado pāsāṇapiṭṭhiyaṃ pāsāṇaṃ[9] ṭhapetvā ayopaṭṭena[10] parikkhitto viya thiro bhavissatī ti dassento janapadatthāvariyappatto ti āhaṃsu. *Sattaratanasamannāgato* ti ettha ratijananaṭṭhena ratanaṃ. Api ca

Cittīkataṃ mahagghañ ca atulaṃ dullabhadassanaṃ
Anomasattaparibhogaṃ ratanaṃ tena vuccati.

Cakkaratanassa ca [11]nibbattakālato paṭṭhāya aññaṃ devaṭṭhānaṃ

1 Si. & B. omit it and put bho
2 Si. cumbaṭake
3 B. omits it
4 B. catu-
5 B. & Si. asmiṃ
6 S. uses throughout ṭhāvariya
7 B. adds here rañño
8 B. dhana-
9 Si. & B. omit it
10 S. -paṭena
11 B. nibbatti-

nāma na hoti, sabbe gandhapupphādīhi tass' eva pūjañ ca abhivādanādīni ca karontī ti cittīkataṭṭhena ratanaṃ. Cakkaratanassa ceva ettakaṃ nāma dhanam agghatī ti aggho natthi, iti mahagghaṭṭhenāpi ratanaṃ. Cakkaratanañ ca aññehi loke vijjamānaratanehi asadisan ti atulaṭṭhenāpi ratanaṃ.

Yasmā pana yasmiṃ kappe Buddhā uppajjanti tasmiñ ñeva cakkavattino uppajjanti. Buddhā ca pana kadāci karahaci uppajjanti, tasmā dullabhadassanaṭṭhenāpi ratanaṃ.

Tad etaṃ jāti-rūpa-kula-issariyādīhi anomassa uḷārassa sattass' eva uppajjati na aññassā ti anomasattaparibhogaṭṭhenāpi ratanaṃ.

Yathā ca cakkaratanam evaṃ sesāni pī ti imehi sattahi ratanehi parivārabhāvena ceva sabbabhogupakaraṇabhāvena ca samannāgato ti sattaratanasamannāgato. Idāni tesaṃ sarūpato dassanatthaṃ 'tass-imānī' ti ādi vuttaṃ. Tattha cakkaratanan ti ādīsu ayaṃ saṃkhepādhippāyo : dvisahassadīpaparivārānaṃ catunnaṃ mahādīpānaṃ sirivibhavaṃ gahetvā dātuṃ samatthaṃ cakkaratanaṃ pātubhavati. Tathā purebhattam eva sāgarapariyantaṃ paṭhavim [1]anupariyāyanasamatthaṃ vehāsaṅgamaṃ hatthiratanaṃ. Tādisam eva assaratanaṃ. Caturaṅgasamannāgate andhakāre yojanappamāṇam andhakāraṃ vidhamitvā ālokadassanasamatthaṃ maṇiratanaṃ. Chabbidha dosavivajjitaṃ manāpacārim itthiratanaṃ. Yojanappamāṇe antopaṭhavīgatanidhiṃ dassanasamatthaṃ gahapatiratanaṃ. Aggamahesiyā kucchimhi nibbattitvā sakalarajjam anusāsanasamatthaṃ jeṭṭhaputtasaṃkhātaṃ parināyakaratanaṃ pātubhavati.

Paro sahassan ti atirekasahassaṃ. *Sūrā* ti abhīrukā. *Vīraṅgarūpā* ti vīrānam aṅgaṃ vīraṅgam, viriyass' etaṃ nāmaṃ. Vīraṅgaṃ rūpam etesan ti vīraṅgarūpā. Vīraṅgarūpā viriyajātikā viriyasabhāvā viriyamayā akilāsuno ahesuṃ. Divasam pi yujjhantā na kilamantī ti vuttaṃ hoti.

Sāgarapariyantan ti cakkavāḷapabbataṃ sīmaṃ katvā ṭhitasamuddapariyantaṃ. *Adaṇḍenā* ti ye katāparādhe satte sataṃ pi sahassaṃ pi gaṇhanti te dhanadandena rajjaṃ kārenti nāma[2]. Ye chejjabhejjaṃ anusāsanti te satthadaṇḍena. Ayaṃ pana duvidham pi taṃ[3] daṇḍaṃ pahāya adaṇḍena ajjhāvasati. *Asatthenā* ti ye ekato dhārādinā satthena paraṃ vihesanti te satthena rajjaṃ kārenti nāma. Ayaṃ pana satthena khuddakamakkhikāya pivanamattaṃ lohitaṃ kassaci anuppādetvā dhammen' eva 'ehi kho mahārājā' ti evaṃ paṭirājūhi sampaticchitāgamano. *Abhivijiyā* ti vuttapakāraṃ paṭhavim abhivijinitvā *ajjhāvasatī* ti abhibhavitvā sāmī hutvā vasatī ti attho.

[2] Si. & B. omit it. [3] B. omits it.

Evam ekaṃ nipphattiṃ kathetvā dutiyaṃ kathetuṃ 'sace kho panā' ti ādiṃ vuttaṃ. Tattha rāgadosamohamānadiṭṭhikilesataṇhāsaṃkhataṃ[1] chadanaṃ[2] āvaraṇaṃ vivaṭaṃ[3] viddhaṃsitaṃ[4] vivaṭitaṃ[5] etenā ti vivaṭacchado. Vivaṭacchaddo ti pi pāṭho. Ayam eva attho.

32. Evaṃ dutiyanipphattiṃ kathetvā tāsaṃ nimittabhūtāni lakkhaṇāni dassetuṃ 'ayañ hi devakumāro' ti ādi vuttaṃ.

Tattha *supatiṭṭhitapādo* ti yathā aññesaṃ bhūmiyaṃ pādaṃ thapentānam aggatalaṃ[6] vā paṇhi vā passaṃ vā paṭhamaṃ phusati, vemajjhe vā pana chiddaṃ hoti, ukkhipantānaṃ pi aggatalādīsu ekakotthāso va paṭhamam uṭṭhahati na evam assa. Assa pana suvannapādukātalam eva[7] ekappahāren' eva sakalaṃ pādatalaṃ bhūmiṃ' phusati ekappahāren' eva bhūmito uṭṭhahati tasmā ayaṃ supatiṭṭhitapādo.

Cakkānī ti dvīsu pādatalesu dve cakkāni, tesaṃ arā[9] ca nemi ca nābhi ca pāliyaṃ vuttā va. *Sabbākāraparipūrānī* ti iminā pana ayaṃ viseso veditabbo. Tesaṃ kira cakkānaṃ pādatalassa majjhe nābhidissati. Nābhiparicchinnā vaṭṭalekhā dissati, nābhimukhaparikkhepavaṭṭo[8] dissati, panāḷimukhaṃ dissati, arā[9] dissanti, aresu vaṭṭalekhā[10] dissanti, nemi[11] dissati,[12] nemimaṇikā dissanti. Idaṃ tāva pāliyaṃ āgatam eva. Sambahulavāro pana anāgato. So evaṃ daṭṭhabbo. Satti sirivaccho nandi sovatthika vaṭaṃsako vaḍḍhamānakaṃ macchayugalaṃ bhaddapīṭhaṃ aṅkusako pāsādo toraṇaṃ setacchattaṃ khaggo tālavaṇṭaṃ[13] morahatthako vālavījanī uṇhisaṃ maṇi paṭṭo sumanadāmaṃ nīluppalaṃ rattuppalaṃ setuppalaṃ padumaṃ puṇḍarīkaṃ puṇṇaghaṭo puṇṇapāti samuddo cakkavāḷo himavā sineruṃ candimasuriyā nakkhattāni cattāro mahādīpā dve parittadīpasahassāni antamaso cakkavattiraññho parisam upādāya sabbo cakkalakkhaṇass' eva parivāro.

Āyatapaṇhī ti dīghapaṇhi paripuṇṇapaṇhī ti attho. Yathā hi aññesam aggapādo dīgho hoti, paṇhimatthake jaṅghā patiṭṭhāti, paṇhiṃ tacchetvā ṭhapitā viya hoti, na evaṃ mahāpurisassa. Mahāpurisassa pana catūsu koṭṭhāsesu dve koṭṭhāsā aggapādā honti,[14] tatiye koṭṭhāse jaṅghā patiṭṭhāti, catutthe koṭṭhāse āraggena vaṭṭetvā ṭhapitā[15] viya rattakambala geṇḍukasadisā paṇhi hoti.

Dīghaṅgulī ti yathā aññesaṃ kāci aṅguliyo dīghā honti kāci rassā na evaṃ mahāpurisassa. Mahāpurisassa pana makkaṭass' eva dīghā

1 Si. & B. -saṃkhātaṃ
2 Si. chāndanaṃ
3 Si. vivattaṃ
4 Si. viddhastaṃ
5 B. vivaṭakaṃ ; Si. vivaṭṭaṃ
6 B. -pādatalaṃ
7 B. & Si. -miva
8 Si. paṭṭo
9 S. ārā
10 B. vaṭṭilekhā ; Si. vaṭṭarekhā
11 B. omits it
12 B. omits it
13 Si. -vaṇṭakaṃ
14 Si. -pādo hoti
15 Si. ṭhapītāya

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THE
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The Upaniṣadic Scholar

The very extent of the Śruti literature itself is an indication of the fact that very few indeed could be found even in ancient times to have actually mastered the whole of it. The mastery of the whole was no doubt the ideal to which all devout Brahmins aspired ; but in actual practice the ideal seems to have remained unattained as a rule. *Manu* iii, 2 ("vedān adhītya vedau vā vedaṃ vā'pi yathākramam" etc.) along with similar passages elsewhere, indicates the general rule on the subject. It is clear from this that an endeavour was to be made to master all the Vedas, but failing that as much of the literature as possible was to be studied. This led to a fourfold division of Brahmins according to the particular Veda which they professed. The division has continued to the present day, though the reading of the Vedas has become almost a thing of the past.

A further limitation of study, coupled with difference in religious practices, led to the division into Śākhās of the various Vedas. These divisions were not without importance ; and every orthodox Brahmin was expected to know what his Veda was and to which of its Śākhās he belonged : this was an indication of his social position and rank. Besides this, in plenty of places, we find references to particular portions of the Vedas in which men specialised and which occupied a position of peculiar importance in the eyes of men

of those times. Thus, we hear of men who were experts in a certain portion of the Sāma Veda, e.g. Jyeṣṭha-sāma (Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra, ii. 8. 2).

Bodhāyana ii. 8 discusses the question as to who should be invited to a feast in connection with a *Śrāddha* ceremony. The best Brahmins in this connection are called *paṅkti-pāvana*. The list of such Brahmins as given by *Bodhāyana* in ii, 8, 2 is almost identical with that of other writers (cf. *Gotama*, xv, 28). To this category of Brahmins belong those who have either mastered some special branches of Śruti literature or who have specialised in the performance of certain ceremonies.

In the next Sūtra (ii. 8. 3), Bodhāyana says : *"tadabhāve rahasyavid"* ; which literally ought to mean : 'in their absence a *rahasyavid*, i.e. one who knows the Upaniṣads (rahasya) should be invited'. This apparent meaning would suggest that the Upaniṣadic scholar was to be invited to a *Śraddha*, only *when* the other people enumerated in Sūtra 2 were *not* available.

But curiously enough, the commentator *Govindasvāmin* gives a rather strained interpretation on this Sūtra. He says that the classes of Brahmins enumerated in Sūtra 2 were to be invited only when a *rahasyavid* was not available. The difference between the apparent meaning and Govindasvāmin's interpretation is obvious : according to the first, the *rahasyavid* or the Upaniṣadic scholar comes after the other classes ; but according to the second, he comes first and the others were to be invited only when he was not available. He is given the place of honour—the very first place. And it was only as his substitutes that the other Brahmins might be thought of.

Whatever interpretation we may accept, it is quite apparent that the various Brahmins who were considered particularly holy and, therefore, deserving of invitation to an holy function, included the Upaniṣadic scholar also. He also was one of the experts and specialists in Vedic lore. He was

considered to occupy a high social and spiritual rank. Not only this, but he was already a distinct class of Vedic scholar. He, too, was a specialist and his subject, viz., the Upaniṣads, also had already come to occupy the position of a special study. Among the various branches of Vedic literature which claimed special attention, the Upaniṣads constituted an important branch ; and there were men who made a special study of this branch, more or less in exclusion of the other branches, and who were a class of scholars occupying high position in society.

This conclusion is borne out by some other considerations also. Bodhāyana in i. 4. 10 quotes the decision of the *Brahmavādins* with regard to a particular question and says : 'this is how the *Brahmavādins* decide it'. Such references to the Brahmavādins and their decisions in controversial matters are frequent enough. Sāyaṇa in his commentaries on the *Brāhmaṇas* also quotes their opinions on several occasions, (e.g. Ait. Br., i. 3. etc.). The *Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* iv. 5. 1 (both text and Sāyaṇa's commentary on the same) refers to Brahmavādins : '*Brahmavādino vadanti*, etc.' And the question under discussion there is : '*kā ca sandhyā, kaś-ca-sandhyāyāḥ kālaḥ*' etc. If the term 'Brahmavādin' in these contexts meant merely a Vedic scholar and not a special kind of thinker, Sāyaṇa would not have repeated the term but would certainly have used some other synonym to explain it in his commentary.

The term 'Brahmavādin', therefore, cannot be understood as meaning any Vedic scholar in general ; on the contrary, the way, in which their opinion is quoted, clearly indicates that they were a special, well-marked class of thinkers and interpreters. If they were only ordinary Vedic scholars, that is to say, if any Vedic scholar was entitled to the name, the special mention of the name 'Brahmavādin' would be meaningless. To mean scholars generally, other terms as well, such as 'ācārya' etc. might be used, or no specific term need be used at all. Thus in *Bodh.* i. 4. 10 the

omission of the term Brahmavādin also would give a meaning; the Sūtra in that case would mean 'this is how the question is decided'. The expression '*by the Brahmavādins*' would be redundant, unless it be a special class of scholars to whom reference is intended. No doubt, the author of the Sūtras quotes this opinion of the Brahmavādins approvingly and offers it for acceptance by his followers; but that cannot mean that the term '*Brahmavādin*' did not refer to a special class of scholars. We accept the opinion of medical men knowing full well that we ourselves are not such and very often we quote their opinion with the remark that 'this is what the doctors say'. In the same way, the acceptance of the opinion of the Brahmavādins by other schools of thinkers, does not imply that they all belonged to the same class. The use of a specific name must imply the existence of a specific class. The Brahmavādin, therefore, was a specific class of Vedic scholars. Every scholar was not so called; and he, too, did not know everything. What kind of scholar, then, was he?

It is interesting to note that in the Brāhmaṇas and the Dharma-sūtras, he is referred to in connnection with questions of rites and practices and not in connection with what is specifically called *Brahma-vidyā* in the Upaniṣads, For instance, Bodhāyana i. 4. 10 quotes the decision of the Brahmavādins about the controversy as to whether water for certain holy rites could be collected after sunset or not.

In the Upaniṣads also, we meet with the Brahmavādins. Thus: Śvet., i. 1, Ch., ii. 24. 1, etc. refer to the opinions of these thinkers. An examination of these instances will show that the Brahmavādin comes in always when there is some disputed point; his opinion is cited generally to silence a controversy and his decision is always treated with respect and consideration. No doubt, he is very often found wasting his labours upon unphilosophical questions also. But nevertheless he is a thinker. He raises problems and attempts to solve them. Now, these are just the marks of an incipient

philosophy. In a Brahmavādin, therefore, we may easily trace the beginnings of the philosophy which in later times became so important but which still bore the stamp of his name and was called *Brahmavidyā*.

The use of the name 'Brahmavādin' even by the Upaniṣads clearly shows that it did not mean only a man who knew the Upaniṣads. The Brahmavādin appears to have been in existence even *before* the Upaniṣads and of course continued along with them. He was not merely a student of the Upaniṣads. Originally he was the scholar whose opinions and thoughts find expression in the Upaniṣads, and who in later times continued the same pursuit *with* the aid of the Upaniṣads. He was of a class of scholars who were in existence before the Upaniṣads and who pursued and developed the trend of thought of which the Upaniṣads embody a particular phase and certainly an important stage. The Brahmavādin, it seems, was a scholar who watched a Vedic ceremony and observed the customs of the time and tried to find a reason for the same. He thought over these and founded a school of thought. During one stage of this thought-movement and as an embodiment of it, the Upaniṣads sprang into existence. At later stages of development, other books also came into existence. But the Brahmavādin was essentially a thinker and debater who knew the quintessence of the Vedas.

The use of the term '*Brahma*' to mean the Vedas as also the eternal Reality of the Upaniṣads, clearly suggests that the men who tried to discover the inner significance of the Vedas and all that they stood for, eventually landed upon the conception of Brahma of the Upaniṣads. Obviously, before the birth of the Upaniṣads, such men could not possibly be called *Upaniṣadic* scholars ; but the Upaniṣadic scholar was a direct descendant of these men.

The social position of these men in the days of the Dharmasūtras is indicated by *Bodh.* ii. 8. 3, which suggests that he was one of those men who deserved invitation on a Śrāddha

day. It is an indication also of the life that he lived. He was not altogether unconnected with the performance of the religious rites of the time; and his presence in these ceremonies was deemed holy.

The importance of the subject-matter of his study i.e. of the Upaniṣads, is also indicated in *Bodhāyana* iii. 10. 11, *Gotama* xix. 13, etc. where the Upaniṣads head the list of holy texts—portions of Vedic literature—by reading which one might expect to attain special holiness or the atonement of sins.

But this position the Upaniṣadic scholar could not retain throughout. In *Śaṅkara-digvijaya* by Vidyāraṇya (viii. 14), we are told that when Śaṅkara presented himself before the assembly of Brahmins in Maṇḍana's house where a Śrāddha was being performed, the very sight of him was irritating to Maṇḍana. Śaṅkara was undoubtedly a great Upaniṣadic scholar and in earlier times the presence of such a man was covetable at such an assembly. But in the 7th century after Christ, the Upaniṣadic scholar was an unwelcome visitor at a Śrāddha ceremony.

The explanation also is not wanting. If the Brahmavādin to whom the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the commentaries on these make such frequent references, was really the Upaniṣadic scholar, then, it would appear that he was not only an expert in Upaniṣadic lore, but also devoted his intellectual energies to a right understanding of Vedic ceremonies. In fact, he evolved his philosophy out of an attempt to grasp the spiritual significance of such ceremonies. In *Ait. Br.*, i. 1., we learn from Sāyaṇa that the Brahmavādins had their own theory as to which of the gods the sacrificial cake (puroḍāśa) in a particular ceremony belonged to. And in the same book (i. 6), we are again told that, though absolute truthfulness was enjoined upon the sacrificer after he was initiated, *according to the Brahmavādins* it was an exceedingly difficult task for man, and gods alone were fit for it. In *Saḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* (iv. 5. 1.), we find the Brahma-vādins discussing the significance of certain prayers called *Sandhyā*.

All these show that in the beginning, the Brahmavādin or the Upaniṣadic scholar was not a rebel against the Vedic religious rites. He specialised in the Upaniṣadic portion of the Vedas, but had no disdain, on that account, for the rest of them. He was a Brahmin and followed the routine life of a Brāhmaṇa according to the practices of the time. He condemned neither the Vedas nor the life according to the Vedas; he practised the ceremonies and was invited to them; and in certain ceremonies the place of honour was his.

But when we come to the time of Śaṅkara, we find that the Upaniṣadic scholar, of whom Śaṅkara was a towering specimen, had strayed away from the life of Vedic rituals and entertained nothing but contempt for those who still adhered to them. Naturally enough, the feeling was reciprocated: the orthodox Vedic Brahmin like Maṇḍana would have nothing to do with the renegades of the Śaṅkara type. The difference between the two ideals of life was sharp and often led to mutual recriminations. And the one class of Brahmins professed little community of faith with the other.

To what was this cleavage due? It was an example of a great schism and parallel examples are available in the histories of other religions also. The rise of Protestantism against the old Catholic creed illustrates the same tendency of the human mind. Between the Christianity of Jesus and the Papacy of the 15th century, many things had happened; and Protestantism took up arms against the accumulations of these centuries and claimed the right to go back straight to the original source, viz., the Bible. This brought about a cleavage within the fold of the same religion, which is well-known to history.

Within the fold of Hinduism itself, similar movements have taken place frequently enough. Among the latest are the rise of the Brāhma Samāj and the Ārya Samāj. Both these movements base themselves exclusively on what

in ancient times was called Śruti—the Āryya Samāj accepting the whole of the Vedas, while the Brāhma Samāj, like the Śaṅkarites of earlier times, takes its stand on the Upaniṣads. Both of these movements, however, tend to brush aside the undesirable accumulations of the centuries between the Vedas and now.

The split in the camp of Vedic religion as illustrated in the opposition between the school of Śaṅkara and that of Maṇḍana, was due, among other causes, to the rise and spread of Buddhism and the establishment of well-organised monastic orders. The protest against the sacrificial cult, which was emphasised by Buddha, continued even after him; and no school of reform could possibly ignore it. And the establishment of organised monasteries on an extensive scale, showed the possibility of an ethico-social life free from scrupulous adherence to the crowded programme of Vedic ceremonies. Fortunately for the reformers, there was a section of Vedic literature which could be so understood as to discountenance the old form of sacrificial religion. And the reformers were not slow to realise the importance of the opportunity offered by this possibility of an interpretation of sacred texts that was favourable to them. The protest which was never dead, was accentuated and the Brahmins arrayed themselves into two opposing camps. From that time onward, there were two forms of Vedic religion—one of Karma and the other of Jñāna. And though attempts at synthesis were also frequently made, these two opposing tendencies were never afterwards completely reconciled in Hindu life and thought.

But modern historians often misjudge the later split and regard it as the very source and origin of the Upaniṣads and the Upaniṣadic scholar. According to them, the split had been effected first and then those who had seceded from the ancient religion, produced another kind of Śruti literature viz., the Upaniṣads; and the Upaniṣadic scholar was the harbinger of this schism: he brought it about and was responsible for all the consequences that followed in its train.

As a matter of fact, however, the Upaniṣadic thinker was also one of those very Brahmins who performed Vedic sacrifices: he, too, took an active part in them. But he did more: he bestowed his thought on them; he meditated about their significance and was thus the father of a school of philosophy. To begin with, the Upaniṣadic scholar and those who were learned in the other branches of the Vedas, were not so diametrically opposed to each other as to justify us in thinking that they belonged to rival camps altogether. It was only when the religion of Karma was found incorrigible even after several reform movements that a more or less permanent breach was effected between the two sections of Brahmins and we have even the spectacle of a strife between them. Originally, however, the Upaniṣadic scholar also was, after all, a Vedic scholar and took rank with him, though the obstinate questionings that lead to philosophy had already been aroused in his mind.

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE

Observations on the Cognomen Bahmani

There is a great controversy among scholars as to why the dynasty founded by Alauddin Hasan came to be known as the Bahmani dynasty. Some are of opinion that it is so called, because Alauddin Hasan named it as such out of deference and gratitude to the Gangu Pandit, his former master, who was a Brahmin, and to whom he ascribed his success. Some others, again, say that Alauddin Hasan was a descendant of Bahman and Isfandiyar, the famous Samani kings of Persia, and so it is called as such.

Now, first of all, let us see what the Muhammadan historians say on the subject and by a comparative study of these authorities let us arrive at a right conclusion.

The *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* says that Hasan was once a servant

of Gangu Pandit, a Brahmin astrologer, who was in high favour with the prince Md. Tughlak and one day when he was ploughing a piece of land, his plough struck an iron chain. On digging it out he found a copper vessel full of gold which he immediately took to his master ; his master being highly pleased with his honesty and integrity introduced him to Md. Tughlak through whose favour he was appointed as a commander of one hundred horses. Shortly after this appointment, Gangu prophesied to him that he would once become a sovereign and "made him promise" that when his prophecy would be fulfilled, he would "assume the name of Gangu" and would also make him his finance minister—"a request with which he readily complied" and translated it into action when he became the sovereign of the Deccan.

Ferishta further adds that some historians say that Hasan was a descendant of the Samani kings of Persia but "according to my opinion," says Ferishta, "this pedigree is too obscure to be reliable and it was drawn up by flatterers after his accession to the throne." The pedigree given by him is as follows:—Alauddin Hasan Kanku-i-Bahmani, the son of Kaikaus, the son of Muhammad, the son of Ali, the son of Hasan, the son of Saham, the son of Simun, the son of Salam, the son of Ibrahim, the son of Nasir, the son of Munsūr, the son of Rustum, the son of Kaiqubad, the son of Minuchihr, the son of Namdar, the son of Isfandiyar, the son of Kaiyumars, the son of Khurshid, the son of Sasa, the son of Faghfur, the son of Farrukh, the son of Shahryar, the son of Amir, the son of Suhaid, the son of Malik Daud, the son of Hushang, the son of Nik Kardar, the son of Firoz Bakht, the son of Nuh, the son of Sani who was a descendant of Bahram Gur, the Samani, who was again a descendant of Bahman, the son of Isfandiyar.

Next let us take into consideration the account given by *Burhan-i-Maasir* which is as follows :—Hasan went to Delhi during the reign of Muhammad Tughlak and without disclosing to any body the fact of his illustrious descent from

Kaiyumars, he entered the service of Md. Tughlak. While he was thus engaged, Shaikh Nizamuddin of Delhi "gave a sumptuous feast to Md. Tughlak." After the feast was over Md. Tughlak went away but shortly after his departure, "Hasan arrived at his door" when he (the Shaikh) said to his servant, "To-day one king has gone out and another king is at the door; let him come in"[1] The servant then went to Hasan and brought him to his presence. The Shaikh received him with kindness and prophesied to him that he would once become a king. On hearing this good news Hasan "became hopeful and began to cherish in his mind the idea of sovereignty and conquest."

The pedigree as given by him is as follows :—

Sultan Alauddin Waad-Dunya Hasan Bahman Shah, the son of Kaiqaus Muhammad, the son of Ali, the son of Hasan, the son of Bahtam, the son of Simun, the son of Salam, the son of Nuh, the son of Ibrahim, the son of Nasir, the son of Mansur, the son of Nuh, the son of Sani, the son of Bahram, the son of Shahrin, the son of S'ad, the son of Nusin, the son of Daud, the son of Bahram Gur. About the authenticity of this genealogy he is rather doubtful, as he says, "God the Most High alone knows the truth of matters!"[2]

The *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk* relates strange stories about Hasan. It says that one day, as he was sleeping under the shade of a tree, a cobra came to him and holding a green grass in its mouth was driving away the flies from his body but when he awoke the serpent lowered its head like a servant and went away. Gangu Pandit (not said to be his master) who was passing by that way witnessed these things and said to Hasan, "A great dignity is in store for you." He then related to him everything that had happened during his sleep and requested him, when he would become a king, to give him a post under him and also to "combine his name with his own

1 Mr. J. S. King's History of the Bahmani Kingdom, p. 1.

2 Ibid., p. 2.

(Hasan's) and sign their firmans with the word 'Bahmani.' These Hasan did when he was crowned king.

But according to the said work, it was through the favour of Shaikh Muhammad Shiraz Junaidi, whose servant he (Hasan) was, that he obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan, because it was he who advised him to collect an army, wage a religious war against the infidels and it was through his favour that he got sufficient money to carry out his project. It then relates queer stories about the victories of Hassan.

The *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk* is rather inconsistent in what it says and reproduces only the bazar gossips. If Hasan would really wage holy war to deliver the country from the infidels, it was simply impossible that he would give a Hindu title to his kingdom.

In the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* also the name Gangu Pandit appears. It also says that the prophecy that Hasan would once become a sovereign was made by a Brahman named Gangu but it does not say that this Gangu was his master.

Kafi Khan merely reproduces what Ferishta says on the subject.

From the above accounts we can say that Gangu was a historic personage who made the prediction about Hasan's greatness and who enjoyed high favour with him (Hasan) (*Burhan-i-Maasir* alone is silent on the matter) but this does not necessarily mean that the cognomen Bahmani was given to this kingdom for these reasons.

The titles of Alauddin Hasan as given in various histories are :—In the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*—Alauddin Hasan Kanku-i-Bahmani, in the *Muntakhabu-l-Lubab* of Kafi Khan—Alauddin Kanku-i-Bahmani, *urf* Hassan, in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*—Alauddin Hasan Shah, in the *Burhan-i-Maasir*—Alauddin Hasan Gangu-i-Bahmani, in the *Tazkirat-ul-Mulk*—Alauddin Bahman Shah and in the *Muntakhabut-Tawarikh*—Alauddin Bahman Shah.

So, nowhere do we find the word "Brahman" or the word "Brahmani." In the second volume p. 297 of Briggs' *Ferishta*

this sentence occurs: "The appellation of Bahmani he (Hasan) certainly took out of compliment to his master Gangu, the Brahman, a word often pronounced 'bahman'." Here Mr. Briggs says (it does not occur in the original Ferishta) that the word "Brahman" is often pronounced as "Bahman." But this is not so, at least, in Persian, which is the medium of our Muhammadan authorities on the subject; even if we take it for granted that "Brahman" is often pronounced as "Bahman," we would find in the histories above mentioned the word "Brahman" or "Brahmani" at least in some places, but nowhere do we come across such an instance. If Hasan would assume the title Bahmani out of gratitude to his master, the original word (Brahman or Brahmani) would be found in them at least once or twice, if not more. It cannot be that the original word would totally disappear from all these histories! The origin of the cognomen "Bahmani" must therefore be sought elsewhere.

Besides, it is also improbable that a Muhammadan king would use this epithet even out of gratitude to his benefactor; utmost, he might have given him a good post under him and this Hasan did. But to give such a Hindu title to a Muhammadan kingdom at a time when the whole atmosphere was saturated with intolerance and persecution was out of the question and it would certainly create a strong excitement in the country, the effect of which might be fatal to the infant kingdom. Hasan did certainly realize this. Although he himself was not of a very intolerant disposition, he did not certainly venture to wound the feeling of his Muslim subjects by giving a Hindu epithet to his kingdom. From the accounts given by Ferishta and Ali bin Tabataba in the *Burhan-i-Maasir*, it is clear that Hasan claimed his descent from Bahman and Isfandiyar but the pedigree as given by the former is different from that given by the latter (as we have seen above). The only two authorities who give the pedigree thus differ considerably in their versions and so how can we believe that he was the descendant of Bahman Shah?

Moreover, Ali bin Tabataba is doubtful about the authenticity of the pedigree when he says, "God the Most High alone knows the truth of matters." Ferishta distinctly says that it was drawn up by flatterers after his accession to the throne. So, the weight is on the negative side and our conclusion is that Hasan's claim to be a descendant of Bahman Shah is no better than a fiction. But although the genealogy is fictitious we cannot ignore the fact that he brought forward such a claim ; otherwise we would not have seen such pedigrees referred to by both Ferishta and Ali bin Tabataba and it was for this reason that the dynasty founded by him came to be known as the Bahmani dynasty.

Hasan used the epithet Bahman and some of the historians referred to it just as it was (as in Tazkirat-ul-Mulk and Muntakhabut Tawarikh) while others, again, like Ferishta, Kafi Khan and Ali bin Tabataba etc. made it Bahmani. (In Persian the word Bahman may very easily be changed into Bahmani).

Numismatic evidence also points to the fact that the epithet assumed by the sovereigns of this dynasty is Bahman and not Bahmani. The title of the book *Bahman-namah*, a versified history of the Bahmani dynasty, composed by Shaikh Azuri, also shows that the title assumed by Hasan and his descendants was Bahman. This book was written long before Ferishta and Ali bin Tabataba wrote their histories and so it is of greater value than either Tarikh-i-Ferishta or Burhan-i-Maasir. If Hasan would assume the title Bahmani, the title of the book would be *Bahmani-namah* instead of *Bahman-namah*.

So, we conclude that the dynasty is known as the Bahmani dynasty not because Hasan was really a descendant of Bahman Shah but because *he claimed such descent* ; the title assumed by its sovereigns is not "Bahmani" but "Bahman" and the popular belief that Hasan gave a Hindu epithet which is said to be used in the corrupted form "Bahman") to his kingdom is falsified by facts as well as by historical evidence.

Oxinden Embassy

Of all the embassies sent by the English East India Company's officers to Shivaji's court perhaps the most important was that led by Henry Oxinden. The short narrative of his journey to Rairi and his activities there was published by Dr. John Fryer as early as 1698 but other papers relating to that embassy have not yet seen the light and I need not offer any apology for making them available to students interested in Maratha history now. I should draw their attention to one point only. It does not appear from Narayan Shenvi's letter that he derived his information about Ananda Rao's appointment to succeed Pratap Rao Gujar from any of Shivaji's ministers as Prof. Jadunath Sarkar suggests. I feel convinced that he made a mistake about the name of the new Sarnobat and it will be rash to reject the unanimous evidence of the *Bakhars*. Henry Oxinden's letters give much fuller details of his embassy than the short narrative published so long ago by Fryer and recently by Mr. Payne. I hope to place them before my fellow students before long.

Narayan Shenvi's Letter. (F. R. Surat, vol. 88, fols. 78-83.)

Honourable Sir,

I arrived at Rairy on Tewsday of the last weeke which was the 24th March and on the same day I went to Banchar to visitt Naragy Punditt which place is at the mountaines ffoot, and enquireing for him I encountred with his eldest sonne Parlad Punditt who advised me that his father Naragy Punditt was at the mountaines head and made me waite the Rajah Sevagys order to goe up upon which I sent one of my servants to give the Rajah notice of my arrivall, who returned the same day with order from Neragy Punditt

that I should remaine in his house untill the time of mourning was over for the death of the Rajah Sevajees wife; which I did resting there five dayes without opperating anything, in the interim came Naragy Punditt to his habitation to celebrate the Jentues New yeares day and the next day carried me up the hill with him and enordered me a good entertainment in a large house where I remained five days more.

Yesterday at noone being the third of Aprill Naragy Punditt accompanied me up to the Rajahs court and brought mee before him who received me with much courtesy, gave me a seat very neare him enquiring of Your Honours good health of which I gave him an account and reciprocall returned his complement; at which letting (or setting) I entered on the Rajapore business, and Naragy Pundett according to his accustomed favour in our behalfe demonstrated the matter better then I expected to his master the Rajah on which Savejee presently enordered his scrivans to passe orders concerning this affaire, viz. to pay the Rajapore money at three payments to witt 2500 Pagotas of the Rajapore customes 2500 to be paid the first monsoone comencing the first September next, and 5000 to be paid two yeares space to make which writings and orders 3 or foure dayes will be requisite, which being effected I will send them to Your Honour by Adall the Moody who is now with me, who arriving in safety to Your Honour will acquaint more clearly of all passages here, I intend to have sente Sevagys writtings and orders by this bearer but seeing it would cost some time before they were finished, and Your Honour enordering me to send you a daily express is the reason I so suddenly dispatch this man; and the reason I wrote Your Honour not before is because Naragy Punditt desired me not to write untill I had spoke with Sevajee for which fault I desire Your Honours pardon.

I cannot advise Your Honour particularly of what newse here stirring having not sufficient time, but it seems unreason-

able I should totally decline it, Sevajee is making a throne very magnificient on which he spends much gould and jewells intending to be crowned in June next being the beginning of the new yeare, to this coronation he has invited many learned Bramines, and will liberally bestow on them many ellephants, horses and money but it is not known whether he will be crowneed in person or some other prince for it is reported he hath a prince of the Nisamshahy race in his custody.

By other conighances Your Honour will have received newse of the proceedings of Sevajees army nevertheless I cannot be excused without giving you some account; Bhadur Caun desire to descend into Concan but understanding that the Rajah Sevajee hath stopt the passages by breaking the wayes, and advances twixt the hills, and keeping a constant guard there where the passages were most difficult; he returned from whence he came.

The Rajah Sevajee intended to proceed for Currall to give new orders to his army, and to create a new generall of his horse in the roome of Partab Ray who fell in the encounter of Sevajees army with Bullooll Ckaun in a narrow passage betwixt two hills who with six horsemen more were slaine being not succoured by the rest of the army so that Bullooll Ckaun remained victorious but Anand Ray his Lieutenant sent Sevajee word that he should not resent his Generalls death he remayning in his stead, on which Sevajee enordered Anand Ray to succeed him in qua lity and pay; and not to return alive without being victorious against his enemys and Anand Ray being a valliant person on his masters order mooved with the whole body of his horse farr into the enemys country in search of Bullooll Ckaun; but it happened that Dilleel Ckaun understanding of Partap Ray's death fell in with his army to succour Bullooll Ckaun; making great haste to fight with Anand Ray but he seeing two such valiant enemys before him durst not fight them, and thereupon tooke his way towards Cannara journeying 15 leagues per diem

he before and the two nobles following him but after many days march not dareing to effect any thing Dilleell Ckaun went under Panalla to besiege it but stayed there but five days and returned to his former station, and Bullooll Ckaun went to Collapore Anand Ray passing much inland robbed a citty called Pench eight leagues from Bancapore which citty belongs to Bullooll Ckaun jaghere, from whence he returned well laden with 3000 oxen laden with goods, which Bullooll Ckaun and Quider Ckaun understanding they intended to intercept him with their whole army encountring neare Bancapore, where happened a desperate battell fell a brother of Quider Ckaun cousen of Bullooll Ckauns and Anand Ray robbed the whole army and brought 500 horse and two ellephants and other things, Bullooll Ckaun and Quidher Ckaun flying away; Anand Ray on his return leaving his booty with Sevagee is gone againe to Ballagatte to robbe more townes.

I have discoursed with Naragy Punditt concerning the peace you desired might be concluded with the Sidy Foote Ckaun he answered with many comparison shewing that Sevagee had no inclination thereunto whereupon I never talkt more about that affaire of which Naragy Punditt will himself write you.

I shall give Your Honour what news I have heard of Siddy Sambole in a few words, he engaged with Daulett Ckauns navy in Satouly River where there was slaine above one hundred men of the Siddys and 44 of Daulett Ckauns who gaines the victory but is wounded with an arrow and it is reported that Siddy Sambole is likewise wounded, and his hands burnt, he not meeting with good success in the aforesaid river is gone to Haresser neare Cessing this news Sevajee told me himselfe, now I desire Your Honour not to licence the Siddy to enter into your port nor his men to come on shoare for if you should not thinke convenient to refuse him it would cause great difference to arrise betwixt us and Sevajee for soe much he declared to me at first meeting.

Now I desire Your Honour to send Mr. Henry Oxinden imediately with a good present, because I cannot stay long here by reason of the unwholesome waters of the hills. Concerning the present Naragy Punditt enquired of me and I answered him that Mr. Henry Oxinden would bring an Arab horse with him of considerable vallue who desired me to write to Your Honour not to send any because the Rajah had told him he had not occasion of any but in liew there of you would please to send him some precious stones either pearles or diamonds which may be worth his wearing at his coronation wherefore I desire Your Honour to send some rings of precious stones or pearles or some chaines of pearles which the Jentues wear on their shashes, because these people thinke that the English cannot want pearles and other jewells being merchants that trade in shipping. Naragy Punditt enorders me to write to Your Honour that if you should send a horse the Rajah would never ride on him but give him some of his servants or souldiers because he hath many horses as well Arabbs as Turkish which considering Your Honour may please to doe as to you seemes best; Your Honour hath already wrote to Naragy Punditt that you would send an Englishman of your Council which he hath made known to the Rajah wherefore it is convenient that Mr. Henry Oxinden comes with a considerable present in conformity to his quallity which may be about 1000 or 1200 Rs. It is also reasonable that you present the Rajah with something at the time of his coronation but this present you now send will serve for all. I likewise advertise Your Honour to mind Girderdas to send 25 ordinary thurmas to Naragy Punditt for which he often persecutes me and Girder promised to send them just after my departure; God preserve Your Honour is the prayer of

Rairy 4th April 1674
(translated out of the
Portuguese original).

Your humble servant
NARAN SINAY.

PRESENTS FOR SHIVAJI

F. R., vol. 87. (Surat) Surat to Bombay, the 18th April, 1674, fols. 153 & 154.

We are now in answer of yours of the 9th current inclosing us a translate of Narrandas Sinas letter by which wee preceive you are likely to come to a speedy accomodation with Sevajee on the condicons that you were the last yeare treating about of paying you 10,000 Pagoths in full satisfaction of the Honourable Companys and their servants losses in Rajapore and we may consequently inferr that the Companys late loss at Hubely must be included, your sending Mr. Oxinden on that employ wee hope will make some addition by his procuring us further priviledges for our trade in his country, the present which you desire may be sent with all speed to accompany him, wee have been collecting these two dayes as near as wee cann in such particulars as you desire from us, what is wanting, as the rubie for the ear jewell, and the rubie ring of such value which are not at present procurable, wee have supplyed with a dagger of a neat worke, which wee thinke may be as acceptable to him as any of the other, the particulars which wee send you are as followes :

	Rutt		
2 Pearle weighing	10 $\frac{1}{10}$	cost	500 Rups
4 ditto weighing	18 $\frac{9}{10}$	cost	750
1 diamond ring a rose cutt		cost	450
1 ditto		cost	325
1 ditto a table		cost	130
1 head jewell like a feather		cost	680
2 bracelets		cost	450
			3285
Insurance			29 $\frac{1}{4}$
			3314 $\frac{1}{4}$

all with particulars wee have to Moan Drumdas and Vlup

Lickmedas sheroffs to send you, which they do by a cossett that accompanyes your cooly the bearer hereof.

That Sevajee is much offended at your favouring the Siddee in permitting his vessells to winter att your island, and hath expresst soe much to Narrandas Sinay wee have reason to believe and you may doe noe less of the other interest here, for when the Governor here or the Kings Generall near you there, shall come to understand (as certainly they will) this your embassage, and conclusion of a peace with the Kings enemy, together with your denyall of their ffleett to harbour with you, you must needs conclude that the Mogull will take us for none of his friends, and that wee must be exposed to many injuryes if the Company doe not alsoe suffer in their trade. But you having soe often manifested to us how much the good and well being of the island both for provissions and traffique depends upon an accomodacon with Sevajee together with the trade that wee expect to have by the settlement of factoryes in his country, that wee shall patiently endure what these people may impose on us, rather then declyne the interest and benefitt of the Company in their island.

As Narran Sinay doth give you litle hope of procureing peace between Sevajee and Siddee of Danda Rajpore, soe wee think it not a business soe facile to be effected, for a warr soe many yeares standing, to be suddenly accomodated, thus wee have given answer to your letter and haveing nothing here of newes that offers wee must conclude and subscribe.

A post script which forms part of the letter in another copy :—

Whereas wee intended to send you a dagger the man that ownes it stands on such high termes for it that we thought it not necessary to buy it at soe extravagant a rate.

Instructions given by us the Governor and Councill for affaires of the Honourable Company on the Island Bombay unto our lowing friend Mr. Henry Oxinden to be observed by him in the negotiation of treaty with Seuage Rajah (O. C., vol. 35, no. 3963).

Mr. Henry Oxinden,

The expereince you have had of all the affaires of moment and overtures which have occured betwixt Seuage and us relating to this treaty by means of your daily assistance of us in the council where the matter hath been largely debated may excuse the trouble of our furthe [r] animadversions thereon in this paper, but that we may not be wholy wanting to our duty we thinke good to recomend the foll [ow] ing instructions for your observation.

The former difference between the Honourable Company and Seuag [e] at Rajapore being for the present accomodated by a mutuall agrement and contract between us with the particulers whereof you are throughly acquainted, our next worke is to endeauour the establishment of a secure and advantageous course of traide betwixt this Island and the countryes under his jurisdiction, which we trust in God may tend very much to our Honourable Masters interest for the better effecting whereof we have thought good to send you to the said Sevagees court at the castle of Raire that you may in person treat with him touching the confirmation of those articles which we herewith deliver unto you and for that the evill custome of theise easterne ports puts the Company to an indispencible necssity of presents in such cases, there being nothing to be done in theise parts of the world without them.

We judge it necessary and prudent in this conjuncture to be som [e] what more free handed then otherwise we should be, and that wee may the better prevaile with him and his ministers of state to gr[a]tifie the Company in theire reasonable demand and to procure the better esteeme and endearement of our nation, and traid amongst them, where-

fore at your arrivall when you observe a convenient time you are to present to Seuage, his mother, son and those jewells and raritye̊s which are appointed in consultation for them which we hope will be very acceptable seeing as Naran Sinay informe us they are more desirous of such jewells then any other thing we can present them, which therefore will be more proper and necessary in regard Sevage is designing to make himself a king.

In the contract signed by Seuage wherein he promiseth the payment of 10000 kings pagothas for satisfaction of the Companys losse sustained at Rajapore, there are somethings mentioned, which are more then we agreed to in our treaty with his Envoy viz. That in the first payment of 2500 Pagoths worth of goods. which we are to buy of him and so consequently in the rest of the payments which was not resolved upon or agreed to positively by us, but rather that we were to receive it in ready money which you are to press him unto but in case he declares he cannot spare ready money, and that he will force goods upon us, you are to be carefull that you doe not take any old and unmerchantable goods and that they be not ouerprized, to the end neither the company nor the interessed be the losers, thereby, and if you can possibly procure pepper, Dungarees, percollas, or any sort of callicoes proper for Europe it will be much the better provided the prices are reasonable, wherein you must regulate yourself according to the list of prices which you will carry along with you and for that we observe Seuage Rajah hath a percoll of old cannekins which he is desirous to dispose of we would have you to please him, and for formallity sake looke upon them, but not to medle with them except you find the Company will be gainers by them and not losers.

Secondly, in that clause wherein he admits the English liberty to setle factories in any part of his dominions we find that Negotanna and Penn are not expressly included, wherefore we would have you make that one of the articles

that we may setle and build warehouses in any of these parts, declaring that it will be a great conveniency to his owne occasions, and a meanes to bring downe traide to that part of the country.

Thirdly, in the last clause he limitts the English that they shall buy and sell only inports and not transport any goods in the inland countryes, this you may tell him is a great inconveniency and discouragement to traide; and that which no king or prince ever hitherto imposed upon us, for in all Indostan, Decan, Persia Arabia and the South Sea's and other parts where we traide we have liberty to transport goods paying custome at port only. Wherefore, you might press him by all resonable argument to make an alteration of that clause, and to grant us the same preuiledg[e] which we enjoy in other parts, otherwise we shall be very much discouraged, and not traide so much as otherwise we shall doe.

Wee reasonably presume that Seuage will be much offended at the Sidyes wintering his fleet in this bay, but when he hath understood what endeauers we have used to turne him out and how roughly we have treated his men, the perticulers whereof you are to manifest unto him, haveing been witness of the transactions here, and when you have represented unto him and made him sensible of the indispenceible ingagements that we have in the Mogulls country by meanes of traide and setling of factories in his dominions, we doubt not but he will in his wisdom be fully satisfied of our integrity, and the full desire, we have to keep a good understanding with him, that he also hath vessells wintering here as they and we could not in reason and prudence deny the Sidy the same kindness, though it be very much against our will and inclination.

Amongst Seuagees chiefest Ministers of state you must per[ti]cularly apply yourselfe to Naragy Punditt who hath expressed extraordinary kindness and affection to the Companys interest and theirefo[re] you are to comunicate

unto him all our desires and proposalls, before they be presented to Seuagee, that you may take his advise and approbation, therein, desireing him to interceed and mediate with Siuagee Rajah for the speedy conclution thereof. You are also to pay all civill respects to his Peshwa or second minister of state Moropunt and likewise to Annagee Punditt with whom we may have frequent occasions of corispondence, so that the nearer intimacy you gaine with him the better.

Seeing that the present warr betwixt Seuagee and the Sidy of Dan[da] Rajpore causeth a great obstruction and insecurity to traide w[e] hold it consistent with the Companys intrest and becomeing our duty so farr as in us lyes, to endeauour an accomodation of peace between them, for if they two were friends, the King of India's fleet now sent to assist the said Sidy would be called home and not molest these parts any more, wherefore we desire that when you see a fit oppertunity, you the matter seriously with Naragee Punditt, representing the advantages of such a peace together with the charges and misery of the warr, and that it is like long to continue at least so long as this King lives, except he makes peace with the Sidy Futty Chaun, which war if continued may prove a greater prejudice to Seuage then the taking of Danda Rajpo[re] will advantage him, whereunto you may add some other arguments which the President hath in private communicated unto you which we hope will preuaile with him as tending to his owne advantage, but if you find him auerse to it, you may disist from mouing of it to the Rajah declaring that what the President designs is only the office of a good neighbour and friends to them both, for he desires only to keep peace one with another.

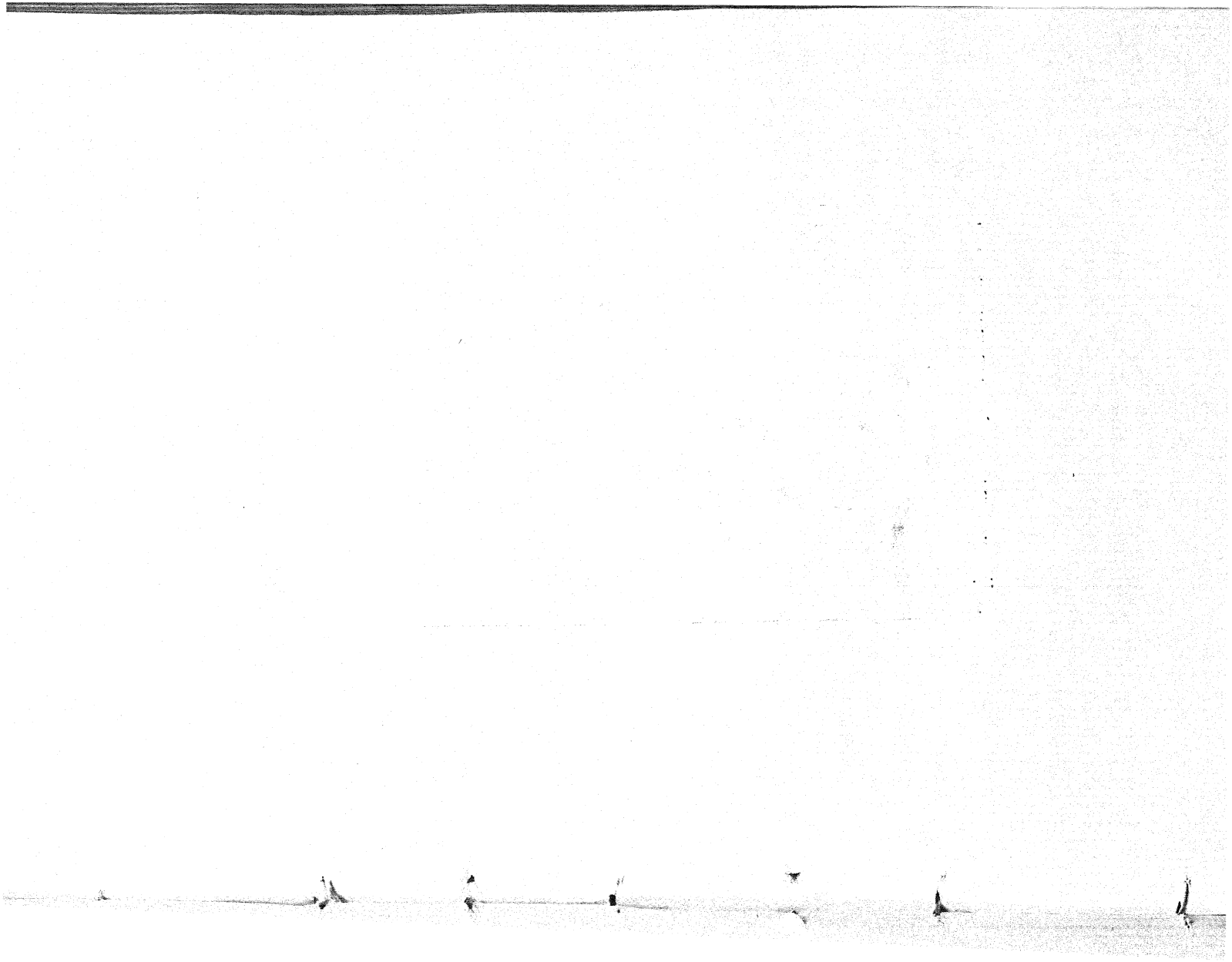
In the agrement made with Seuagees Envoy Bimagee Punditt touching the satisfaction to be paide the Company for theire losse at Rajpore in regard Neragee Pundit whom we have before recomended unto you did proue the only mediator to bring Seuagee to so fair and accomodation, we

thought good to promise for his encouragement 500 Pagoths to be paid him out of the said money, thereby to oblige him the more to doe the Company further service in their traide hereafter, and we promised to Bimagee Pundit the Envoy for his effectual service therein 100 Pagoths wherefore in case they desire the said money you may confirme our promise; but endeauour to put it off to the second or third payment, but if they earnestly press to have it made good out of the first, you are not to deny them, for it is necessary for us to keep them our friends.

You are to discource with Naragee Punditt touching the opening of a way for the merchants to convey goods betwixt Ballagatt and the inland mart townes of Decan and Negottanna and the maine over against Bombay, declaring unto him that it will be a great meanes to enrich his country and secure those parts when our traid is once setled there we shall be better able to assist him in the strengthening these parts against any enemy wherefore we desire you to press him earnestly thereunto for that it will be a notable advantage to his country.

You are also to advise Naragee Punditt that he use his interest to persuaide Seuagee to encourage all merchants to traide and bring downe goods from the neighbouring parts of Decan to which end it is necessary that he causeth his officers to use them with great kindness in moderate customes and freedome from unjust exactions for nothing doth more advance traid then that and he will find his revenue to encrease more by such a way then hitherto he hath taken.

Wee hope the management of this affaire will not require much time, and for that we know not how emergencies may fall out we cannot limit the time of your stay, but refer it to you for we would not have you return without some good effect of your business which we presume may be completed in one month or 40 dayes at most, but wee desire you to advise us constantly of all passages on receipt where-





Revanta, from Ghatnagar, District Dinajpur

of we shall give you such further directions as are necessary and so we committ you to the Almightyes protection and remaine

Bombay, May 11th, 1674. Your Loving Friends.

SURENDRA NATH SEN

A New type of Revanta from the Dinajpur District

The so-called 'Kalkī' statues in the Indian Museum from Bihar, representing a figure on horse-back with attendants forming a hunting party, were identified as images of Revanta by Pandit Binod Behari Bidyabinod,[1] who pointed out that Revanta was described as such in Varāhamihira's Bṛhat-saṃhitā[2] ; this view has since been accepted by scholars.[3] The Viṣṇu and the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas are at one with regard to the origin of Revanta, who, according to them, was the son of Sūrya by his wife Saṃjñā and also the king of the Guhyakas, a class of demigods.[4] The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa further adds that Revanta is the god that delivers people from the 'terrors of forests and other lonely places, of great conflagrations, of enemies and robbers' and bestows upon his worshippers comfort, intelligence, happiness, kingship, perfect health, fame and exalted position.[5] Raghunandana in the

1 JASB., N. S., vol. V, 1909, pp. 391-92, pl. XXX.

2 "रेवन्तोऽश्वारूढो मृगयाक्रीडादि परिवारः"—Bṛhatsaṃhitā, chap. 57, v. 56.

3 T. Bloch, Supplementary Catalogue of the Archæological Collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1911, p. 85 n. 1.

4 Viṣṇu P., iii, 7 ; Mārkaṇḍeya P., 78, 24-31 ; 108, 11-20.

5 "अरण्यादिमहादावैरिदस्युभयेषु च।
त्वां स्मरिष्यन्ति ये मर्त्या मोक्ष्यन्ते ते महाभयात्॥
चेमं बुद्धिं सुखं राज्यमारोग्यं कीर्त्तिमुन्नतिम्।
नराणां परितुष्टस्त्वं पूजितः संप्रदास्यसि॥"
Mārkaṇḍeya P., chap. 108, vs. 22-23.

Tithitattva cites a verse from the Kalpataru, stated to be quoted from the Brahma Purāṇa, which refers to the worship of Revanta on the Full-Moon day of Āśvina[1] and even now he is worshipped on that day before the worship of Lakṣmī. The Kālikā Purāṇa recommends his worship by kings at the gates according to the principles of Sūrya worship and gives the following description of his image :

सप्तमेऽह्नि तु रैम (व) न्तं पूजयेत्तोरणान्तरे ॥
सूर्य्यपुत्रं महाबाहुं द्विभुजं कवचोज्ज्वलम् ।
ज्वलन्तं शुक्लवस्त्रेण केशानुद्ग्रथ्य वाससा ॥
कशां वामकरे बिभद्दक्षिणं तु करं पुनः ।
सखड्गं न्यस्य वामायां सितसैन्धवसंस्थितम् ॥
एवंविधन्तु रैम (व)न्तं प्रतिमायां घटेऽपि वा ।
सूर्य्यपूजाविधानेन पूजयेत्तोरणान्तरे ॥

Kālikā P., ch. 85[2], vs. 46-49., Vaṅgavāsī ed., Cal., 1336 B.S.

Thus, according to the Kālikā Purāṇa the icon of Revanta should be placed on a white horse, with his hair fastened up by a cloth, wearing a coat of mail, holding a lash in the left hand and a sword in the right, also resting upon its (*i.e.* the horse's) back. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa states that Revanta was born, bearing sword, shield and armour, mounted on horse-back, furnished with arrows and quiver.[3]

A new variety of this image has recently been discovered by Babu Sriram Maitra near Ghatnagar in the district of Dinajpur and thanks to his exertions, it is now deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi. It is carved in black basalt, measuring 1-8½″ × 9″, and is now in two fragments. The sculpture represents a male figure

1 'पूज्यः सार्व्वैश्च रेवन्तो यथाविभवविस्तरैः ।'—Tithitattva, Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta, 1313 B. S., p. 690.

2 Chap. 88 in Bombay edition.

3 "रैतसोऽन्ते च रेवन्तः खड्गी चर्म्मी तनुत्रधृक् ।
अश्वारूढः समुद्गूलो वाणतूणसमन्वितः ॥"

Chap. 78. v. 24.

In verse 11, chapter 108, a bow is added in place of the shield

in profile, mounted on a caparisoned horse with his feet in the stirrups. He has the reins in his left hand, while the right hand holds the lash. His hair is tucked up behind the head, on which is a crown in three tiers, and he also wears necklace, sacred thread, ear-rings etc. He is draped in a close-fitting costume with a scarf coiled round his arms and his legs are covered with high boots, as is found in the Sūrya images of North India. A broad-headed sword hangs on his right. Over his head is a high umbrella held by an attendant from behind, which thus indicates his royal rank. In front of the deity stands apparently a robber seizing the horse by the head and flourishing a dagger before his eyes. Behind him is a tree with over-spreading foliage and on it is seen a human figure with a dagger in hand. On the other side of the slab is represented a house with an arched entrance and within are two figures, one of a female and the other probably of a male. In the lowest portion is a woman cutting a fish with a fish-knife (*bantī*) and behind her is a man with a sword and shield approaching as if to lay hands on her. In the base are also the figures of a kneeling devotee and a woman standing in the *tribhaṅga* pose with an uncertain object in hand. On the top is a lotus with pendent festoons, but the usual flying figures to right and left are absent.

Thus, the central figure in the composition closely conforms to the description of Revanta in the Kālikā Purāṇa as quoted above, but the surrounding scene differs from the Bihar images, which seem to follow the Bṛhatsaṃhitā and is of interest as illustrating in stone the function of the deity who, according to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, looks over the safety of his worshippers from the dangers of thieves and robbers that pester the human life.[1]

As this image exhibits a similar attitude to that of Kalkin, who is described in the Purāṇas as riding a horse and

destroying robbers, evil-doers and mlecchas with a sword,[1] it may be argued that it is one of the same incarnation of Viṣṇu. In sculpture Kalkin is known to us from his representations in the *Daśāvatāra* slabs[2] and there he is figured on horse-back with two uplifted hands, holding a sword and a shield. Precisely the same description of the *Avatāra* is found in a verse of the Viṣṇudharmottara,[3] quoted below :

"खड्गोद्यतकरः क्रुद्धो हयारूढो महाबलः ।
म्लेच्छोच्छेदकरः कल्की द्विभुजः परिकीर्त्तितः ॥"

The Rūpamaṇḍana also gives a similar description.[4] It is noteworthy, too, that images of the other *Avatāras* in those slabs are of the same types as in individual representations and apparently there is no reason why it should not be so in the case of this incarnation too. Other descriptions of Kalkī icons[5] are given in the Agni Purāṇa and the Vaikhānasāgama, but as they accord in no way with the subject of the present note, it is needless to discuss them. It follows thus that neither the known representations of Kalkin in Bengal art nor his descriptions in iconographic texts agree with the image under notice ; and as the main figure, besides tallying with the description of Revanta in the Kālikā Purāṇa has much in common with that of the Indian Museum sculptures referred to above, its ascription to a different category is out of the question.

NIRAD BANDHU SANYAL

1 Bhāgavata P., 12. 2. 18-20; Devī Bhāgavatam, 9. 8. 54-55 ; Viṣṇu P., iii. 2. 57 ; Agni P., 4. 8.

2 Daśāvatāra slab, Varendra Research Society's Museum, No.495 ; Handbook to the sculptures in the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, M. M. Ganguly, pl. xxvii.

3 T. A. Gopinath Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, vol. I, pt. II, App. c. p. 49.

4 Ibid., vol. I, pt. II, App. c. p. 49.

5 Ibid., vol. I, pt. II, App. c, p. 49.

Jaina References in the Dhammapada

The 'Dhammapada' is the most popular book of the Buddhists and the non-Buddhists. It is believed to be an ancient work and a collection of the sayings of Gautama.[1] (e.g. verses 97 ; 153-154 ; 353 etc). Whether, however, the verses in this work attributed to Buddha were his genuine and verbatim utterances (just as those others in the 'Gītā' attributed to Śrī Kṛṣṇa were his) is a question on which the orthodox and the non-orthodox people will perhaps never agree. Some of the verses which are found in the 'Dhammapada' are also found in the 'Mahābhārata'[2] as well as the 'Manu-smṛti,'[3] not to speak of the Buddhist works themselves, such as the 'Thera-gāthā' and 'Theri-gāthā' ; but as it is not our purpose to discuss here whether the 'Dhammapada' was the borrower, or *vice versa*, we pass on to the matter in hand.

The 7th 'vagga' (or section) of the 'Dhammapada' is called the 'Arahanta-vagga' i.e. the section dealing with the (perfected beings called) Arahats, and to me it seems that every verse in this section is pregnant with an overt or covert reference to those ideal beings of the Jains, who are called Arhats or Jīnas or Tīrthaṅkaras by them.

At the outset it must be remembered that Jainism came into being earlier than Buddhism, and as according to the accepted chronology, Mahāvīra was an older contemporary of Gautama, it stands to reason that the religion propagated

1 *The Buddha's Way of Virtue*, p. 9. (Wisdom of the East series).

2 Cf. Dh. v. 9 with Mbh. XII. 568 ; Dh. v. 44 with the verse in '*Śānti-parva* ; Dh. vs. 131, 132 with Mbh. xiii. 5568 ; Dh. v. 223 with Mbh. XII 3550, etc.

3 Cf. Dh. v. 109 with Ms. II. 121 ; Dh. vs. 131-132 with Ms. v. 45 etc.

by the former preceded the other promulgated by the latter. But Jainism was already in existence, and perhaps in a nascent condition, long before the time of Mahāvīra, who seems to have been responsible for giving it the distinct and separate entity as a religion, it has ever since had; for Pārśvanātha (circa 8th century B. C.), his immediate forerunner, was the real founder of Jainism, which was effected by him perhaps more as a reformation of the then existing forms of the religious and philosophical systems of the Vedic Brahmanism than as quite a different religion. However it be, the tenets of the Jaina religion and philosophy, no less than the traditions of its hagiology were already in the air by the time Buddha commenced his ministration, and without doubt, therefore, he was not only quite conversant with the same, but must have also come into contact with persons of the Jaina persuasion, if not with Mahāvīra himself. A magnanimous and all-receptive nature like that of Buddha could not but have regard for everything that is essentially good and beautiful whether it is found in his own or any other religion; for the several verses at the end of the 'Dhammapada' forming its last section, the 'Brāhmaṇa vagga' strikes us with their genuine fervour, and when we remember that it was the religion of the Brāhmaṇas, which at first perhaps he tried to reform in his own light, and failing, had to secede from, his commendation of the ideal Brāhmaṇa seems to be twice blest. In one word, the great teacher held his ideal Brāhmaṇa in great esteem, as is clearly evident from the 422nd verse[1] of the 'Dhammapada'. In like manner the 7th section shows in what high regard he held the Jaina ideal also.

1 उसभं पवरं वीरं महेसिं विजिताविनं।
अनेजं नहातकं बुद्धं तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणं॥

'The leader supreme, the heroic, the great Ṛṣi, the victor without lust and purified, the Buddha—him I call a Brāhmaṇa.' (It will be seen that the Buddha himself is identified here with the ideal Brāhmaṇa).

The word 'Arhat' (अर्हत्), a variant of the original word 'Argha' (अर्घ) meaning 'value' (metaphorically 'worth', 'honour' etc.), occurs in the Ṛgveda, where it means 'worthy, exalted, venerable etc.'[1] Thus even in the Vedic times, the word denoted a high ideal worth striving for. Perhaps when Jainism found its ideal super-man in Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra (and their predecessors), it borrowed this Vedic word, because it was found to contain the exact expression of the ideal, and applied it to those super-men. Thus 'Arhat' is one of the names of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, the name par excellence by which their worshippers invoke them, and as such it is the highest ideal of personality, whether divine or human perfected into the divine, in the Jaina religion. In enumerating the names of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, the Jaina lexicographer Hemacandra (12th century A.C.) begins the said list with the name Arhat as follows—

अर्हञ्जिनः पारगतस्त्रिकालविच्छीणाष्टकर्मा परमेष्ठ्याधीश्वरः ।
शंभुः स्वयंभूर्भगवान्सुगत्प्रभुस्तीर्थंकरस्तीर्थंकरो जिनेश्वरः ॥[2] etc.

Having thus enumerated the names of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras, he also enumerates in the next chapter of his lexicon those of Buddha,[3] among which, however, the name 'Arhat' is conspicuous by its absence, in spite of the fact that this latter list is much longer than the other. Nor does this name 'Arhat' appear among the names of Buddha enumerated by the Buddhist lexicographer of a much earlier date, Amarasiṃha, (circa 6th century A. C.) in his lexicon the Amarakośa[4]. But

1 Ṛg-veda, II. 3. 1 ; II. 3. 3 ; II. 33. 10 ; VII. 18 ; X. 22 ; 2. 2 ; X. 99. 7. The Avestan form of the verbal root √अर्ह् is *arej*=to be worth ; to become worthy ; to be considered respectable, etc., and that of the Skt. form *Arhat* is *arejaṅh*=value, honour, etc. (see K. E. Kanga's Avesta Dictionary) ; so this is a very ancient Indo-Iranian word.

2 Hemacandra's *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* (I. 24, 25).

3 Ibid., II. 232-237.

4 I. 13-15.

both Amarasiṁha and Hemacandra give the name 'Jina'[1] as one of the names of Buddha. Now the two names 'Jaināḥ' (जैनाः) and 'Ārhatāḥ' (आर्हताः)[2] are those by which the community of the Jainas has generally been known and a glance at these names enables us to make out that the same are derived respectively from the words *Jina* and *Arhat* which, by the way, are the names whereby the community has ever since been addressing and invoking its Godhead, though the meaning of each of these two words (*Arhat* and *Jina*) is so transparent that it need not be told that either of them signifies a super-man, and as such can be readily applied to the ideal man, whether of the Jainas or the Buddhists. It may be said without reserve, that both these terms must have been borrowed by the Buddhists from the Jainas.[3] No doubt this word Arahat is found in the very common Buddhist formula, which invariably occurs as the headline of the Buddhist works—'नमो तस्स भगवतो अरहतो सम्मासंबुद्धस्स', much in the way of the formula 'श्री गणेशाय नमः' of the Hindus, or 'नम अरिहंताणं' of the Jainas ; but in this Buddhistic formula, the word '*Arhat*' (or '*Arahato*'—its genitive singular) seems to have been used more or less as an epithet, i. e., with an adjectival force, meaning 'venerable or saintly', just as its preceding word '*Bhagavato*' is a similar epithet meaning 'holy or blessed', and so it cannot be said to have the value of a substantive, as

1 *Amarakośa* (I. 13) ; Hemacandra (II. 232).

2 'स्याद्वादवाद्यार्हतः स्याच्छून्यवादी तु सौगतः।' Hemacandra, III. 861. Also 'प्रतिपन्नदुःखक्षपण.....दक्षाश्च भवन्ति सौगताः।...सकलजनोपकारसज्जा सज्जनता जैनी॥' '*Harṣa-carita*,' ch. VIII—circa 7th century A. C.

3 Similarly the name '*Vināyaka*' (विनायक), given as one of the names of Buddha both by Amarasiṁha (I. 14), and Hemacandra (II. 234), seems clearly to have been borrowed from Brāhmaṇism ; but the same cannot be said of '*Mārajit*' (मारजित्), another name of Buddha (Amarakośa, I. 13 ; Hemacandra, II. 235), which also is a well-known name of Siva, as in either case the name is founded on the tradition of the conquest of '*Māra*' effected by Buddha as well as by Śiva.

it clearly has in the Jaina formula 'नमो अरिहंताणं'. We meet with the same adjectival use of the word '*Arahat*' in the 164th verse of the 'Dhammapada'—

यो सासनं अरहतं अरियानं धम्मजीविनं।

The Commentator of the '*Dhammapada*' Ācārya Buddhaghoṣa has rightly taken the word '*arahataṃ*' here as an adjective qualifying the noun '*Sāsanaṃ*'[1], wherefore this line would mean (and correctly mean)—'The venerable rule of the noble (or Aryans) and the virtuous'; similarly this word occurs as the latter component of many a compound word, as '*pūjāraha*', '*mahāraha*' &c where also it has the adjectival sense 'worthy of.'

Now, what does an '*Arahat*' mean according to the Buddhistic conception? The '*Khuddakapāṭha*'[2] lays down the following definition of an *Arahat*—'दसहंगेहि समन्नागतो अरहा ति वुच्चति' (='he who is endowed with the ten attributes is called an *Arahat*'): thus the Arahatship had a settled, and no doubt a very exalted, place in the ascent of man according to Buddhism, and seems to have been but a step beneath the culminant, Buddhahood.[3] In commenting on the word '*jutīmanto*' (जुतीमन्तो), occuring in the 89th verse of the '*Dhammapada*', Buddhaghoṣa explains the word '*juti*' (=Skt. द्युति splendour) as 'अरहत्तमग्गञाणजुति' i.e. 'the light of the knowledge of the way of the Arahats,' or in other words, 'the light obtained from the vision of (having found out or attained) the knowledge of Arahatship', or in the simplest words, 'the

1 But the English translators of the *Dhammapada*, 'Sacred Books of the East' series, vol. X) as well as in the *Buddha's Way of Virtue* ('Wisdom of the East' series) have taken it for a noun, on what authority it is not clear.

2 Andersen's 'Pali Reader' (p. 82. l. 14).

3 '*Itivuttaka*' (इतिवुत्तक) thus defines the Buddhahood—

यस्स रागो च दोसो च अविज्जा च विराजिता।
तं भावितत्तञत्तारं ब्रह्मभूतं तथागतं।
बुद्धं वेरभयातीतं आहु, सब्बप्पहायिनं॥

realisation of Arahatship'. Thus from this comment of the Ācārya also, we see how close Arahatship was to Buddhahood. Even in the Buddhistic Formula (quoted above), it is easy, I believe, to discern that the *Arahat* was a higher being and the *Buddha* (or the '*Sammā-Saṃbuddha*') was the next above and higher than the *Arahat* and the highest of all. Anderson has defined an *Arahat* as one who has reached the highest stage of sanctification from which he can enter *Nirvāṇa*',[1] and he is also described as 'one who through obedience to the preaching of Buddha, has reached that calm state when the will no longer struggles, but is unified and at rest.'[2] Yet in the '*Yasapabbajjā*',[3] we find that Gautama himself was one of the seven Arahats then living, the six others being the '*Pañcavaggiyā Bhikkhū* (viz. Kondañña, Vappa, Bhaddiya, Mahānāma and Assaji) and Yasa. It is certain that of these seven none else than Buddha himself attained to the Buddhahood; it is true, therefore, the six others reached only the Arahatship—wherefore again the Arahatship, according to the Buddhistic conception, was lesser than the Buddhahood and if, however, we find Buddha's name included among those of the first seven *Arahats*, it has perhaps a strict reference to that stage in his ascent just prior to his enlightenment as the Buddha. Anyhow, once Buddha was an Arahat. It is possible that it became one of his names, as it were, for the posterity; but the fact that according to the Buddhistic conception, Arahatship was never on a level with the Buddhahood, but always a step beneath it, should not be lost sight of. It is a psychological fact. For no religion would ever concede that its own highest ideal could even in the least degree be inferior, or even equal to the highest of any other religion, but would always maintain that it is the superior; and the highest concession that a

1 Andersen's 'Pali Reader', 'Glossary', p. 33.
2 'Buddha's Way of Virtue', p. 103.
3 Andersen's 'Pali Reader', p. 70, 'तेन खो पन समयेन सत्त लोके अरहन्त."

religion could make to the highest ideal of any other, is to give it the next best place beneath its own ideal, when it cannot resist its beauty and goodness and has therefore to assimilate it into its own system.[1] Thus Arahatship seems more and more to have been a borrowed ideal in Buddhism, and as such, it is beyond all doubt that it was borrowed from Jainism.

Now in the light of the foregoing remarks, let us examine the section '*Arahanta-vagga*' verse by verse :—

(1) Verse 90—'गतच्छि' (*gatacchi*): Buddhaghoṣha explains this as 'गतमग्ग' (*gata-magga*) 'one who has gone (his) way' i.e. 'one who has finished his journey.' Compare with this the word 'पारगत' (*pāragata*) occurring in Hemacandra's verse quoted above as one of the names of '*Arhat*' or '*Jina*' of the Jainas, and meaning 'one who has gone over to the other bank.' Though the metaphors may be different, the idea implied in both these words is quite the same.

'सब्बगन्थप्पहीन'='One who has thrown off all fetters', with which compare 'निग्गन्थ' (*niggantha*). The Jains, or to be more accurate the Jain monks, were called '*Niggantha*-(or *Nigaṇṭha*-) *Samaṇas*' in Buddha's time[2] or even before, and they have also been mentioned as such in Asoka's Pillar Edict VII.[3] This word also occurs in Hemacandra's lexicon in its Skt. form 'निर्ग्रन्थ' (*nirgrantha*) meaning 'a Jain ascetic' (I 76.).

(2) Verse 91—'न निकेते रमन्ति ते'='They stay not in their abode.' This is perfectly true of the Jaina '*Tīrthaṅkaras*',

1 This need not amaze the reader, for the fact is no less psychological than it is universal in its truth and applicability, and we see it amply illustrated by the change of tone, nowadays, among the Christian missionaries in their writings on the different religions of India.

2 Vide Mr. Kamta Prasad Jain's 'Jaina references in the Buddhist Literature' ('Indian Historical Quarterly', vol. II, p. 699), and the quotation given in the same on p. 704 from '*Sāmaññaphala Sutta*'.

3 Vide Prof. D. R. Bhandakar's '*Asoka*' (p. 170), and Dr. Vincent Smith's '*Asoka*' (ed. 1902—p. 193).

no less than of their anchorites : it is also true of Buddha himself. Also compare the Jaina text[1]—

अभवच्चित्तविक्षेप एकान्ते तत्त्वसंस्थितिः ।
अभ्यसेदभियोगेन योगी तत्त्वं निजात्मनः ॥

Leaving the home, and dwelling in solitude are emphasised as the indispensable duties of a Jaina ascetic.

(3) Verses 92-93.—'परिज्ञातभोजन'[2] ='One who is carefully observant of (his) food' (from परि+√ज्ञा=to observe carefully, to ascertain carefully); and 'आहारे अनिश्रित'=[3] 'not dependent upon (his) food.'* These remarks about the food are best applicable to the Jainas, especially to the monks, for no others are more scrupulous (nay, even meticulous) than they as regards the food they have to take, nor less dependent on it, whether as regards its details or times of taking it. The mere existence of so many *'vratas'*[4] or cremonies, which they have to observe in and out of season, and in which they have to fast *in toto* or in part, supports my contention ; but I cannot do better than refer my readers to (pp. 702-704 of) Mr. K. P. Jain's article already referred to, where all the peculiarities of the Jaina ascetics as regards their food, or times and ways of taking it etc. are related in detail.

1 Pūjyapāda's *'Iṣṭopadeśa'* quoted in Mr. K. P. Jain's above named article,—'He in whose mind no disturbances occur, and who is established in the knowledge of the self, such an ascetic should engage himself diligently in the contemplation of his soul, *in a lonely place.*'

2 Neither of these expressions means 'moderate in food,' to express which idea, however, the *'Dhammapada'* itself has 'भोजनम्हि मत्तञ्ञु' (verse 8), 'मत्तञ्ञुता भत्तस्मिं' (verse 185) etc.

3 This assertion well coincides with the belief of the Digambara Jainas that a Jain ascetic reaching Arahatship requires no food. Hence he is not dependent upon his food.

4 Buddha would not countenance any *'Vratas'* which, therefore, seem to be derided in verse 70 *Dhammapada.*

'विमोक्ख' (Vimokkha)—The Commentator Buddhaghoṣa says that this is another term for 'Nirvāṇa.' '*Mokṣa*' or '*Vimokṣa*' is preferentially the Jaina denomination betokening the effulgent or extinctive consummation, quite as much as the other term 'Nirvāṇa' denotes the identical condition according to Buddhism.

(4) Verses 94 and 95—The last word 'तादिनो'[1] (gen. sing. of तादि = such, like that, or like him) occurring in the 94th verse, and the penultimate word 'तादि' occurring in the first half of the 95th verse seem to have escaped the notice of the various editors as well as the translators of the '*Dhammapada*,' for all of them have left out these words neither explaining nor translating them; but I believe both these words are quite significant. In verse 94, where there is already the word तस्स (in the last line), which is undoubtedly the correlative of word यस्स (in the first line), there would be no need whatever to use the word तादिनो once again, if this word (तादिनो) had not been used in some distinctive sense, and thus I take the line to mean 'even the gods envy him, (who is) *like him*.' Similarly the word तादि in the first half of the 95th verse, meaning 'like him,' refers to the word सुव्वतो following it, and thus I take that half of the verse to mean 'one who is tolerant like the earth (or) like the pillar (=इन्दखील),[2] (and) virtuous *like him*.' Now the pronominal adjective तादि is, as Anderson says,[3] 'often frequently said of Buddha's holy disciples ('like him') and even of Buddha himself.' I therefore very strongly believe that in both these instances (as also in the next verse 96), this word clearly seems to have been used with a significance to mean that the '*Arahat*,' of whom each verse in this section speaks,

1 The genitive case is used here as the word is governed by the verb 'पिहयन्ति'.

2 Would it not be better to take इन्दखील as the name of the mountain '*Indra-kīla*' (इन्द्रकील)?

3 Vide 'Glossary to the Pali Reader', p. 111.

is *'like him'* i.e. like Buddha, but not the Buddha himself, whence the psychological inference is not far off that the Arahat ideal was adopted into Buddhism, and adapted to suit its own system.

(5) Verse 97—This is rather a very difficult verse. Its superficial meaning is quite the reverse of the inner one.[1] It is one of those curious enigmas, which occur in Buddha's teaching. As it is, it means—'The best of men is the faithless, the ungrateful, the rebel (lit. 'hole-borer' or 'breach-maker'), who has given up all hope,' and when interpreted aright it means—'He is the best of men, who is free from credulity, who knows the uncreated (Nirvāṇa), has cut off all bonds, has done away with the (possible) occurrences (of re-birth), (and) has renounced desires.'[2] It appears that this verse was uttered by Buddha to some 30 recluses, who accused Sāriputta of the faults brought out in the literal translation (given above) of this verse because he requested his master not to preach to him but to them, as he (Sāriputta) had already known the truth by experience, whereas the others needed it on authority and therefore wanted it to be preached to them. This verse, which was Buddha's reply to that complaint, expresses with great skill the two ways in which he and the recluses looked upon Sāriputta's sturdy confidence. But to me, however, it seems that some of the recluses must have complained to Buddha *not* against Sāriputta, *but* possibly against the Jaina teachings, which they had heard preached here and there about them (or even against Mahāvīra himself, who was perhaps living at that time and preaching his religion not very far off), and which must have naturally savoured of heterodoxy to their parochial and uncompromising zeal, when Buddha perhaps uttered this verse in reply. I believe that

1 Vide 'Buddha's Way of Virtue' (pp. 90-91), and Prof. Dharmananda Kosambi's Gujrati ed. of the *Dhammapada* (p. 134).

2 'Buddha's Way of Virtue', p. 90.

the master resorted to irony in order to present the case in both its aspects as looked on by himself and by those recluses. Or, such ironies of diction[1] (*Divya dhvani*), as Mr. K. P. Jain says in his aforesaid article (p. 705), are common in the discourses of the *Tīrthaṅkara*. Could therefore an echo of them in this particular section (i. e. '*Arahanta-vagga*') be the infallible effect of the law of the association of ideas? It may be further added that the word सन्निच्छेद = 'one who has cut off his bonds is just the same as 'सव्वगन्थप्पहीन' already explained.

(6) Verse 99—'वीतराग'. This is another very common, popular and well-known name of the Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras*. It occurs in the list of their names enumerated by Hemacandra whereas neither he nor the *Buddhist* Amarasiṃha gives it among the names of Buddha, though no doubt it is equally applicable to him also. The head line 'श्री वीतरागाय नमः' is quite a commonplace of the Jaina literature, religious as well as secular, nay even of their everyday correspondence, while it is scarce (or very rare) in that of the Buddhists. I take it as a direct and open allusion to the highest Jaina ideal fraught at once with appreciation and admiration; and I believe that its use here leads us to the definite conclusion that by that time the Jaina ideal had already been adopted and assimilated into the Buddhistic system.

Another verse of the '*Dhammapada*', though not belonging to the 7th section, also calls for attention; and though it has already been once quoted (vide footnote 4), I shall give it here once again—

उसभं पवरं वीरं महेसिं विजिताविनं।
अनेजं नहातकं बुद्धं तमहं ब्रूमि ब्राह्मणं॥

The words उसभ[2] and वीर occurring in this verse seem to

1 Such irony of diction common in Indian religious and secular literature and the rhetorical term for it is 'Virodhābhāsa'

2 'उसभ' (*Usabha*) is the *Pāli-Prākṛt* form of the Skt. ऋषभ (*Ṛṣabha*).

me very significant. The commentator Buddhaghoṣa, however, explains 'उसभं' as 'अच्छिन्नगमनेन उसभसदिसताय उसभं' (i.e. 'a bull, being like a bull on account of the unarrested activity'—of course, spritual activity), and वीरं as 'विरियसम्पत्तिया वीरं' (i.e. 'a hero possessed of power or strength'—spiritual power or strength). These words, it must be said, occur not seldom in the Buddhistic writings, nor are they in less frequent evidence in the Brāhmaṇical writings from the Vedas downwards[1] and as such they seem to be the common property as much of the Brāhmaṇical thought and usage as of the eclectic Buddhism. Yet I cannot help perceiving in these words the personal names *Ṛṣabha* (ऋषभ) and *Vīra* (वीर), which the two Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras*, the first and the last respectively bore. To me it is clear that the *Tīrthaṅkaras* or the ideal personages of Jainism, viz. *Ṛṣhabha Deva* (also known as *Adīnātha*) and *Mahāvīra*[2] (also known as *Vardhamāna*) are mentioned in this verse by their very personal names, who are also said to be respectively a 'महेसिं' (=skt. महर्षिं) 'great sage', and 'विजिताविनं' 'victorious, or a

(The Avestan word '*arshan*' means 'male; a man; a bull; brave; valiant' &c., and also the Avestan word '*Vīra*' means 'a man; a manly person; a hero' &c. So both these words are very ancient Indo-Iranian words. See K. E. Kanga's 'Avesta Dictionary').

1 The Vedic or Brāhmaṇic ring heard in these words is further emphasized and amplified by the two others occurring in the same verse, viz. महेसिं, (Skt. महर्षिं) and नहातकं (Skt. स्नातकं), the former of which bespeaks an ideal and the latter a necessary and actual stage in the Brāhmaṇa's life. It is also interesting to note that Buddha himself is called a नहातक though, no doubt, in the metaphorical sense of the word.

2 I take the word 'पवरं' (Skt. 'प्रवर') as an adjective qualifying the noun वीरं, and the two thus taken together mean 'महावीरं' for according to Buddhaghoṣa 'उत्तमट्ठेन पवरं' (i. e. the word 'पवरं' means 'उत्तमं' best, excellent, pre-eminent &c.), and therefore it is synonymous with 'महा' (great, excellent, &c.), and so I interpret 'पवरं वीरं' as महावीरं.

conqueror', and along with them is mentioned also the Buddha who is said to be 'वीतरेज' or 'free from lust or desires', and 'नहातक' or 'one who has washed away the sin',—and all of these are called the ideal Brāhmaṇas or the fulfilment of the Brāhmaṇa ideal, as laid down or defined by the Buddha. Or, in other words, the purport of this verse seems to be that the ideal Brāhmaṇa need not be looked for only within the pale of the Vedic religion (or Brāhmaṇism), inasmuch as the Jaina *Tīrthaṅkaras* (such as Ṛṣabhadeva and Mahāvīra,) as well as the Buddha himself are undoubtedly ideal Brāhmaṇas, and the said ideal is also amply fulfilled in them, inspite of the fact that none of these subscribed to the established faith of the Brāhmaṇas. According to Buddha it was neither the fact of the lineage, nor of caste (v. 393), nor of birth (v. 396), nor of the outward appearance with matted locks (vs. 393-394), or vestureof skins (v. 394) that decided the real Brāhmaṇa, but it was the one highest fact of one being 'सव्ववोसितवोसान (v. 423) i. e. 'perfect with all perfection',[1] whosoever he be, and whatsoever his lineage, caste, birth or external look; and if we remember that Buddha was a seceder from the religion of the Brāhmaṇas, it appears but natural and reasonable that, when he identified himself with the real and ideal Brāhmaṇa (as is quite apparent from this verse), he would also with an equal and sympathetic grace identify other great seceders from the same, like Ṛṣabha-deva and Mahāvīra, with the same ideal, especially because both his creed and theirs were offshoots alike of the same parental stock.

M. Govind Pai

1 As detailed in the 26th and last section (*Brāhmaṇa-Vagga*) of the '*Dhammapada*.'

The Development of Buddhist Art in South India

II

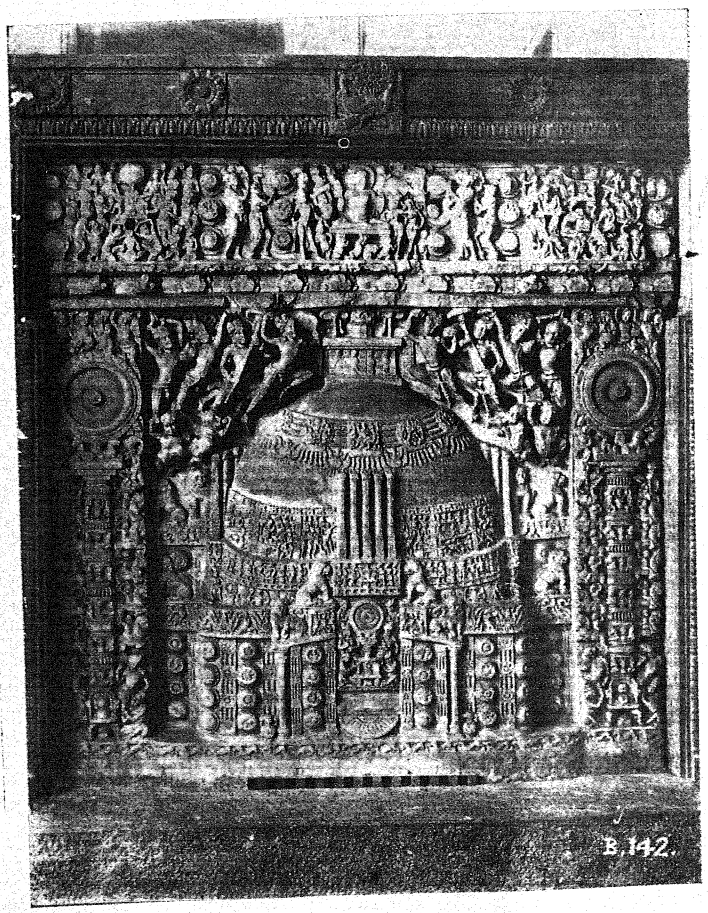
Amarāvatī

Ornamental Representation

The art of Amarāvatī is the expression of an age of experimentation in the ever changing history of evolutionary process. In ornamentation lies its life. The artist simply revelled to decorate every available space by the touch of his masterful chisel (Plate I). Some vestige of the earlier motifs and patterns may still persist at early Amarāvatī, but their very desultory appearance points to a struggling and precarious existence. Late Amarāvatī discards these surviving links almost completely on the one hand and conceives novel indigenous forms on the other, in response to new ideas and inspiration from abroad. These foreign contributions, she welcomed in a perfectly friendly spirit, absorbed them and welded the old and the new in a wonderful synthesis. The newly created designs were fully utilised and developed later on by the Gupta artists of Mathurā and Sārnāth.

Old and New Motifs.—The rail-pattern survives in some of the older sculptures, but the fanciful abstract ornaments of Bhārhut e.g. the lotus creeper growing forth Jack fruits and jwellery, are replaced by virile and realistic motifs. The spirit of the artist of the 2nd century B.C. undergoes a radical change four centuries later and he no longer associates whatever was dear, pleasant or beautiful to him, with the carvings executed. Likewise the pyramidal battlement design, which figured so prominently as a decorative device in the Bhārhut copings and in a lesser degree in the early Amarāvatī slabs, completely disappears in the later period. The Caitya window design, of distinct wooden or bamboo origin, as is clearly indicated in the facade of the Lomash Ṛṣi cave, Bihar, is as yet in its infancy. But the tendency of gradual

PLATE I



Casing slab, Amarāvatī Stūpa ; late 2nd century A. D.
Madras Museum

PLATE II



Relief Slab, Jagayyapeta Stūpa
Circa 1st century B. C.

contraction of the inner curve and the upward thurst of the projecting ends which subsequently resulted in the typical ornamental motif with fully developed side wings at Ajantā in the 5th century, is very significant, thus paving the way for its ultimate transformation into a purely ornamental scroll in the mediæval period. The slabs and medallions are generally bordered by strings of lotus leaves dangling from a rope, running scroll patterns often sprinkled with animals or rows of rosettes fringed with bead mouldings. The beads as usual play a prominent part in framing the reliefs and enhancing the beauty of minor devices. The diagonal mat-work band carved on the lion-pillars and as borders of medallions containing human heads in the earlier schools which also appear on early parasols from Mathurā and Kārli[1] is more frequently employed for framing purposes here than the simple meander or fret. But purely geometrical patterns with their angularities and abruptness occupy a secondary place in the sculptures of Amarāvatī. In both the periods, round and wavy lines in all their soft meandering grace predominate, a development which may be ascribed to the gradual absorption and assimilation of Hellenistic ideas and influences. Dr. Stella Kramrisch has pointed out that the Acanthus, which for the first time is introduced in India at Amarāvatī, ever afterwards continues to be a fovourite Indian ornamental motif and survives even to the present day in Ceylon. The magnificent central lotus blossoms in the rail pillars are generally embedded in extensive Acanthus leaves in the spandrels. Next to the lotus, the Acanthus plays the leading rôle in scroll design and the ingenuity of the artist in showing off the subtle play of light and shade by clever manipulation of the pliant leaves in all sorts of sinuous curls, within the loops, is simply marvellous. This dextrous use of the foliage was quickly adopted by the

1 Codrington—Ancient India, London, 1926. Vol. I, fig. 8.

Gupta artist, who with the help of the slanting cut, displayed to the fullest advantage, the abstract scrolls of charming variety and excellent pattern. We strongly presume that the abstract scrolls, which from the Gupta period commenced to make much headway until in Mediæval Orissa enveloped the shrines from top to bottom in luxuriant profusion, have their origin in these twisting creepers of singular beauty. The wonderful æsthetic insight and decorative taste of the Amarāvatī artist is also revealed in the way he has woven a pattern in stone by the unique and rythmical arrangement of a cluster of umbrellas around the Harmika in perfect harmony with the bulging dome of the stūpa.[1]

The Lotus—Unlike Sāñci, the majority of human figures is not associated with or overgrown with the lotus flower or other foliage, though the animals often fall a prey to their entwining caresses. A very striking feature to be noticed is that the favourite Tree and Woman motif of early Indian plastic art and the lovely and luscious dryads of Sāñci are scarcely found at Amarāvatī, if at all. The lotus petal is profusely and frequently employed as a means of decoration in keeping with the practice of the preceding and succeeding ages. The lotus device is dissolved into two principal elements viz.(1) the series of circular slab designs and(2) the various kinds of flower and bud which combined with the rambling stalk constitute the more vital and energetic pattern. The combination of twisting creepers and flowers with mobile animal figures and other rythmical creatures attract the attention of all lovers of beauty and form by its continuous

1 Coomaraswamy—History of Indian and Indonesian Art, London, 1927, plate 146.

"The peculiar arrangement of numerous umbrellas over the capital is also met with in cave III or that containing the inscription of Gautamiputra Sātakarni at Nāsik and in later examples here the appendages appear in great clusters like thick foliage"—Burgess, The Buddhist Stūpas of Amāravatī and Jagayyapeta, London, 1887, p. 93.

flow of harmonious growth. But in the spandrels of the pillars the lotus buds are stiffly cut and conventional, recalling the Egyptian flowers in their flat and incised reliefs. The peerless beauty of the full blown lotus rosettes is entirely due to their ever-changing variety, richness of carving and excellence of design. "These and much indeed of purely decorative sculpture on the Amarāvatī slabs is distinctly identical in kind with the painted decorative work on the ceilings of the Ajanta caves, which is so rich and varied."[1] The division of a succession of concentric fillets into delicate little petals along with the beautiful calyx in the centre—all carved in very bold and high reliefs, is responsible for the impression of decorative grandeur.[2] But the older method of inserting human heads within the lotus discs, so much in vogue at Bhārhut and Bodh Gayā, falls entirely into disuse. The age of mental abstraction and imaginative effort, typified at Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā and to some extent at Sāñci even, glides imperceptively into a period of realism and direct observation, of which Amarāvatī is the first fruit.

Roll Ornament.—The frieze or coping stone of the Amarāvati rail is embellished with what is popularly called the roll-ornament. Scholars—both occidental and oriental—are agreed in declaring it to be one of the favourite motifs imported from Gāndhāra and gradualy assimilated by the Indian

1 Burgess—The Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jagayyapeta. p. 40.

2 "In the first of these the central lotus blossoms have triple and quadruple circles of petals surrounded by a floral scroll which is directly descended from Bhārhut and Sāñci, but is infinitely finer. At Bhārhut and Sāñci, one acknowledges the presence of an excellent plastic sense and a fine imaginative tradition, but here there is a sense of physical conflict, as if with new and intractable material. Here hand and eyes keep pace with one another and the acquisition of ease brings no loss of dignity or restraint." Codrington—Ancient India, Vol. I, p. 35.

artists.[1] But the close analogy between this pattern cropping up at Amarāvatī and other places in a post-Hellenistic era and the rambling lotus stalk of the Bhārhut coping stones in a highly magnified and developed form, is in our humble opinion also not far fetched. In the original Hellenistic examples amoretti or little cupids are "represnted on string courses, plinths or friezes as boyish figures carrying garlands, climbing, wrestling or performing on (Indian ?) musical instruments. In the intervening portions the old lotus flowers are again introduced, or the intervals are filled in with symbols, animals or birds."[2] The substitution of rushing women in the place of the Greek cupids in some of the Mathurā "Āyāgapatas" marks the initial step in the ultimate Indianisation of the ornament. At early Amarāvatī fat little Gaṇas and mythical creatures are found to carry the garland, the intervals being occupied by half lotus rosettes. Late Amarāvatī initiates further developments which alters the original character of this motive almost beyond recognition.[3] The garland assumes a swelling and writhing shape, richly decorated with bands of rope and beads, rosettes etc., like the sinuous body of a huge rolling serpent. The little amoretti of Gāndhāra develop into grown-up men and women advancing with rapid but graceful steps (Plate I). The symbols losing their original significance fill up the gaps as mere decorative devices while a variety of scenes are depicted in small

1 "The decorative motif of garland bearing Erotes, already Indianised at Mathurā, and much more so by the time it reaches Amarāvati, is likewise, of Gāndhāra origin." (p. 62). "The coping bore a long wavy floral scroll, carried by men who are really Indianised analogues of the garland bearing Erotes of Gāndhāra, which found their way into India via Mathurā." (p. 70). Coomaraswamy—History of Indian and Indonesian Art.

2 Grunwedel—Buddhist Art in India, London, 1901, translated into English by Agnes Gibson and revised by James Burgess, p. 148.

3 Burgess—The Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jagayyapeta. pl. XX, No. 1.

medallions on the surface of the roll itself. The undulating curves of the flat thick set rolls of early Amarāvatī are broader and more sweeping and less abrupt than the later patterns. But both issue out of the mouths of gaping Makaras. Also the earlier motifs are not upheld by magnificent tall adults in remarkably light and jovial vein but by squatting dwarfs and other grotesque figures apparently heaving under the pressing burden of the weighty mass.[1]

Symbolical Representation

"In the omission of the figure of Buddha," remarks Dr. Coomaraswamy, "the early Buddhist art is truly Buddhist: for the rest it is an art about Buddhism rather than Buddhist art."[2] In the employment of the old symbols side by side with the Buddha images at Amarāvatī, the innate conservatism of the Indian artists, who were reluctant to forsake conventions hallowed by tradition even when they become absolutely superfluous, glaringly manifests itself (Plate I, upper frieze).

Lotus Vase—M. Foucher and others are of opinion that the birth of Buddha was symbolised in different ways and manners. At Sāñci the lotus springs out of the gold vase in spreading foliages but the vase is found to have grown considerably in dimension at Amarāvatī, occupying almost the entire surface of the panel, while flowers and buds are strewn over the remaining portion. But the most noteworthy fact is the total absence of the so-called Mahā-Māyā figure, either sitting or standing, and flanked by two elephants, from the Amarāvatī reliefs. Although this group constantly and repeatedly appeared at Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā, Sāñci and Khaṇḍagiri, its complete omission from Amarāvatī may weaken the theory of Foucher that it, instead of representing the "Gaja-Lakṣmī," signifies the nativity of the Blessed One.

1 Ibid., pl. XXIX., No. 1.

2 Coomaraswamy—The Dance of Śiva. London and New York. 1924. p. 48.

Thrones.—The raised altars of Bhārhut and Sāñci, of simple and severe design, develop into regular thrones and elaborately decorated chairs at Amarāvatī, with additional soft and round cushions which Mr. Fergusson mistook to be "Droṇas." The empty thrones by themselves are seldom objects of worship—they are invariably placed under the shade of the Bodhi tree, a wheel or a fiery pillar, thereby indicating the enthralling episodes of the history of Buddhism and its royal preacher (Plate I, upper frieze right and left panels). Often the sacred foot-prints, the relic casket, or a miniature dagoba is placed on the seat. But the adoration of the hair, dress or other ornaments of Buddha so frequent at Bhārhut and Bodh-Gayā can be rarely seen. A small foot-stool carved with foot-marks is always kept beneath the throne denoting the present absence of the Buddha. (Plate I, at the foot of the edges of the frame, right and left). A curious and perhaps hitherto unnoticed fact may be mentioned in this connection. All the European savants, led by Mr. Vincent Smith, have maintained with one voice, that squatting on the floor is the favourite and only posture known to the Indians; consequently, the appearance of the Buddha in the Ajantā and Nāsik caves, seated in the European fashion, betray the adoption of foriegn mannerism. But we venture to suggest that this particular way of representation is purely indigenous. Apart from the innumerable examples from the Amarāvatī slabs, princes and other dignitaries sitting on chairs, the peculiar position of the foot-marks on the foot-stool obviously prove that the invisible Buddha was made to sit in the so-called "European fashion," even from the days of Bhārhut, if not before, when canonical tradition stood in the way of portraying him in anthropomorphic form.

Dharmacakra.—This particular symbol occurs more frequently at Sāñci and Amarāvatī than at Bhārhut. Moreover the elaborate richness of the types found at the former localities is naturally absent at the latter, where a large

wheel is simply stuck to a short pillar with scarcely any ornamentation or accessory figures of animals, Gandharvas or dwarfs supporting or adorning it (Plate I). A comparison between the *cakras* of Bhārhut and Amarāvatī will at once establish their striking similarity, only the Triśūla of the latter, instead of pointing outwards from the felloe, has its points towards it.

Flaming Pillar.—The description of other favourite symbols recurring at Amarāvatī e.g., the sacred Bodhi tree, the Śrīpādas, caityas etc. can be safely omitted, because there is nothing particular about them nor do they embody any remarkable deviation. The fiery pillars surmounted by Triśūlas are generally represented behind a throne or a seat, marked with spiral round lines and with tapering slabs as their back grounds, carved with shooting flames which seem to issue from the sides of the pillars themselves. This peculiar symbol is a distinct invention and contribution of Amarāvatī to the amazing store of Buddhist symbolism. There is scarcely any trace of its existence in the earlier eras of Buddhist art. Mr. Burgess remarks in this connection: "The worship of the pillar surmounted by the Triśūla, a feature that is so unlike we know of in mythology, that were it not for the monks that seem to take so prominent part in this instance, and the frequent occurrence of this symbol, we might refuse to accept it as having had any connection with Buddhism and suppose that it was a representation of some cult prevalent among the Telugu tribes, before the advent of Buddhism among them. It is one of those obscure points to which as yet no allusion has been recognised in Buddhist literature." Mr. Fergusson is of opinion that this pillar was the counterpart of the Agni-liṅga of Śiva which we find represented in the Brahmanical writings and the cave temples.[1] "The appearance of the great fiery liṅga" accord-

1 Fergusson and Burgess—The Cave Temples of India, p. 437. Arch. Surv. of W. India Report, vol. V, p. 25.

ing to the Liṅga-Purāṇa "takes place in the interval of creation to separate Viṣṇu and Bramhā. Upon the liṅga the monosyllabic *oṁ* is visible."[1] Mr. Burgess apparently contradicts himself by assuming at another place that the Buddhist tried to represent the superiority of their theology, as this Agni-liṅga is the form in which according to Brāhmaṇa mythology, Śiva asserted his superiority to the other gods. We may conjecture that in all probability this symbol was inherited from the Vedic Fire-worshippers and typifies a truly Aryan practice.

Triśūla.—The Triśūla as it is found at Amarāvatī consists of the circular disc, generally ornamented with a lotus or rosette in the middle and a decorated border, the three protruding members of the crescent—the two side ones being divided into three tips at the end and sometimes considerable side wings. At Sāñci the medallion rests upon a series of slabs with bent legs, touching the circle at the bottom. Another difference to be noted lies in the middle prong of the upper part being stunted and mounted with the shield symbol. But it is rather in decoration than in spirit that the northern and southern prototypes essentially differ. Although the real significance of this particular symbol has not been satisfactorily explained, "the occurance of the shield, the Triśūla, Svastika etc., at the commencement and end of the earliest of the Junnār, Bhājā, Bedsā, Kudā, and Kārli cave inscriptions testifies to their ancient use as fortunate symbols. The later explanation of mystics and Paṇḍits are not necessarily of any authority."[2]

The Buddha Figure

Let us not enter into a discussion of the origin of the Buddha image as, we whole-heartedly subscribe to the views

1 Introduction to Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, p. lxviii; Fergusson—The Tree and Serpent Worship, London 1868, p. 208.

2 Burgess—The Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jagayyapeta, p. 47.

expressed by M. Golobew[1] and Dr. Coomaraswamy. "The only possible conclusion is that the Buddha figure, must have been produced simultaneously, probably in the middle of or near the beginning of the 1st century A.D. in Gandhāra and in Mathurā in response to a demand created by the internal development of Buddhism which was common ground in both areas, in each case by local craftsmen, working in the local tradition."[2] The Buddha images of Amarāvatī, though not as numerous as that of Gandhāra, far out-number in variety those of Mathurā. But Amarāvatī failed to create any type of Buddha like her northern and more fortunate contemporary. She only imitated the products of the Gandhāran School. The Hellenistic prototype might have penetrated into the eastern coast via Mathurā or it is quite probable that it was introduced from the North-western part of India to this region by the maritime route.

The sculptured reliefs seldom depict the Buddha solitary and contemplating. He is always found to be preaching or propounding moral and spiritual doctrines to the crowd of pious listeners or passionate devotees thronged around him. He is generally seated cross-legged on a raised platform and surrounded by a halo round the head, circular and unadorned but for the simple decoration of beads. The treatment of the hair or the uṣṇīṣa, which is not gathered up in a corbylos in keeping with the truly Hellenistic tradition, is rendered in the indigenous way, but the peculiar development of Mathurā in its absence of locks and conch-shell like Uṣṇīṣa (e.g. the Katrā and Aniwar specimens) did not find favour with the Amarāvatī artists. The hair is arranged in the right Indian fashion, with the curve of the spiralic locks from the right to the left, also the fringe of the hair on the brow is composed of double curves, in strict accordance with the covention set up by the so called Yakṣa figures on the

1 Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 1923, p. 452.
2 Coomaraswamy—Hist. of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 60.

Bodh-Gaya railing, and quite unlike the unbroken semi-circular sweep of Mathurā. The face is generally very heavy and square and the features too are neither sharp nor clear cut. The down cast droop of the eye-lids of the later Indian examples has not yet developed into a regular feature. The eyes are on the contrary, fully open with the gaze fixed on the tip of the nose. The fleshy lips are as a rule extended in an eternal smile. The flat broad chest do not offer any affinity to the special Mathurā modelling. The hand-poses are very simple and limited at Amarāvatī—they are confined only to the Dharmacakra and Abhaya Mudrās. Strangely enough, even in a relief which very probably represents the temptation scene, the right hand instead of pointing downwards in the usual Bhūmisparśa Mudrā, is uplifted as if addressing the decoying damsels of Māra.[1] The Dhyānī Mudrā is also conspicuous by its absence. While the right hand is always indicative of the particular pose, the left is either raised to hold up them of the garment or is allowded to rest on the lap. The shoulder is generally left bare, according to canonical injunctions, but sometimes the tunic covers both the shoulders, in imitation of the Hellenistic images. But the Gandhāra technique is most pronounced in the treatment of the heavy drapery, with clearly marked folds and a distinct volume of its own. The massive folds of the dress stand in the way of the contours of the body underneath being felt or visible, in opposing contrast to the rendering of the Katra type.

Most of the figures are short and stunted, and the influence of the Gandhāra style is manifested in the extremely soft and flabby fiesh. But the heavy and flat treatment of the voluminous mass is also reminiscent of the Kuśāna technique of the Mathurā School. The peculiar expression of the mouth, with the sensuous smile playing on lips; the wide open gaze of the eyes combined with the corpulent body, endows the

1 William Cohn—Indische Plastick, Berlin, 1923, pl. 17.

Buddha figure with an air of languidity and worldiness, conscious of the enervating charm of his voluptuous entourage. The calm composure of the Gandhāra images, the tense absorption of the Anurādhāpura type, and the transcendental bliss of the classical Sārnāth specimen, is singularly lacking in these examples. The Buddha figure of Amarāvatī cannot boast of any artistic or technical merit, they are simply decorative. It is strange indeed, that the artist of Amarāvatī who attained such maghificent height in the creation of ordinary human being, failed utterly in the sublime conception and delineation of his Master, with any amount of technical proficiency.

The treatment noticed above with regard to the reliefs; is also applicable to the standing marble statues in the round. They are not so short and stunted in appearance, but similar flatness and heaviness of composition is evident. The clumsy handling of the feet with swollen soles, lingered up till the heyday of the best Gupta tradition. The right shoulder is uncovered, the right hand is always in the Abahaya pose, while the left elbow is uplifted supporting the fringe of the drapery. The straight hanging stereotyped folds of the heavy costume, forms a sort of thick opaque wall before the body, completely obscuring it from the view. This particular device lends additional weight to the erect and stiff posture, which combined with the full and by no means slender feature, make the figures benign and severe in countenance. The standing types have the austere dignity of a stern aristocratic Roman Senator in his flowing Toga, in refreshing contrast to the unimpressive demeanour of the relief carvings.[1]

The bronze statuettes of the Buddha (standing) discovered recently by Mr. Alexander Rea, betray the same peculiarities

1 Arch. Survey, Annual Report, 1905-06, pl. LI.
Burgess—The Stupas of Amarāvatī and Jagayyapeta. Stūpas. pl. LII, 1 & 2.

noted above, only the limbs are more refined and delicate. The facial type is novel in some respects with its flat nose, heavy chin and tightly compressed thick lips. The heads, which are sometimes disproportionately larger than the rest of the body, dwarf the statuettes still more, like many of the Gandhāra prototypes. The solid, broad and cubical aspect of the marble statues is missing, and in most cases the drapery is rendered as transparent and without folds thus allowing a free play of light and shade on the gentle undulations of the graceful body, recalling to the mind the famous Sultanganj image. The hand poses too are of a larger variety. In Gandhāra, the Buddha is portrayed as a Guru or preceptor, at Mathurā he assumes the garb of a local Yogin, while Amarāvati transforms him into a preaching monk or a public orator.[1]

Foreign Influence

The marbles of Amarāvatī are of enormous importance for their own inherent attributes, but the significance is further enhanced by the fact that they represent the clash of two entirely different traditions—one exotic and imported, another local and indegenous and embody the inevitable synthesis of cordial and harmonious reciprocal actions. The question as to how the classical influence came to leave its indelible impress upon the products of so remote a region,

1 Archæological Survey Annual Report, 1908-09, pl. XXVIII.

In connection with the Buddha images of Amarāvatī and early Ceylon, Dr. Coomarswamy observes "To all those works we may fairly assign the honoured name of the primitives, since their massive forms and austere outlines are immediately determined by their moral grandeur of thesis and the suppressed emotion of its realization, without any intrusion of individuality and parade of skill. The fullness of the modelling expresses a high degree of vitality, but does not yet show conscious elegance and suavity of Gupta type." Dance of Śiva, p. 51.

is still undecided. It is quite probable, as it has been already hinted before, that it reached this spot overland via Mathurā; for Mathurā was the distributing centre of Hellenistic art and culture for India. On the other hand the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea and the Geography of Ptolemy, works which are almost comtemporary with the Stūpa of Amarāvatī, amply testify to the existence of a brisk maritime and commercial activity along the coasts of India in the opening centuries of the Christian era. Perhaps it will not be impertinent to infer, that some artists from Gandhāra trained in the foreign school took the ship at Barbaricum, at the mouth of the Indus, landed at one of the flourishing harbours of Kalinga and then proceeded inland to supplement the efforts of the local craftsmen, at the request of the local chiefs. In those days the western ports of India were in direct touch with the Roman world and it would be too natural to presume that fresh waves from the Empire of Trajan and Marcus Aurelias reached its ancient shores. No one can honestly deny the extraneous element in the art of Amarāvatī, but how far and in what way it succeeded in moulding the language and character of the plastic conception it remains to be determined. "The keynote of Mr. Vincent Smith's criticism appears to be that the Indian art, throughout the ages, draws its inspiration mainly from foreign sources. This note is first sounded in connection with the sculptures of Bhārhut and Sānchi ..... it is again struck when he comes to deal with the Amarāvatī school. Perhaps he has recognised the close relationship between the style of Sānchi and that of Amarāvatī, and having attributed the former to Alexandria has found himself compelled to seek a somewhat similar explanation for the latter."[1]

Certainly, now we are in a position to judge the theory of Mr. Smith in the light of above investigations. The assertion that the reliefs of Bhārhut and Sānchi are mainly

1 Banerjee—Hellenism in Ancient India, Calcutta, 1920, p. 65.

inspired by foreign models, although not of immediate concern, should be objected to in the face of their glaring indigenous character. But this robust optimism fails us, when we come to deal with Amarāvatī or one of the three schools of Mathurā, which betray strongly Hellenistic influence. At Amarāvatī the introduction and utilisation of some ornamental motifs (e.g. the Acanthus),[1] some fantastic animal forms, the realistic modelling of the human body to a certain extent and the Buddha prototype from Gandhāra, can be easily detected. But the few ornamental details are completely lost in the brilliant decorative luxuriance illuminating each and every stone. Again as already perceived, the roll-ornament has been so thorougly Indianised in character, that it is very difficult to trace the descent from its original progenitor. Modelling of the figures, though reminiscent of Hellenistic realism, is renderded distinctly Indian in its summary and generalised treatment. The graceful movements and the admirable poses, again, do not savour of any foreign contamination. Neither can anybody discover, by any amount of straining the working of any extraneous force in the surface treatment and other peculiar techniques, except certain items in the composition already noticed.[2] Though the origin of the Buddha type is still shrouded in

1 Fergusson is of opinion that the classical tendency is exhibited more than any details at Amarāvatī by the waterleaf, which is an ornament of the classical artists. He through a mistranslation of Hiuen-stang finds evidence of Hellenistic influence, which suggests a comparison of Amarāvatī with the palaces of Tāhiā (Bactria)—Hist. Ind. Arch. 1899, p. 103; Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 157.

2 "Two points are outstanding: the method of setting out incidents of the fable is of Mathurā-Gandhāra kind rather than Sānchi, and although the descent from the Early School is apparent, a new spirit is manifest which is akin to and is in fact the forerunner of the great works of the Gupta and Mediæval periods."—Codrington—Ancient India, vol, I, p. 36.

controversy, still it must be admitted that the Amarāvatī model is more akin to the Gandhāra type than the Mathurā one. But even these images are conspicuously Indianised in the coiffure, the facial features and often in the convention of dressing.

So the apparent hollowness of the contention of Mr. Smith becomes obvious, if we are ready to accept the truth of the above conclusions. That the art of Amarāvatī is predominently Indian in spirit and execution goes without saying. Nothing can be more reasonable than the just observations of Sir John Marshall, who says, "The reliefs of Amarāvatī indeed appear to be as truly Indian in style as those of Bhārhut and Ellora. They followed as a natural sequence on the Mauryan art, when that art was finding expression in more conventionalised forms. They have inherited certain motifs and types which filtered from the North-west but these elements have been completely absorbed and assimilated without materially influencing the indigenous character of the sculptures." Every people and every culture however confident of its own possibilities, must cultivate a receptive mentality in order to ensure its continued vitality. The Indians and their ancient civilization are still to be reckoned as a world force, while the Greeks and Romans, from whom they once borrowed and so freely, are long dead and gone and their achievements are a glorious chapter of the past.[1]

1 Even Mr. Grundwedel, whose leaning towards Gandhāra and West Asiatic art is well known, had been forced to admit that, "Notwithstanding, the Indian element preponderates: the foreign elements are overpowered by the Indian style and serve only here and there as means to an end ... . It may be said that the best reliefs of Amarāvatī are also the best Indian sculptures."—Buddhist Art in India, p. 157.

Dr. Banerjee in his "Hellenism in Ancient India" pp. 60-70 fully discusses the extent of foreign influence upon Indian art.

JAGAYYAPETA

Architecture and Sculpture

The remains of the Jagayyapeta stūpa are so scanty that it is none too easy task to place them in their proper perspective in the evolution of the Buddhist art in the South. However judging from the few materials at hand, they can be safely ascribed to the first century B.C. if not earlier.

The actual existence of the peculiar free standing stelae round the stūpa, which are represented in the slabs of Amarāvatī (Plate, I) was confirmed by the excavation at Jagayyapeta, where only the lower portions of them have beeen discovered. "The first impression regarding these pillars is that they formed one of those groups supporting a roof and forming a large hall of which we have several examples in Ceylon. That they did form a large Mandapa of some sort, there can be little doubt: a place of assembly for visitors to the stūpa."[1]

The other finds at the locality are the pilasters which closely resemble those of the Western caves and early Amarāvatī. The decoration of the vase and the bell at either end of the shaft is mainly confined to bands of lotus leaf and the bead and reel patterns, intersecting the narrow shallow flutes in the identical manner. But there is some remarkable deviation in proportion in general from the early types of Amarāvatī. The pot at the bottom is more bulging in shape and the so-called bell capital which assumes a pudding form with the curvature of the outline and the rim of the neck more emphasised in conformity with the examples in the Gautamiputra cave, Nāsik. But the series of inverted steps, intervening between the capital and animal superstructure, so characteristic of the Western Caves, are strangely missing. But the vital difference is recognised in the shafts, instead of

1 Burgess—The Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jagayyapeta, p. 108.

being merely plain or decorated with lotus rosettes, being often carved with figures of Yakṣas and Yakṣinīs in alto relievo following the practice obtaining at Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā, and Mathurā. As far as it can be discerned from photographic plates, the edges of the pilasters are not chamfered off in imitation of the above, but simply plain and without any rosette embellishments. Following the footsteps of Bhārhut, the figures are invariably placed on a Makara, a sea monster or other hybrid creatures. The leg-poses of the demi-gods have been strictly preserved without any alteration, but the Anjali Mudrā of the hands as well as the favourite association of the tree with the female figures are sadly missing. The statues lack the calm dignity of the Bhārhut figures and are wanting in proportion too. They are, as a rule, very short and stunted in appearance. The women possess slim waists, unduly exaggerated breasts and heavy faces set with large eyes, thick lips and small chins.

In sharp contrast to late Amarāvatī, all the women of the pilasters as well as of the relief slabs, are regularly clothed and a few of them hold the costume ends in their hands like the Mathurā Yakṣinīs. A striking similarity exists between the reliefs of Jagayyapeta, Bhārhut, and the paintings of cave X, Ajantā, in the arrangement of the drapery and the the ornaments e.g. the large ear-rings, broad necklaces and specially the enormous head-dresses. The clothing is far reduced in extension, and though meant to be transparent, is usually gathered up round the loins.

By virtue of the peculiar treatment and composition, the few slabs of Jagayyapeta at once form a unique and important class by themselves in the domain of Indian art (Plate II). The relief treatment is as economical and restrained as possible. The figures are very sparsely placed without any sort of mutual contact or overlapping; so that the impression of a crowd predominating at Amarāvatī, is entirely absent. A sense of ample space is sought to be created by the figures and objects, few and far between as they are. The flatness

of the surface is often relieved and atmospheric depth introduced by means of trees and architecture, though the proportion between the human figures and the buildings is by no means accurate. "The sculptures of Jagayyapeta," opines Dr. Stella Kramrisch, "resemble the paintings of cave IX, Ajantā, in their decorative flatness and unscientific illusionism."

The chief actor in the scene assumes tremendous exaggeration of form but almost all the figures, whether human or animal, are made to stand on cushions, a peculiar convention. The vigorous movement of the Amarāvatī sculptures and their emotional outburst is very successfully curbed here. The postures are all erect, straight and stiff like Bhārhut, and all the human beings are found to be standing. But the graceful slimness and slenderness of the Amarāvatī figures pales into insignificance beside that of Jagayyapeta. The figures are so intensely elongated and attenuated as to reach the breaking point. The absence of any indication of modelling proper makes the treatment appear almost absolutely linear, the angularity of which is emphasized by the lack of round and flowing curves, and further enhanced by the sharp and projecting outlines of the body as well as the scarfs. It is sure enough that these peculiarities are stamped with the genius of an artist different from the school of Amarāvatī. But there is one feature common to both viz. that, discarding the tradition of representing the faces in full frontal view, prevailing at the northern schools, they are rendered in three-quarters profile. Although some few sculptures of Bhājā, and the Jain Āyāgapatas of Mathurā may be said to approach to a large extent as regards the remarkable elongation of forms, still the extremely light and fragile bodies, the absolutely linear treatment, and the exceedingly flat reliefs of Jagayyapeta stand unrivalled in Indian plastic composition. They are amazingly Egyptian in spirit and conception.

Conclusion

So far we have been analysing and discovering the striking elements which presented before our vision and appealed to our senses. Now let us have a brief survey of our findings. We may venture to say that the free standing enigmatical columns round the dagoba both at Amarāvatī and Jagayyapeta, the total absence of the towering gateways and the system of terracing consitute the principal difference between the stūpas of the northern and southern India. No material divergence can be recognised regarding the architectonic motifs; the identical forms of pillars and pilasters invariably recur throughout the length and breadth of the land, testifying to the common bond in the realm of plastic art. The employment of identical symbolism, from the Himālayas in the north to the far off Ceylon in the extreme south, is an eloquent proof of this indissoluble connection. But in the wonderful display of the decorative instinct Amarāvatī surpasses her contemporaries as well as her predecessors, discarding old ornamental patterns and giving birth to beautiful new ones. This marvellous instinct is the peculiar heritage of the Indian soil, blossoming from the dawn of artistic endeavour and lingering up to the age of decadence. But it is to her eternal credit, that the delicate petals of Amarāvatī have rivalled the flowers of other ages and climes in elegant beauty and radiant bloom. She also proceeded to adjust ingeniously the arrangement of human costume in this decorative scheme; and the ornamentation of the apparel always associated with late Mediæval sculptures, ows its origin to Amarāvatī. But it is only when we come to deal with the technique and treatment that the excellent vision and remarkable individuality of the Amarāvatī artist fully unfold themselves. The geniune creative faculty of the artist is revealed in the novel sense of spacing, balance and equipoise of composition, the harmonious blending of colour, the intimate touch between the figures and the all-embracing

movement of the extremely supple and rythmical bodies, throbbing with intense emotion. Amarāvatī also did not shrink from accepting what the foreigners had to offer, but she expressed the ideas, thus enriched, in a language peculiarly her own.

The joyous note pervading the marbles of Amarāvatī is at once most significant and arresting. It is similarly struck at Mathurā, where every human face is lit up with a radiant smile, and every eye twinkles with the intoxication of pleasure. The same jovial spirit is reflected in the frolicsome mirth of the later Chinese ceramic wares. The fair damsels of Amarāvatī, again, like their northern contemporaries of Mathurā, anticipate the charming luscious nymphs of Bhubaneswar and Konarak in voluptuous beauty, alluring poses and inviting gracefulness. They are the sweetest productions of the artists' imagination. Indeed the sexual tinge, which heralded the dawn in the second century of the Christian era, coloured the whole atmosphere of the Mediæval schools of Orissa and Central India. The delightful dalliance of Amarāvatī and Mathurā, so closely resembling in wanton gaiety the canvases of Watteau and Fragonard, reached its natural climax in the amorous abandon of Konārak and Khajurāha.

The enrapturing episodes are delineated with the utmost dramatic force through the harmony of songs and cadence of dances. The very actors seem to spring out of the frames into the space in the abundance of youthful vigour. It is an epic in stone of youth and its overflowing exuberance. The scenes abound with touching sweetness and human appeals. The secular flavour openly manifests itself through the thin veneer of relegiosity. Indeed the hieratic character of the earlier schools is so astonishingly absent, that one may naturally question the truly Buddhistic mentality of the artist of Amarāvatī.

The ruins of Sankaram of Rāmatīrtham, in the Vizagapatam district of Madras, preserve types of architecture, which are rare in the other parts of India and probably belong-

ed to the period when Buddhism was waging its last battles against the rivals for its very existence on the southern soil ;[1] while the few slabs of Jagayyapeta constitute a separate class by themselves by their novelty and uniqueness.

To conclude: the development of Buddhist art went on in the south smoothly and without any hitch, on the lines chalked out by the north, with a slight modification here and there. When it ultimatly spent itself up in the continent, Ceylon which had probably started earliar took up the cue and continued the tradition for centuries to come. The charactristic tune of the south is sounded in her gushing spirit, and dynamic energy, typified in the heaving forms of the stūpas, in the rows of mysterious pillars cropping up from the ground, in the rolling and undulating curve of the parapets or moonstones and in the impetuous force of the throngs swayed by the urge of passionate desire. This marvellous sense of movement and the utmost refinement and delicacy of the elongated figures were inherited later by the remarkable sculptures of Māmallapuram and ever afterwards persisted to be features of Southern Art—whether Hindu or Buddhist. Along with this, a delightful sensuous charm lit up the countenance of the human beings and divinities while a spirit of unrestrained freedom and enjoyment influences all their actions. The north is too often right and astute, the south perfectly unabsorbed and playful.

DEVAPRASAD GHOSH

1 Rea—Buddhist Monasteries on the Gurubhaktakondo of Durgākondā Hills at Rāmatīrtham ; A. S. I., A. R., 1910-11.

Rea—A Buddhist Monastery on the Sankaram Hills ; A. S. I., A. R., 1907-08.

Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

(Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner)

II

THE TIME OF KING AJĀTAŚATRU

At the time when the words of the fully enlightened teacher were put together for the first time, the gods praised it in the world of men, happiness and welfare prevailed everywhere, and gods and men lived in peace. King Kṣemadarśin,[1] who was also called Ajātaśatru augmented his merit by virtue of his character, and brought under his subjection without fighting the five cities with the exception of the Vṛjis. When the Tathāgata and the model pair alone with 168,000 arhats passed away peacefully and when also Mahākāśyapa disappeared from existence, all men became sorrowful. The bhikṣus, who had seen the face of the Teacher, simple people who grieved that they had not through lack of diligence attained distinction while Buddha was still living, applied themselves energetically to the study of the law; so also did those who carried on the sacred teaching. The young bhikṣus who had not seen the face of the Teacher thought that on that account they would not have sufficient strength to instruct personally, unless they devoted themselves to the teaching, roamed about and directed their whole energy to virtue. Therefore the number of those who attained the four fruits considerably increased every day. As now from time to time the venerable Ānanda handed down instructions in the teaching to the four groups (of disciples), those who comprehended the *Tripiṭaka* and delivered the teaching together with all who entered on the priestly office lived in purity; the Teacher gave the teacher's office to Mahākāśyapa, who however made it over to the venerable Ānanda of the greatest purity. Kings and other householders, kings whose virtue it is difficult to measure, were filled with sadness at the reflection that the Teacher no longer lived within their field of vision and considered that they had seen earlier the excellent Teacher of the world but now saw his disciples and the group of their disciples. Hence they came to know the excellence of the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha, showed them veneration and respect, and devoted themselves to virtue; there was no division or anything of the kind, and in this way the world lived in virtue for 40 years.

After the lapse of 15 years since the venerable Ānanda exercised the Teachership, the youth Kanakavarṇa attained Arhatship; his history has been described in the *Kanakavarṇāvadāna*. At that time the king Ajātaśatru thought the venerable Ānanda to be a Śrāvaka equal to the Buddha since he had fixed one Kanakavarṇa in the Arhat-

ship easily and without hindrance, and the king provided the venerable Ānanda along with 5000 bhikṣus with every requisite through five years. At this time there came to Magadha from the town of Kimmilamala in the south Bharadvāja of the line of Jambhala who was greatly skilled in magical arts, and he began to contend with the bhikṣus in transformation. He produced by magic in the presence of the king and other persons four mountains of gold, silver, crystal and Lazuli stone, four jewelled pleasure-groves on each mountain, in each pleasure-grove four lotus-ponds which he filled with diverse kinds of birds ; but the venerable Ānanda magically produced many wild and uncontrollable elephants who ate up the lotuses and trampled the ponds ; then he sent forth a strong wind which threw down the trees ; a shower of rain with thunderbolts destroyed the hedges and mountains without leaving any trace. Thereafter the venerable Ānanda showed 500 bodily forms of which some gave light out of themselves, others rain ; some performed the four movements in the air, others let the fire flame from above and the water stream from below, and after they had shown these and other transformations, he drew them up again within himself. He delivered the teaching repeatedly in the course of seven days to Bharadvāja related to Jambhala and to other groups of men who became believers (in the religion). He then initiated Bharadvāja at the head of 500 brāhmaṇas and other 80,000 men into the truth. Thereafter at another time when the venerable Ānanda was dwelling at Jetavana, the householder Śaṇavāsika gave to the clergy a great five-yearly feast and at last through the instruction of the venerable priest he became gradually the supporter of the *Tripiṭaka* and from the first two steps of Arhathood he attained complete emancipation. When in this way Ananda sooner or later had raised ten thousand bhikṣus to the Arahat status, he betook himself to the middle of the Ganges flowing between two countries in order that the Licchavis of Vaiśāli and king Ajātaśatru might each obtain a portion of his bodily relics and there he created an island in the middle of the river when 500 ṛṣis entered into the priesthood. When the 500 bhikṣus collected there and he by his magic-power consecrated them in a single hour and placed them in Arhathood, they were called the five hundred midday or the mid waterly priests. The most prominent of them is called the Great midday (Mahāmadhyāntika) or Great-midwaterly. When he had passed out of existence his corpse consumed itself by self-produced fire and dropped down just as a jewel-ball in two parts, which the waves carried to the two banks. The portion that was carried to the north was taken by the inhabitants of Vaiśāli, and that to the south was taken by Ajātaśatru ; and in each of the countries was erected a caitya (grave-monument). Ānanda carried on the teachership for 40 years ; a year after him, king Ajātaśatru also died. In a trice he was reborn in Hell, from there he passed away (lit. separated himself) and was reborn among the gods, and thereafter he heard the teaching from Śaṇvāsika and attained the grade of a Srota-āpanna.

The first section, the time of king Ajātaśatru.

The Authorship of Nighaṇṭu

In Nighaṇṭu a collection of words from the Vedas has been made, arranged in some of its chapters as groups of synonyms, and in some others, as Yāska tells us, in the order of regions to which the objects or deities denoted by them belong. The Nirukta of Yāska is an attempt to suggest the exegesis of a number of these words, to confirm which verses of the Veda, in which these words occur, are quoted.

Was the Nighaṇṭu compiled by Yāska or did it exist before him? This question has been suggesting itself to many a research student of ancient Sanskrit literature. Madhusūdana assigns the compilation of Nighaṇṭu to Yāska,[1] for which he has been taken severely to task by Satyavrata Sāmaśramī.[2] Svāmī Dayānanda, the founder of the Ārya Samāja, holds that the authorship of Nighaṇṭu is as much Yāska's work as the authorship of Nirukta.[3]

The real key to a solution of this problem can be only the evidence which Nighaṇṭu, Nirukta, or other works which notice these two treatises can provide on this point. The strongest point of Satyavrata is what he regards to be a dubious exposition by Yāska of the word '*bilma*' which occurs in Nirukta 1, 19 and which Yāska interprets alternately as 'bhilmam' or 'bhāsanam.' Satyavrata objects first to the fact of Yāska's own explanation of a word employed by himself.[4] The use of the word '*vā*' i.e. '*or*' in the explanation makes him suspicious of a doubt in the mind of Yāska as to the real significance of the word he is interpreting.[5] If the word were his, he should have given, thinks Satyavrata, a single interpretation which, on that account, should have been definite, and therefore indubious explanation of it. That the explanation oscillates between two alternate interpretations is an evidence, in the eyes of Satyvrata, of the vacillating

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1 निघण्टुसंज्ञकः पञ्चाध्यायात्मको ग्रन्थो भगवता यास्केनैव कृतः।—प्रस्थानभेदः।

2 निरुक्तालोचनम्, p. 291.

3 निरुक्तं यास्कमुनिकृतं निघण्टुसहितं चतुर्थं वेदाङ्गं मन्तव्यम्।—ऋग्वेदादिभाष्यभूमिका, p. 299.

4 नहि दुरुहं शब्दं प्रयुज्य तदव्याख्यानाय प्रवर्तन्ते कचित्।—निरुक्तालोचनम्, p. 19.

5 यदस्य बिल्मशब्दस्य भिल्ममिति प्रतिशब्दमुक्त्वाभ्यर्थान्तरं वदति भासनमिति वेति संशयमपि ध्वनयति।—निरुक्तालोचनम्, p. 19.

mentality of Yāska. The word and therefore the sentence containing it is, says Satyavrata, not his, but of some previous writer from whose writing he is making a quotation. Who that writer was does not at present concern Sāmaśramī.

Now in this very sentence it is stated,—'The seers were perceivers of Dharma. They, by means of *Upadeśa*, transmitted the *Mantras* to those who came after them. The latter, fighting shy of *Upadeśa*, compiled for the sake of 'bilma' this book, the Veda and its *aṅgas*. *Bilma* is either breaking or throwing light on.[1]

The reference, in this passage, of the words *imaṃ grantham* which we have translated as *'this book'* is taken by expositors to be to Nighaṇṭu. If this be so, Nighaṇṭu should be the compilation of an author or authors who preceded not only Yāska but also the writer of the passage we have translated, which, according to Satyavrata, is, because of what appears to him to be a dubious explanation of the word *'bilma'*, given at its end by Yāska, a reproduction from some older work.

At a later page[2] he would take exception to the use by Yāska of words derived from the verb *samāmnā* with reference to a book under compilation in his time. This is another reason for him to hold that Nighaṇṭu is a much, perhaps centuries, older classic.

Before examining the position of Satyavrata, let us see if there are any other passages in Nirukta which give a clue to the authorship of Nighaṇṭu. The very first sentence with which Yāska introduces his exegetics mentions Nighaṇṭu which he calls 'Samāmnāya.' The significant words of that passage translated naturally stand :—'The Nighaṇṭu has been compiled. It (i.e. the terms collected in it) is to be expounded' (Nirukta 1, 1).[3] A reader, who has not studied the book further, spontaneously gets the impression that the writer who is undertaking to expound Nighaṇṭu, has himself compiled it. The verb *samāmnātaḥ* meaning 'compiled' used here is the same, an inflexional form of which *Sāmāmnāsiṣuḥ* is used above (Nirukta 1, 19) in relation to its object *imaṃ grantham* (this book).

The evidence of this passage is, however, not conclusive. After

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1 साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुः तेऽवरेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मभ्य उपदेशेन मन्त्रान् संप्रादुः। उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽवरे विल्मग्रहणायेमं ग्रन्थं समाम्नासिषुः, वेदाङ्गानि च। विल्म 'भिल्म' भासनमिति वा। निरु., १,२०,१.

2 अद्यतनीयेन कृतस्य ग्रन्थस्य कथं भवेत् समाम्नायत्वम्।—निरुक्तालोचनम्, p. 22.

3 समाम्नायः समाम्नातः स व्याख्यातव्यः। निरु., १, १.

the verb 'has been compiled' may be supplied the words 'by writers preceding me' instead of, as we assume, the words 'by me,' though the latter would be a more natural presumption.

A form of the same verb is again used in Nirukta VII, 13, 10, where it is unmistakably in the first person—*samāmne*, meaning 'I compile.' The writer after discussing the propriety of including in a compilation of the names of *devatās*, words used as adjuncts to their principal designations which, says Yāska, others, in contradistinction with his own method, do so include,[1] concludes by deciding that 'he will admit into his compilation only the most popular names'.[2] The question arises what is *his* compilation. Not surely Nirukta, for that is no compilation of names. The compilation referred to can be no other than Nighaṇṭu, in which (ch. V) we find the rule enunciated by Yāska followed to the letter. All secondary appellations used only as adjuncts, a few of which are pointed out in Nirukta, VII, 13, 11, are rigidly excluded from the lists comprised in Nighaṇṭu (ch. V). Thus if there was any collection of names of *devatās* of the verses of the Vedas made by Yāska, it could not be other than Nighaṇṭu.

In several places, besides, Yāska says he will put in order the names of *Devatās—anukramiṣyāmaḥ* (Nirukta, VII, 14, 1; IX. 1, 1).[3] Now in Nirukta which was an exposition of Nighaṇṭu he could not evolve a new order. The order was already determined in Nighaṇṭu. Durgācārya, a commentator on Nirukta, suggests that the prefix *anu* (in accordance with) in the word *anukramiṣyāmaḥ* should give the word the significance of 'following' instead of 'evolving' an order.[4]

That, however, is a strained interpretation. In Nirukta[5] a form of the same verb, *anukrāntāḥ*, is used with reference to *devatās* that share with one another praises or oblations or both, and are otherwise mutually related. These *devatās* are enumerated in Nirukta independently of Nighaṇṭu. Here the order is evolved instead of a previously determined one being followed. In other passages too, the implication of the verb should be the same, i.e., the order of the

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1 अथोत कर्मभिर्हं षिदेवताः स्तौति.....तान्यप्येके समाम्नन्ति। निरु, ७।३, ११, १२.

2 यत्तु संविज्ञानभूतं स्यात् प्राधान्यस्तुति तत्समाम्नं। निरु., ७, १३, १०.

3 अथातो अनुक्रमिष्यामः। निरु., ९, १४, १.।...तान्यतोऽनुक्रमिष्यामः। निरु., ८, ?, १.

4 अनु आनुपूर्व्येण यथासमाम्नातं क्रमिष्यामः। निरुक्ते दुर्गाचार्य वृत्तौ १, १४, १।

5 इतीमा देवता अनुक्रान्ताः—निरु., ७, १३, ४.

devatās is determined by Yāska where he says 'We shall arrange .....' (VII, 14, 1 ; IX, 1, 1). This arrangement could not take place but in Nighaṇṭu, which therefore should have been compiled by him.

An objection may be raised against this inference on the ground of the futurity of the verb employed here, while in the opening passage of his expository treatise where he explicitly mentions the compilation of Nighaṇṭu, he has used a verb in the past tense, meaning that he has already compiled the book. How *will* he arrange a part of it now. The use of the verbs in these places appears to us to be loose, as is usual with writers even of today. The compilation of Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta may perhaps have proceeded side by side and then an introduction prefixed to Nirukta, wherein the writing of Nighaṇṭu may have been spoken of as something accomplished while that of Nirukta, which part was to come after the introduction may have been mentioned as a work which was yet in hand. No critic that knows his office will, we presume, press this, what he in mere fancy may regard as an inconsistency. Authors even of modern days are, as we have said, not very rigid in their use of tenses while speaking of their act of writing or compiling their books.

What we have adduced above, as the reader will see, is a positive evidence in favour of Yāska being the common author of Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta. Let us now turn to the passages which Sāmaśramī seizes as the basis of his assumption that Nighaṇṭu was written not only prior to Yāska's time, but also to the work of an author, of a word of whose writing Yāska hazards what seems to him to be an equivocal interpretation. That it is usual with Yāska to explain words used by himself will be apparent to even a cursory reader of his work. He in fact catches on words similar only in sound to those which, as occurring in the Veda, he is by the function he has set himself, legitimately called upon to expound. In Nirukta, III, 5, for instance, he translates *garta* as *śmaśāna* i.e. crematory. Now *śmaśāna* is his own word, and he explains the meaning not only of this word, but also of *śarīra* and *śmaśru* and *loma* which by chance come successively in his own explanation of one word after another.[1] Alternate meanings of self-same words are no novel phenomenon in Yāska's exegesis of *bilma*. A word may bear more than one import and the conjunction 'or' may even in English

1 श्मशानसच्चयोऽपि गर्त्त उच्यते।...शरीरं शृणाते: शथातेर्वा। श्मश्रुलोम...। लोम लुनातेर्वा लीयतेर्वा। —निरु., ३, ५।

be used to separate them. None will thereby be led to conclude that the explanation is hazy or doubtful. With Yāska it is quite usual to give alternative meanings of the same words. In Nirukta, VIII, 1, he construes *draviṇam* as *dhanam* and then after interposition of the same conjunction *vā* i.e. 'or' as *balam*.[1] Is the reader to infer from this that he was not sure of the definite significance of the common word *draviṇam*? The argument therefore that as two alternative explanations of the word *bilma* occurring in the passage in question are at the end of the passage appended by Yāska himself, the passage is not his is simply imagination. The passage is Yāska's, and therefore there is nothing to warrant the interposition of a third book between the compilation of Nirukta and that of Nighaṇṭu.

Greater difficulty is presented by the word *samāmnāsiṣuḥ* 'they compiled'. Satyavrata's contention that derivatives from the root *samāmnā* are not used with reference to contemporary literature falls to the ground when we see Yāska himself using *samāmne* 'I compile' in Nirukta, VII, 13, 10 in the first person and present tense. The root of the verb does not help Sāmaśramī, but the context in which it is used does require explanation. If *imaṃ grantham* should in reality imply the present Nighaṇṭu, it must have been compiled before, as also the Veda and the Vedāṅgas, which too form accusatives to the same verb. The reference of 'this book' should, we think, be to the book in hand and not to one previously compiled by somebody and nowhere named in the context we are commenting on. If this book was something separate from the Veda and the Vedāṅgas adverted to in the same sentence, one more *ca* ought to have been used, as according to Yāska himself (Nirukta, 1, 4, 21) cumulative *ca* should be repeated after every word it joins.[2] As after *grantham* it is omitted, we think *grantham* does not stand for a distinct treatise, but comprises in it two parts, one denoted by the *Veda* and the other by the *Vedāṅgas*, which words, as following it, are to be taken in apposition with it, inserted there to state what 'this book' means. The former, we believe, is the Nighaṇṭu, which being only a collection of words from the Vedas may be termed 'Veda'. Mahamahopadhyaya P. Sivadatta, editor of Durgācārya's commen-

1 ध द्रविणमुच्यते...ब वा द्रविणम्। निरु., ८, ८, १.

2 चेति समुच्चयार्थ उभाभ्यां संप्रयुज्यते। निरु., १, ४, २१.

tary on Nirukta, assigns this very reason for calling Nighaṇṭu 'Samāmnāya'.[1] The latter i.e. the *Vedāṅgas*, is Nirukta, which is admittedly a *Vedāṅga*, here spoken of in the plural number either because the subjects with which other *Vedāṅgas*, viz. Phonetics, Grammar, Kalpa, etc. deal, find incidental mention in it, or simply in the manner in which 'Nighaṇṭu' is called *'Nighaṇṭavaḥ'* (plural) in Nirukta.[2] Sāmaśramī's interpretation of the word 'Veda' to mean Brāhmaṇas is evidently forced. He is with us in maintaining that the word is not used in its primary sense. Ours is surely a more plausible explanation. One more circumstance will corroborate our assumption. While Nirukta, a commentary on a part of Nighaṇṭu, has been included among the six *aṅgas* of the Veda, Nighaṇṭu, the original collection of Vedic terms, which Nirukta in its exposition does not even exhaust, finds no place in the classified literature bearing on the *Vedas*. The name Nirukta seems to us, in this instance, to include Nighaṇṭu.

Nirukta including Nighaṇṭu has not for the first time been compiled by Yāska. In his Nirukta proper, i.e., the part in which he gives an exposition of Nighaṇṭu he names a number of masters of the science, both those that agree with him as well as others from whose opinions he differs. Very little of what even receives his express support is originally his. As we have shown in connection with his discussion of what names of *devatās* should be or should not be included in the compilation on which he is engaged, he represents a school of Nirukta. The writers to whom he refers as *avare* i.e. those that came after the original 'ṛṣis' and 'who fighting shy of *Upadeśa* compiled *this book*,' appear to us to be the masters of Yāska's school who had gone before him. To them is due the original compilation of this book including both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta which he is recompiling. Hence the use of the past tense in *samāmnāsiṣuḥ*, 'they compiled'. Yāska being the last compiler, as we have conclusively shown by means of positive evidence adduced above from within Nirukta, to him should be attributed the authorship of both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta.

Satyavrata Sāmaśramī reproduces verses of the Mahābhārata which mean:—'O Bharat, Vṛṣa is what is known in the worlds as the

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1 वेदेभ्यो निःसारितानां शब्दानामपि वेदत्वं नापगतमितति वेदत्वमेवेति निश्चाययतुं निघण्टुग्रन्थमुद्दिश्य वेदभावविषयं समाम्नायशब्दं निर्दिदेश भगवान् यास्कः। यास्कीयनिरुक्ते दुर्गवृत्तिप्रस्तावनायाम् ५ पृष्ठे।

2 तमिमं समाम्नायं निघण्टव इत्याचक्षते। निरु., १, १, २.

Lord Dharma. In exposition of words collected in Nighaṇṭu know me as *Vṛṣa*. *Kapi* and *Varāha* and *Śreṣṭha* and *Dharma* are called *Vṛṣa*. Therfore Kaśyapa Prajāpati calls me *Vṛṣākapi*.[1]

From this Sāmaśramī infers that Kaśyapa was the author of Nighaṇṭu. The word *Vṛṣākapi* is no doubt met with in Nighaṇṭu v, 6, but there it means 'he who moves, making things tremble with his rays' i.e. the Sun (Nirukta, XII, 29, 16)[2] and not *Dharma* or *Śreṣṭha*, as stated in the above verse. Some may be tempted here to take their stand on the Paurāṇic myth that the utterer of the above verses being Śrī Kṛṣṇa, he may call himself by an appellation of the Sun, as both he and the Sun are manifestations of Viṣṇu. Yāska, it will be owned, does not subscribe to this Paurāṇic mythology. Had he not been spoken of in a preceding verse, there may have been some force in the suggestion based on this myth. The author of the verses knew Yāska and his interpretation. He is either guilty of misrepresentation or does not understand Yāska. In either case the testimony he tenders is confused and unreliable. Kaśyapa was either a compiler of another Nighaṇṭu or a master of the science of exegesis belonging to another school than that represented by Yāska. In verse 71 of the same chapter is named Śipiviṣṭa, who declares that Yāska recovered from him the Nirukta, which had (on account of the neglect of scholars), been lost.[3] Śipiviṣṭa was thus the teacher of Yāska, who, because of his revival of a lost science or a particular school of that science deserves to be specially honoured as the author of the treatises, or as we look upon them, one treatise comprising both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, which have come down to us.

Oversight, there have been in the compilation of both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta. The first principle observed in the compilation of Nighaṇṭu appears to have been to incorporate into it words just in

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1 वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मः ख्यातो लोकेषु भारत।
निघण्टुकपदाख्याने विद्धि मां वृषसुत्तमम्॥
कपिर्वराहः श्रेष्ठश्च धर्मश्च वृष उच्यते।
तस्माद् वृषाकपिं प्राह कश्यपो मां प्रजापतिः॥
महाभारते मोक्षधर्मपर्वणि अ. ३४२, श्लो० ८६-८९.

2 अथ यद्रश्मिभिरभिकम्पयन्नेति तद्वृषाकपिर्भवति वृषाकम्पनः। निरु., १२, १८, १९.

3 श्रुत्वा मां शिपिविष्टेति यास्क ऋषिरुदारधीः।
मत्प्रसादादधी नष्टं निरुक्तमधिजग्मिवान्॥
महाभारते मोक्षधर्मपर्वणि अ. ३८२, श्लो० ९१।

the form in which they are met with in the Vedas. In many places, however, this rule has been violated, as in reading *'bhyasate* instead of *abhyasetām* in Nighaṇṭu III, 29. To state the same thing conversely, as examples of the use of words such verses have generally been chosen as to contain them in the form in which they are tabulated in Nighaṇṭu. On a few occasions, however, this practice too has been deviated from. In some cases verses containing those words in the very form in which they are found in Nighaṇṭu could have been made to supplant those that appear to a casual reader to have been wrongly selected to illustrate their use. In other cases the form given in Nighaṇṭu is nowhere found in the Vedic text, as in the case of *'bhyasate* noted above and *idam iva* etc. in Nighaṇṭu III, 13. To us the verses of the Veda appear to have been primarily chosen and the forms of some of the words to be explained inadvertently changed for the purposes of Nighaṇṭu in the manner in which this is done in dictionaries in general, the author very conveniently forgetting that in his lexicon he has already decided to retain the very forms of words found in the Vedas. Let not the reader of Nirukta be by this circumstance misled into the fanciful inference that the authors of the two parts of what we regard as one and the same book were two distinct persons, one of whom, because of misapprehension of the other's plan, could not follow him faithfully. Mistakes occur in the compilation of both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, and there is nothing to thwart the presumption, which in the face of the internal testimony of Nirukta which we have ranged above is irresistible, that they may have been unconsciously committed by the same author. The same, too, may be the explanation of quotation in Nirukta of verses which do not contain the words in Nighaṇṭu, the use of which the author means by such quotation to illustrate, as for instance, the names of dyāvāpṛthivī in Nighaṇṭu, III, 30, none of which occurs in Ṛv., II, 5, 2, 1 adduced to exemplify their meaning.

Our study so far has convinced us that both of these books, or as we look upon them, parts of the same work, have been compiled in their present form by Yāska, the latest editor of a book on Vedic exegetics.

CHAMUPATI

The Ancient Tamils and the Nāgas

Tamilakam, the homeland of the Tamils, is regarded to have extended in olden days, east to west from sea to sea, and north to south from the hills of sacred Tirupati to Cape Comorin; but the tradition was that in still earlier times the land had extended further south which was swallowed up by a violent irruption of the sea. This region was called, in the *Periplus*, *Mares Erythræa* and by Ptolemy the Geographer as Limirike; and it was known as Damirike in the Peutinger Tables. These limits of the Tamil land were first given by Tolkāppiyar, an ancient grammarian, probably of the 4th century B.C.; and by Iḷangovadigaḷ, the reputed author of the *Chilappathikāram* (The Epic of the Anklet) and also by Sikandiyar, the author of a treatise on music.[1] The people of the west coast gradually differentiated themselves from the rest and developed a distinct language of their own—*Malayāḷam*, "a patois of Kodun-Tamil and Prākṛtic Sanskrit." But the Tamils made up for this loss in more directions than one, by colonising Northern Ceylon and more distant regions across the Bay of Bengal.

The Geography of the Tamil Land.

Ancient Tamil grammarians classified men into three divisions, *Makkaḷ*, *Devar* and *Narakar* or *Nāgar*—which pointed to the existence of three types or races of people in the Tamil country, *viz.* the Tamils proper, the Aryan immigrants mostly Brahmins and the aboriginal Nāgas. The term *Nāgar* or *Nāga* seems to have been used in a rather broad sense. It was, according to one writer, applied to "all the aborigines, who used to inhabit the forests, the low regions and other unknown realms." There were Nagās in Northern India as well as in Southern India. The Nāgas of the south were supposed to be the original inhabitants of the land, to have preserved their racial individuality for a long time and to have supplied from their stock many of the ruling families of early times. The earliest Pallava epigraphs give accounts of the connection of the Pallavas with a Nāga princess. The Velūrpaḷaiyam copper-plates, described in the Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1910-11, speak of Vīrakūrca, one of the early

Racial elements in the population.

1 M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, vol. I, (1914), p. 8.

Pallava kings who preceded Siṃhaviṣṇu as "having acquired all the emblems of royalty on marrying the daughter of the Lord of Serpents—evidently a Nāga princess."[1] Tamil literary tradition makes prominent mention of the early Chola king, Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan who married Peelivaḷai, the the daughter of the ruler of Nāganādu and of the son of this union[2] who was afterwards the ruler of the Tondaimaṇḍalam country about Kāñcīpuram (Conjeevaram). Apart from these examples of inter-marriage between Nāga ruling dynasties and later families that became prominent, we have instances which occur in Tamil literature and which bring out an amount of information of various importance about these so-called Nāgas.[3]

Nagas and Tamils connected in literary tradition.

As already told there were Nāgas in Northern India also. Captain Forbes wrote in his book,[4] years ago, that when the Aryans settled in India they came in contact with two races, the Asuras, Rākṣasas, etc., who were savage ; and the other, a people who lived in cities, and possessed wealth and who were known as Nāgas belonging to the "great Takṣak or serpent-race of Scythia." The Nāgas were according to this writer driven back by the advancing Aryans," "carrying before them in their turn the feeble and scattered remnants of the black aboriginal race who were either exterminated or found a last refuge in the most inaccessible forests and mountains."[5] According to another opinion the Nāgas were a Tibeto-Burman race who were driven by some racial disturbances and movements from Central Asia to India through the passes on the north-east by way of Burma and

Theories as to the origin of the Nāgas.

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1 P. 58, para (1) of the Report dated 28th July, 1911.

2 *Manimekhalai* ed. by Mahāmahopādhyāya V. Swaminātha Iyer, 1921, canto xxiv, ll. 54-55 and xxv, ll. 178 et seq. ; and *Perumbāṇ-āṛṛuppadai* in *Patthuppāṭṭu* ed. by Mm. V. Swaminatha Iyer (1918), p. 152.

3 That this legend is of an early date is proved by its existence in early epigraphic records. While the inscriptions of the Pallavas are unanimous in regarding Aśvatthāman, the son of Droṇa, as the progenitor of their line, they do not agree as to his wife and the name of his son. The wife is called in some inscriptions an *apsaras* and in others a *nāgī* (*vide* also J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, 1927, p. 36).

4 *The Languages of Further India.*

5 As quoted in M. Srinivasa Iyenger's *Tamil Studies*, p. 28.

the passes of Assam and the Lower Himalayas. Anyhow the peoples known by the name of Nāgas were a prominent non-Aryan race, most probably of Mongoloid descent, who were already settled in the northern parts of India, and later, either owing to Aryan migration or as a result of the operation of other causes, forced to expand into the Deccan, South India and Ceylon. How far the Nāgas of the South might have been of this race or different, is a matter difficult to settle and is discussed later.

Filiation of the Nāgas of the South.

We have got in the Rāmāyaṇa and in the Mahābhārata numerous references to Nāga towns and kings. In the Tamil country the Nāga name is preserved in places like Nagore, Nagappattinam (Negapatam) Nagerkoil, Nagalapuram, etc. and as the names of sects or *gotras* among various classes in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts, like the Dombs, the Bottadas, the Gadabas, the Porojas, etc, as well as among the Kurnis and the Turiyands. Nāga is the name of a subdivision of the Gazula Kapus and the Koppala Velamas.[1] Rulers of the Nāgavaṃśa were numerous in the Deccan and around Nagpur ; and they intermarried with the Sātavāhanas and the Pallavas. "Kings of the Nāgavaṃśa with the tiger-crest and the snake-banner were ruling at Cakrakūṭa and at Bhogavatī in the Bastar State in the Central Provinces even after the eleventh century A.D. Several of their inscriptions have been found and published."[2] The name Nāga may be pre-Aryan as applied to several tribes which were afterwards known by that appellation. The origin of the title cannot in all cases be traced to serpents or serpent-worship ; for there were some tribes known by that name before the advent of the Aryans in whose language alone the word signifies serpents. But many of the Nāgas known to us were certainly serpent-worshippers. The head-covering of some of them was in the shape of the hood of the three-headed, five-headed, or seven-headed cobras. Among the sculptures of the Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeta are figures of Nāga kings distinguished by the sheltering hood of a five or seven headed serpent at their back ; while the figures of Nāgar pincesses were marked by a three-headed

Present-day relics of the Nāga element.

The Nāgas and their connection with serpents.

1 Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of South India*, vol. v, pp. 134f.

2 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. x, p. 25 ; and C. Rasanayakam's *History of Jaffna*, p. 6 (Madras, 1927).

serpent; and those of ordinary Nāgas by a single-headed serpent.[1] "The artists who executed these sculptures with considerable labour and care seem to have imagined that the Nāgas partook of the nature of serpents and that their bodies were partly human and partly serpentine."[2] The sculptures and paintings found in the ancient Buddhist ruins of Ceylon representing the Nāgas as Dvārapālas etc. also exhibit the same features. Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai, the talented Tamil scholar and author of *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago,* says that the Villavar and the Mīnavar (Bowmen and Fishermen) were the aborigines of South India being evidently part of a primitive race which was spread over the whole of India—tribes of the Bhīls and the Mīnas being still found in large numbers in Rajputana and parts of the Gujarat and the Canarese country. These barbarous primitive folk were conquered by the Nāgas, an immigrant race who were skilled in many arts and weaving in particular; and it was from them that the Aryans learnt the art of writing; and "hence Sanskrit characters are to this day known as Devanāgarī" (p. 45). These bold statements cannot hold good under a close examination. There is no caste or tribe in the Tamil country, bearing the names of Bhīls or Mīnas. The ethnic and other affinities of these races with the Tamils are not known and cannot be postulated with any approach to certainty. We know that many of the Nāgas known to Tamil literature were barbarous and not civilised at all. There are references to some of the Nāgas being even naked cannibals.[3] Nāga was the title assumed by a Veda (hunter) chieftain and also it was applied to of the father of the famous Śaiva saint, Kannappa Nāyanār. Nāga is a name familiar among the tribes of the Kallars and the Vettuvars. The Nāganādu as described in ancient Tamil books was a vast island situated to the east or the south-east of the Tamil country; the inhabitants of this region were regarded as half barbarous speaking a language not understood by the Tamil people. Hence it is not easy to accept the statement that all the Nāgas were highly civilised. The theory that the Nāgarī alphabet was derived from the aboriginal Nāgas by the Aryans may be dismissed—the

Whether the Nāgas of the South were civilised or primitive.

1 V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, *The Tamils 1800 years Ago,* p. 40.

2 *Ibid.,* p. 40.

3 "The mountain inhabited by the naked nomads and Nāgas", *Manimekhalai,* canto xvi, l 15.

word Nāgarī being derived from *nagara* (a city) and the Devanāgarī being the alphabet used by the city-folk, according to Bühler and other eminent authorities.[1]

Srinivasa Iyengar on the Nāgas of the South.

According to Srinivasa Iyengar, the name Nāga was given by the Aryans to any aboriginal tribe in South India and Ceylon. The Nāgas of South India were apparently distinct from those of North India. The former were aborigines while the North Indian Nāgas were descendants of "Turanian or Scythian immigrants from Central Asia belonging probably to the Mongolian race" (p. 29). He would conclude that the population of the Tamil contained three distinct elements, the Nāgas, the Dravidian Tamils and the Aryans ; and the non-Aryan Tamils belong to the great Nāga-Dravidian race. The Nāgas had both a savage and a civilised element, the savage tribes having Negrito blood in them, and the latter being mixed (p. 377). "Apparently both the divisions of the Nāgas migrated to India when it was connected by land with Australia, the earlier tribes being driven to the interior hills and forests ; and the later immigrants occupying the east coast from Cape Comorin to Vizagapatam and as far as Nagpur in the Central Provinces. These were the Vānaras and the Rākṣasas of Rāmāyaṇa. It is by no means easy when these races invaded India." (p. 377). Then followed the Dravidian Tamils probably from Western Asia migrating by the north-western passes long before the Aryans ; and the Tamil tribes, particularly the Cholas and the Pandyas, had often to contend with the half-civilised Nāgas ; while "the Cheras seem to have quietly taken possession of the country along the west coast almost uninhabited by any semi-civilised section of the Nāga race." "In the east the close connection of the Nāgas and the Dravidians led to a fusion of races. In the west that could not have happened at so early a period. And I am inclined to think that the Nayars of Malabar and Travancore are not the modern representatives of the ancient Nāgas, but hybrid descendants of the original Nāga-Dravidians and the Aryans." This theory of Srinivasa Iyengar looks too complete, detailed and coherent to be all true ; but some elements of it have been known or proved to be true. Thus the uncivilised Nāga element may be the Negroid pre-Dravidian element driven to the hills and submerged in the plains by the invading

Their fusion with the Dravidian Tamils.

1 M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies*, pp. 29f.

Dravidians, according to ethnologists like De Quatrefages, Topinard, Flower, Lydekker, etc. who speak of the Negrito element in the races of South India, especially noticeable in the aboriginal tribes. This Negroid element was probably of Lemurian origin, presupposing the existence of a Lemurian continent connecting Malaysia with Africa. The whole problem depends upon the exact scope which is given ethnologically to the terms pre-Dravidian and Dravidian and the ascertaining of the extent to which the Dravidians have absorbed and supplanted the pre-Dravidians.

The Negroid element in the Nāga.

There were several tribes of the Nāgas in the Tamil country described in literature like the Maravar, the Eyinar, the Oliyar, the Oviyar, the Aruvāḷar and the Parathavar. The Maravar as described in Kalithokai[1] were "of strong limbs and hardy frames, and fierce-looking as tigers, having long and curled locks of hair, and armed with the bow; bound with leather, ever ready to injure others, shooting their arrows at poor helpless travellers from whom they could rob nothing, only to feast their eyes on the quivering limbs of their victims."[2] The tribe was most numerous on the east coast between the Kaveri and the Vaigai rivers and was noted for its valour and bravery in fighting.

The Nāga tribes in the Tamil land.

The Maravar were frequently recruited as soldiers into the armies of the Chola, Pandya and Pallava kings. In the *Puranānūru*[3] we are given examples of Marava chieftains like Nalaikkiḷavanāgan who served the Chera and Pandya rulers as soldiers and ministers.

The Maravar.

The Eyinar and the Vedar (or Vettuvar) were "the most lawless of the Nāga stock." Raids of plunder and cattle-lifting were their chief occupation. One of the Eyinar chiefs, Dhirataran Murthi Eyinar, who was the chief of Viramangalam is referred to in the plates of Jatilavarman, a Pandyan ruler of the 12th century A.D.[4] Their descendants are now known

The Eyinar etc.

1 Edition of E. V. Anantarama Iyer (1925), vol. I, Palai c. iv, ll. 1-5; c. xv, ll. 1-2, pp. 29, 93.

2 Kanakasabai Pillai's translation as given in p. 42 of his *Tamils 1800 years Ago*.

3 Edition of V. Swaminatha Iyer, stanzas 168, 179, pp. 269, 287.

4 Kanakasabhai Pillai, *op. cit.*, p. 43 and *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxii, p. 57.

as the Kallars and even now display traits of their old character. The Oliyar were another Nāga tribe who were conquered by Karikala Chola. A Mahabalipuram (Māmallapuram) inscription of the eleventh century A.D., being a copy of the conveyance, conveying a piece of land to the Varāhasvamī Temple at that place and issued in the 9th year of Rājendra Deva[1] (1050-1062) mentions chieftains of the Oli Nāgas like Muvenda Velan, Chandrasekharan and Narayanan and also a Sanga Nagan and a Muguli Nagan.

The Oliyar.

The Oviyar as described in the *Sirupāṇaṟṟuppadai*[2] one of the ten idylls of the Sanghaṁ were a tribe of Nāgas inhabiting the sea-coast; and their lord was one of several kings ruling Mavilangai (Great and Ancient Laṅkā). Their royal town of Āmūr was well-fortified and surrounded by a broad moat; and its approach was guarded by another fortified town on the sea-coast which is called by the commentator Eyilpattinam as well as by another fortress town called Velur.[3]

The Oviyar.

Were they of North Ceylon?

Mr. Rasanayakam, the talented author of the *History of Ancient Jaffna*, would identify these places with definite sites in the Jaffna country and particularly the town of Eyilpattinam with Māntai (Matota of the Sinhalese) which was a town of great antiquity and full of cunning artisans. He says,—"It is said that Viśvakarmā built an iron-fort at Mantai.....The Nāgas of Māntai (Mātota) whose stronghold was on the great highway of the merchant vessels which had to cross over to the Bay of Bengal from the Arabian Sea and vice versa developed into sea-pirates and lived by plundering and robbing unwary merchants."[4] He would identify this Nāga fortress with the Rākṣasa port into which mariners were inveigled by attractive women and plundered, according to Hiuen Tsiang and with the magnetic mountain of the mediæval Muhammadan writers which drew towards it all the iron-clad ships of the neighbourhood and wrecked them. The iron-fort at Māntai was

The Nāgas of Mantain.

1 No. 54 of 1890—dated in the 9th year of the king.

2 Edition of the *Patthuppāttu* (ten idylls) by V. Swaminatha Iyer (1918), p. 98, ll. 116-121.

3 *Ibid.*, ll. 151-153; notes on these lines—p. 117; also notes on ll. 171-173.

4 Pp. 16-17.

euphemistically called in Tamil works as a magnetic mountain and was possibly the source of the belief which is so graphically described in the Arabian Nights. Sir Emerson Tennent in his *Ceylon* also mentions a writer of the 4th century B.C. who wrote of the loadstone attracting iron vessels among the group of islands called Maniolae (Maṇalūr and the dependent islands of the Jaffna Sea). Mr. Rasanayakam would say that Māntai was evidently conquered and destroyed by the Chola king Karikala; and since the Chola conquered Ceylon or at least the north-western portion of it called Taprobane (or Tāmraparṇī) the Chola king came to be known as Chembian (Chembu = Tāmra); and no Chola earlier than Karikala was known by this title. Mr. Rasanayakam also attempts to prove that Māntai, known in Tamil literature as the Māntai of the Cheras (Kuttuvan Mantai) was probably conquered by the Chera Chenguttuvan of the *Chilappathikāram* fame from which time it must have come to be known as Kuttuvan Māntai. Malanka (Māvilangai) is thus identified by Mr. Rasanayakam with North-western Ceylon and associated with Nalliyakkodan, the hero-king of Āmūr, Eyilpattinam and Velur. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar would say[1] that Māvilangai is not a country as was asserted by Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, but a town and most probably the port of Mamallapuram (in the vicinity of Madras). He would also say that the period of Nalliyakkodan is intermediate between that of Tondaiman Iḷandiraiyan of Kāñcī and that of Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī who was defeated by the famous Samudra Gupta. In this conflict of views it is not possible for us to be sure of the kingdom of the Oviyar and of Nalliyakkodan. To strengthen his view of Nelliyakkodan being a Nāga king of North Ceylon, Mr. Rasanayakam brings in the evidence of a poet Nannāganar, who was evidently of the Nāga race and who sang of Nalliyakkodan and his son Villi Ātan as kings of Malanka and Lanka respectively.[2] Besides the Nāga kings of Āmūr and Eyilpattinam, other Nāgas were supposed to have reigned at Kudirai Malai[3] on the west coast of Ceylon. Mr. Rasanayakam says that this place could not have been in the Western

They of Māvilangai.

1 Article on Mahabalipuram in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xlvi, p. 72.

2 *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 24 and note *Puranānūru*, stanzas 176, 379.

3 General of the chieftains of Kudirai Malai like Eḷini and Korran are referred to in *Puranānūru*, stanzas 158, 168.

Ghats as asserted by some scholars, and that it might be the Hippuros of the Greek travellers.

The Nāgas appear to have been confined originally to the western and northern part of Ceylon which was for many centuries known as *Nāgadīpa*,[1] while the Yakkhas who were apparently more numerous and powerful than the Nāgas inhabited the other portions of the island. It is clear that these were in some respects as civilised as the Nāgas and some of the Yakkha kings found their wives from among the Nāgas. Both the Nāgas and the Yakkhas gradually lost importance after the Aryan invasion and settlement of the land and in course of time "lost their identity as they lost their power, and forming alliances with the new settlers, were thenceforth styled and known as *Sinhalese*".[2]

The Nāgas in North and West Ceylon.

"There was, according to Mr. Rasanayakam, a Nāga kingdom in North Ceylon continuously from the 6th century B.C. to the middle of the 3rd century A.D.; and even before the 6th century B.C. there was the tradition of the Nāgas ruling in the Island. He would even equate the story of Arjuna's marriage with the Princess Citrāṅgadā, the daughter of Citravāhana, the king of Manipuram, to mean that the Pāṇḍava hero married a Nāga princess of Manipuram (a name which was given at various times to Jaffna) and not a Pandya princess, as has been believed so long; and he would also quote evidence to prove that a portion of the mainland was in the days of the Bhārata War subject to the sway of the Nāga ruler of Manipuram; and that it is wrong to suggest that Citravāhana was a Pandyan.[3]

The Nāga kingdom in Nāgadvīpa.

Coming to the topic of Nāgas, they appear to have risen to great power. The *Mahāvaṃsa*[4] gives us the names of the Nāga rulers of North Ceylon who became masters of the whole Island, like Mahallaka Nāga (*cir.* 135 A.D.), Cula Nāga (*cir.* 193 A.D.), Śrī Nāgas I and II who reigned in the second and part of the third centuries A.D. About this time the Nāgas of the Deccan also rose to great prominence; the Chūtu Nāgas succeeded to the power of the Andhra Sātavāhanas; and the Pallavas, intermarrying with the Chūtus, succeeded to their power in turn.

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1 J. M. Senaveratna *The Story of the Sinhalese*, 1923, vol. I, p. 2.
2 Senaveratna, vol. I, p. 3. 3 *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 33-44.
4 List of kings, pt. I and ch. xxxvi.

The Nagas and Buddhistic tradition.

According to Buddhistic tradition, Nāga kingdoms flourished in Nāgadīpa (North Ceylon) and in Kelaniya on the west coast of the Island, even in the life-time of the Buddha. The story is given that Gautama Buddha visited Laṅkā on three distinct occasions, in the ninth month and in the fifth and eighth years respectively after he had attained Buddha-hood. On the second of these occasions he paid a visit to Nāgadīpa where Mahodara, the king of Nāgadīpa and Culodara his nephew and ruler of Kannavaddhamāna (Kandamādānam near Rameśvaram) were bitterly fighting for the possession of a gem-set throne, and the rival factions were supported by considerable forces on either side, Maniyakkhika, the ruler of Kelaniya being among them. The Lord Buddha appeared on the scene, settled the dispute and seated himself on the throne and preached to the rivals a sermon of reconciliation, as a result of which large numbers of Nāgas (to the traditional number of 80 crores) were converted to the faith. The jewel-throne sanctified by the Buddha's touch became an object of worship to all Buddhists who visited it from far and near. The Buddha came to the city of Kelaniya on his third visit to Ceylon whence he is said to have proceeded and left the impress of his feet on Samanakūṭa (Adam's Peak).[1]

Tamil confirmation of the tradition.

The story of the Buddha's visit to Nāgadvīpa and of the sanctified gem-set throne is narrated in great detail in the Tamil epic *Manimekhalai*.[2] The scene of the episode is named Maṇipallavam in the Tamil work, which according to the equation of Mr. Rasanayakam is Jaffna—probably identical with the Nāgadīpa of the *Mahāvaṃsa*. Thus there were numerous Nāga settlements in the north and west of Ceylon on both sides of the Christian Era.

The Nāgas in the Chola region.

In the *Chilappathikāram*, we are told that Kaverippattinam, the ancient Chola capital at the mouth of the Kaveri, was in more ancient times, famous as the capital of the Nāgas and the Nāganādu[3] which is also referred to in the sister epic of *Manimekhalai*. Thus the authors had some idea of the ancient Nāgas who preceded the Cholas in the basin of the Kaveri.

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1 Mahāvaṃsa I, *Rajavaliya*, a narrative of Sinhalese kings from Vijaya to Vimala Dharma Sūrya II. tr. by B. Gunasekhara, Mudaliyar (Colombo, 1900).

2 Ed. by V. Swaminatha Iyer, canto viii, ll. 43-63.

3 Ed. by V. Swaminatha Iyer, canto I. ll. 19, 20.

An early Chola king, Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan had a child by a Nāga princess, which was lost on its way from Manipallavam to the Chola country. This loss so much grieved the Chola king that he neglected to celebrate the annual festival to Indra at his capital; and the angry god punished him for his neglect by causing the sea to inundate and destroy the city. The date of this Chola monarch has been usually ascribed to the 2nd century A.D. Another Chola, Kokiḷḷi, is also said to have married a Nāga princess of North Ceylon and had a son by her of the name of Tondaimān Iḷaṇtiraiyan who afterwards became the ruler of the region of Tondaimandalan (the country round about Conjeeveram). Some say that Iḷantiraiyan was the son of Kiḷḷi; and he was so called because he was washed ashore by the waves (*tirai*) of the sea. Whether Iḷaṇtiraiyan was the son of Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan or Kokiḷḷi, he was the son of a Nāga princess of Ceylon. Kiḷḷi Vaḷavan, Chenguttuvan Chera and Gajabāhu of Ceylon are supposed to have been contemporaries on this basis of a supposed reference to them in *Chilappathikāram* (canto xxx). "Tondaimān Iḷantiraiyan was the progenitor of the powerful dynasty of the Pallavas. This Nāga origin of the Pallavas is confirmed by the description given in the Velūrpaḷayam Plates[1] that the first member of the family of the Pallavas acquired all the emblems of royalty on marrying the daughter of the Lord of Serpents."[2] Thus the author of *Ancient Jaffna* would say, though it is a moot point whether sovereignty came to the Pallavas from the Chūtu Nāgas of the Deccan or the Nāgas of North Ceylon and whether there was not a hiatus between the time of Tondaimān Iḷaṇtiraiyan and the rise of the Pallavas.

The Chola connection with the Nāgas.

The Pallavas and the Nāgas.

He would then conclude that the dynasty was called Pallava because it derived its name from Manipallavam, the native place of Iḷaṇtiraiyan's Nāga mother. He also accepts that Pallava means a sprout or the end of a tender bough, and would say that "to observers sailing from India the peninsula of Jaffna would have appeared just like a sprout or growth on the mainland of Laṅkā." This is a very fanciful conclusion based on very slender evidence. The writer goes further and says that even in later times when the Pallavas claimed

1 Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1910-11 p. 59.

1 *Ancient Jaffna*, pp. 30-31.

Aryan connections and filiation to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, they still traced their descent from Aśvatthāman through a Nāga Princess.

We have also got the story of Tissa Rāja of Kelaniya witnessing the irruption of the sea swallowing up eleven-twelfths of his territory, including a large number of towns and fishing villages. It was perhaps at this period that the submersion of the 49 Tamil lands including the hill and the river Kumari took place as mentioned in Chilappathikāram.[1] "The river Pahruli and the mountain Kumari were submerged by the raging sea."[2] Nakkīrar's commentary on the *Ahapporuḷ* of Iraiyanār and and the preface of Ilambūraṇar's Commentary on the *Tolkappiyam* contain similar descriptions of submersion. It was after the destruction of this region and of his capital at Kavādapuram, that the Pandyan king proceeded northwards and established a new kingdom with his capital at Madura. He proceeded higher up, having elbowed away the tiger and the bow (the crests of the Cholas and the Cheras) and planted his famous fish (the Pandyan crest) on strange territory. The submerged portion of Ceylon extended, according to theories as far west as Minicoy and the Maldives, (the Malaya Dvīpa of Indian geographers) where Rāvaṇa's Laṅkāpura was probably situated.

Submersion of Nāga and Tamil lands under the sea.

After this deluge Nāgadīpa became much diminished in size, leaving probably only the Jaffna Peninsula and a few adjoining islands; while Nāga importance on the mainland also diminished likewise. The Nāga connections of the Pallavas, and the Nāga character of the Aruvālar tribe living in the heart of the Pallava country show the continuity of of Nāga influence on Tamil history. The filiations of Draviḍa Nāgas with those of the North would continue to form a vexed question until more light is thrown on the whole question.[3]

Conclusion.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

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1 Canto xi. ll. 18-20.

2 Ibid., canto viii. commentary of Adiyārkunāllar on ll. 1, 2.

3 Vogel's *Indian Serpent Lore* recently published throws some light on the traditions existing about the Nāgas.

The present mode of expressing numbers

In our present mode of expressing numbers with the help of nine numerals and the Zero, the notational places of successive higher denomination, such as tens, hundreds, thousands, etc. are arranged from right to left. This fact led Mr. G. R. Kaye[1] to conjecture that it has been imposed upon the modern world by a people with right to left script. And this consideration, amongst others, has led him to suggest that the credit of invention of the modern numerals cannot be due to the Hindus whose scripts from the earliest times are written from left to right. Some weakness in the above hypothesis has been admitted by Kaye himself. For certain scripts are known to have changed their directions. But apart from that, the whole hypothesis is based upon wrong conceptions and unsound and insufficient observations of the modes of expressing numbers by the various nations of the world. It betrays, on the whole, a lack of breadth of view and, in particular, ignorance of the method of writing out numbers in full which is found in the Sanskrit and kindred literatures.

In our present study we shall treat separately of the two principal methods of expressing numbers, viz. (1) by writing out the number names in full, and (2) by means of symbols or signs. We shall further confine our attention to the number systems only of the prominent civilised peoples of the world, ancient or modern, such as the Egyptians Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, Hebrews, Syrians, Persians, Arabians, Turks, Hindus, Chinese. Japanese and Tibetans, etc.

In writing out numbers in full almost all the nations adopted the decimal scale and the whole vocabulary of the numeral language of any nation was very small. It consisted of separate names of nine numerals and of certain denominations, such as tens, hundreds, thousands, etc. It is noteworthy in this connection that while most of the ancient nations did not go beyond the fourth, or at most, a fifth denomination, the ancient Hindus even in the remotest Vedic Age (before 3000 B.C.) dealt freely with no less than eighteen denomi-

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1 G. R. Kaye, "Notes on Indian Mathematics—Arithmetical Notation," *J. A. S. B.*, vol. iii (1907), pp. 475-508 ; *Indian Mathematics*, Calcutta (1915), p. 32.

nations.[1] In modern times also, the numeral language of no other nation is as scientific and has attained as high a state of perfection as that of the ancient Hindus. Again while the numeral vocabulary of the Hindus has remained rich and practically full from the earliest times, that of other nations has swelled by addition of a very few more names only. So in the latter there has been a cumbrous system of grouping and regrouping for coining the necessary terminologies. A number expression is formed with the help of these names mainly by addition and partly by multiplication. The subtractive principle also is in evidence in certain specific instances of Sanskrit number names ; for example, nineteen is expressed either as $10+9$ or as $20-1$; twenty-nine as $20+9$ or $30-1$; and so on. In later times this has become the usual principle in those cases.

In an additive system it is immaterial, how the elements of different denominations, of which a number expression is composed, are written, for the value of a symbol is quite independent of its position. But it has become the usual custom from olden days to adhere to a definite mode of arrangement, instead of writing in a haphazard manner. The arrangement is this : when a number is composed of the first two denominations only, that is, for names of numbers *below* hundred, the smaller element is written first. This is true of Sanskrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Chinese and some other languages. But when a number expression contains higher denominations as well, these are written in *descending* order in front of the number names already formed. For instance if a number is composed of first four denominations, the normal mode of writing it will be first thousands, then hundreds, then units and then tens. Thus there is a sudden change of order in the process of formation of the number expression. We shall not attempt to search for any probable explanation of this change of order. It will be, in fact, of no use to the object in view. We shall simply take the facts as they are found, analyse them, and discover the normal process of formation, if any. It is very striking that this change of order in the process of formation of number expression is common to most of the important languages. Only in a very few languages, such as English,[2] Tibetan, etc., the order

1 *Vide* Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. I, pp. 343 f.

2 Excepting the expressions containing elements smaller than twenty.

is continuously descending. There is, however, one language in which it is sometimes permissible to write all the denominations in the *ascending* order. This speciality belongs to the Arabic. And it is over and above the normal process already indicated and as an alternative to it. Save this, it thus appears to be the commonly accepted normal process for the expression of larger numbers in the languages of the various nations of the world to write the elements of higher denominations before the lower.[1] The Sanskrit and kindred languages contain certain other minor irregularities. But those are exceptional and rare cases. They were noted and sufficiently explained by the celebrated grammarian Pāṇini (c. 700 B. C.). In any case, it would not be proper to cite them to show that the normal process of formation of number expressions in Sanskrit is different from that indicated above. There can be cited from the Sanskrit literature, innumerable instances in which the larger elements are placed first systematically. Thus truly speaking, it is only a lack of sufficient observations that led Kaye to assert that in Sanskrit the smaller elements are usually placed first.

The scripts of different races are written in different directions the Semitic races write from right to left; the Aryans from left to right and the Mongolians from the top downwards. It has already been stated that certain scripts are known to have changed directions. But there has never been any serious deviation from the normal process of number expressions as indicated above. It has remained universal. And this is very remarkable indeed.

We shall now pass on to the problem of numeral notation or symbolism. Though a discussion of the forms of the symbols, their origin, variation and mutual relation will be highly interesting and instructive by itself, it will be beyond the scope of the subject matter of the present study. So we shall avoid it as far as possible and simply confine ourselves to the critical examination of the law of arrangements and other incidental affairs. Theoretically speaking, the symbols should be as few and simple as possible, if not fewer and simpler, they should not exceed the number names. That is, nine symbols for the first nine number-names together with some symbols for the

1 Cf. Karl Fink, *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik*, authorized English translation by W. W. Beman and D. E. Smith, *Brief History of Mathematics*, Chicago, 1910, p. 8; also Hankel, *Geschichte der Mathematik*, p. 32.

denominations ought to have sufficed, by the application of the same multiplicative and additive principles as in number terminologies, to express all the numbers of a language. But in actual practice number symbolism was not so simple. The difficulties would be many times more in the case of those languages in which there were no separate simple names for all the denominations. We have seen that, except in the Sanskrit and kindred languages of India, those defects are present in all other languages, for denominations above thousand. Even for numbers with lesser denominations, the difficulties appeared no less insurmountable. For almost all the ancient peoples failed to invent even nine separate symbols for first nine numerals. For smaller numbers, it looked as if ingeneous and advantageous. More symbols mean, indeed, heavier tax on memory. But in case of larger numbers, it required repetition to an unwieldy extent. Repetition could be minimised to a certain extent by an early recognition of the multiplicative principle on a little wider scale. While majority of the ancient nations recognised it for the multiples of hundred, they failed to do so for multiples of ten. Their mind was more bent upon inventing separate symbols for all the tens. To minimise repetition, recourse was taken to change of the scale of notation and other devices. Thus while the scale of notation in the numeral languages is found to have remained decimal all throughout, that in number symbolism is found in some cases to have become sexagesimal as well. In this way, number symbolism became highly complicated. Estrangement of plans between numeral names and numeral notations was visible from the earliest stage. In fact, before the advent of of the Hindu place value system, the problem of number expressions by signs was many times more complex and different than the problem of number expression by writing out in full. But in one matter they proceeded on the same principle; in expressing numbers in terms of two or more symbols of different values or denominations, the larger element was put first. And this was followed consistently and uniformly all throughout. So much so that the change of order which was, and still is, visible in the normal process of formation of number expression by names completely disappeared from the normal process of number symbolism.

The theoretical plan of numeral notation indicated above is found in actual practice in the Sinhalese and the modern Chinese number symbolism. The nearest approach to it was made in the Alphabetic numeral system of the Hindu Āryabhaṭa (the elder, born 476 A.D.),

in which the notational places were indicated by the vowels, and the pure consonants signified the numerals.[1] It had, however other defects and digressions and hence was not adopted by people.

Of the numeral symbols of the ancient Semitic peoples, the Egyptian Hieroglyphic had separate signs for one, ten, hundred, thousand, ten thousand, hundred thousand and million; the Phœnician for one, ten, twenty and hundred; the Palmyrene for one, five, ten and twenty; the Syriac for one, two, five, ten, twenty and hundred; the Hieratic and the Demotic for one, five to ten, and twenty, thirty up to hundred. The symbols for two hundreds, three hundreds, etc., were formed, except in the case of the Hieroglyphic, by putting the smaller element in front to denote multiplication. The numbers were expressed by repetition and addition of these symbols as necessary. As was characteristic of the Semitic scripts, the numbers were written from right to left; and it began with the largest element. The Hieroglyphic numbers were also written left to right and sometimes, as in the early inscriptions, from top downwards. It is interesting to note that in the former case the pictorial numeral signs were turned the opposite way.

The ancient Babylonians had relatively smaller number of numeral signs, viz., for one, ten and hundred. The last one was really a combination of the other two. In fact they seem to have only one wedge-shaped symbol, which signified two numeral values in two different positions. There were, however, also instances of separate symbols for one and ten. Thus the Babylonian numeral system was the poorest of all the nnmeral systems of the ancient civilised nations. It was also the crudest. For owing to the paucity of separate symbols, a comparatively greater amount of repetition was unavoidable. And above all, which was its worst feature, the numerical value of a symbol was not fixed. It stood either for a minimum value (one or ten) or for 60 multiple of the same. In each case, the numerical value of a symbol had to be determined from the context. The brightest aspects of the Babylonian number symbolism were the invention of

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1 Most of the modern interpreters of the first Āryabhaṭa's alphabetic numeral notation have failed to grasp its true significance. This has been exposed correctly by Pandit Durgadas Lahiri (*Pṛthivīr Itihāsa*, Calcutta, vol. iii, pp. 332 et seq) and Mr. Saradakanta Ganguly (*Bull. Cal. Math. Soc.*, vol. xvii (1927), p. 202) and it is quite in accordance with the interpretation of his commentators.

the sexagesimal scale of notation and the introduction of a symbol to indicate the vacant denomination in it. In writing numbers, on either scales, the Babylonians put the larger elements before the smaller.

The Roman numbers were expressed in terms of symbols for one, five, ten, fifty, hundred, five hundreds, and thousand. The normal mode of writing was to put the greater elements in the beginning. In certain cases it was reversed to denote subtraction. But on a longer view, that is, in a compound number of still greater value, it will be found that the normal mode has been preserved on the whole.

The Greeks had two systems of numeral notation—the Attic system and the Alphabetic system. The former was no better than the systems that have been discussed so far. Only a slight innovation was in evidence in the symbol for fifty which was devised on a multiplicative principle from the symbols of five and ten. No other numeral system, probably except the Palmyrene, contained this principle in symbols for numbers smaller than hundred. The Attic system was replaced about 400 B. C. by the other system. The use of the letters of alphabets for the purpose of numerals was common with the Hebrews, the Syrians, the Arabs, the Persians and other Semitic peoples. The Arabs continued the practice even for many centuries after they became aware of the Hindu numerical system.

It was probably the Greeks who first conceived the happy idea of making a systematic use of the letters of the alphabet as numerals.[1] Some investigators are of opinion that the idea originated with a Semitic people and the Greeks only borrowed it. It is known that the Greeks obtained their alphabets from the Phœnicians. But that latter did never use their alphabets with numerical significance. One thing is, however, true. The Greek alphabets (24 in number) were insufficient for a satisfactory system of alphabetic numerals. So they appropriated three Phœnician alphabets. It has been stated by

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1 In India the letters of the alphabet were used to denote numbers as early as the seventh century B. C. But it seems that it never passed beyond a preliminary crude stage for several centuries. Anything of the kind of a system appeared, as far as is known, only about the fifth century A. D. and even then it was not much in vogue. It is also significant that while the systems of alphabetic numerals of all other peoples were similar, those of the Indian were on different plans. Compare A. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, English translation by Mann & Zachariae, London (1878), p. 222.

Al-Bīrūnī that the Arabs got their system from the Hebrews; so did probably the Persians and others. In this system the letters of an alphabet are divided into three groups; the first group of nine letters were used to signify nine units; the second group of nine letters to denote the nine tens; and the third group were used to signify the hundreds. The numbers were expressed on either scale, the decimal as well as the sexagesimal. In writing a compound number the larger element, or the element of the higher denomination was put first. This was as much true of the peoples like the Greeks who wrote from left to right, as of the Semitic peoples who wrote from right to left. But in certain Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor, the smaller elements were put first and in a few others the arrangement was irregular. These facts were probably not without any significance. They will lend additional support to those who believe in the ultimate Semitic origin of the alphabetic system of numerals. For the number expressions written by a Semitic people in their normal descending order are apt to be looked upon by the Greeks as arranged in the ascending order. The primitive Greeks not only borrowed the system but also copied the arrangement which appeared at the first sight. The irregular arrangement probably referred to a state of transition. But ultimately the normal Greek mind prevailed and the mode of the number expressions was changed specially to bring them to conformity with the mode of the other Greek system, viz. the Attic System.

Attention has already been drawn to the one great peculiarity of the Arabic numeral language, that in writing out a number in full, it was permissible to follow either the ascending or the descending order. But in their notations they consistently followed the descending order. There are numerous applications of alphabetic numerals in Al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*.[1] In every instance the higher denomination has been put before the lower. These facts deserve more than a passing notice. About the middle of the 8th century A.D., there appeared amongst the Arabs a very ingenious system of writing numbers with the help of nine signs and the Zero. The

1 *Vide* Al-Bīrūnī's *Athār-ul-Bākeya* (or "Vestiges of the Past"). This book has been published in the Arabic original (Edward Sachau, *Chronologie Orientalischer Völker von Alberuni*, Leipzig, 1878) and in the English translation (C. Edward Sachau, *The Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, London, 1879).

Arabs called them *al-arqam al-hind* ("the signs of the *Hind*"). The Syrians obtained the system a century or a little more earlier. From there, the system was introduced into Europe near about the 12th century. And this is now the commonly accepted numeral notation of the modern world. The numbers according to this system are written by the Arabs from left to right contrary to their mode of writing the scripts, or to the mode of writing their numbers whether in *abjad* or in sexagesimal notation. This is certainly contrary to the general nature of the Arabs and other Semitic races. And this fact alone leads to the strong presumption that this system of numerals came to the Arabs and other Semitic peoples, from a non-Semitic people.[1]

The Chinese have three systems of numerals for use in different connections. Of these two are indigenous; they are written from the top downwards and the elements are arranged in the descending order. The third and the present system has been introduced by the Catholic missionaries. It has been stated before that it agrees with theoretical number system suggested. It is written from left to right with the higher elements before the lower. The numeral systems of the Koreans and the Japanese are derived from those of the Chinese. So there is nothing new to be said about them.

We shall now take up the Hindu numeral notations. The two earliest notations were the Kharoṣṭhī and the Brāhmī. The Kharoṣṭhī was particularly the script of North-Western India (including Afganisthan and the Northern Punjab). It disappeared in the third century A.D. In the Kharoṣṭhī numeral system, there were separate signs for one, four, ten, twenty and hundred. They were written from right to left, with the higher elements before the lower. But in cases of the hundred and its multiples, the symbols for the smaller elements were placed before the symbol for the hundred to denote multiplication. All these were common with the principles underlying other systems of Semitic numeral notation which we have discussed before. The next but more important and largely used Hindu numeral notation was the Brāhmī. It was probably earliest numeral notation that was found in India proper and remained in the field for many centuries. The Brāhmī numeral system consisted of separate signs for all the

1 Cf. John Taylor, *Lilawati*, Bombay (1816), Introduction, p. 31 sq.

units leaving two and three, all the tens, some hundreds and some thousands, including ten, twenty, and seventy thousands. These latter mean symbols for numbers of the fifth denomination which the Greeks called the *myriad*. Thus the Brāhmī numeral system is the richest of all the ancient independent numeral systems in symbols. The plan was, indeed, nearly the same as those of the Demotic and the Hieratic ; but it excelled the either. Though one or two signs of the hundredth and thousandth denomination might be suspected to have been invented on the multiplicative principle, it was not very apparent and had not been applied systematically. In such circumstances it will be futile to conjecture any relation about the origin of the Brāhmī numerals with those Egyptian numerals. Many knotty points will have to be cleared before such a hypothesis can be established. The Brāhmī numerals, like the alphabets, were written from left to right beginning with the higher elements. There are also instances, though rare, of the very ancient Brāhmī characters being written from right to left. But there was never a deviation from the universal mode of putting the higher elements before the lower.

The various systems of number notation which have been discussed above, whether of the Hindus, or of the Semitic peoples, or of other races, did not contain the idea of place value.[1] Such a system requires, as will be apparent, multiplicity of signs. Again there cannot be put a limit to the number of signs in any system. It is bound to increase with the demand for representing larger numbers which again are concomitant of the growth of civilisation. But the inventive genius of the people of any age and clime failed in devising new signs to cope with the demand. So repetition became an unavoidable necessity, however undesirable it might be. With the development of the Society, energy of the elite was directed towards bringing it to a minimum. But that did not prove to be easy and simple. Certain people conceived the idea of getting out of that difficulty by using the signs already invented for alphabets, also for the purpose of numerals. Apart from other drawbacks, the resourcefulness of such a device, is evidently bound to be limited. This was improved to certain extent by putting bars, dashes or other signs with the alphabets. The

1 The principle of local value was more or less in evidence in the Babylonian sexagesimal notation and in the notation of the Mayas of Central America.

introduction of the idea of local value extremely simplified the problem of number symbolism.

The third and the modern Hindu numeral system contains only ten signs, the nine numerals and the Zero. With the application of local value they are quite sufficient to express any number however large. The scale is, of course, decimal. In this system the notational places increase from right to left. The numbers are written from left to right in accordance with the Hindu scripts and the higher denominations, as is universal, are always put before the lower. This system is identical with the system which, as we have seen, appeared amongst the Syrians and the Arabs during the early centuries of the christian era. From there it went into Northern Africa and Europe. And this system has now been adopted by all the civilised peoples of the world.

The origin of this system of numeral notation is still shrouded in mystery. As all the numerous alphabets of the Hindus, though differing very widely in form, are believed to have been derived from the Brāhmī alphabets, it is highly probable that the modern Hindu numerals also grew out of the old Brāhmī numerals. Only three new signs were introduced into the old system : two of which helped to make repetition unnecessary ; while a third, the most important of all, helped to discard a lot of other signs and thus reduced the number of symbols to the minimum. There is no gainsaying in the fact that the difference of the modern Hindu numeral system from the various other ancient numeral systems is least in the case of the Brāhmī. From the mere fact that the notational places increase from right to left,—it has been already stated in the beginning—Kaye conjectures that the modern Hindu numeral system is not really of Hindu origin, but of Semitic origin. Such a conjecture is undoubtedly wrong. Because for a people with left to right script, such an order of the notational places is a natural concomitant of the custom of writing the higher elements before. From what has been stated above, it will be abundantly clear that this custom is universal. Kaye may think the present order "inconvenient and clumsy". But the world is known to be following it from time immemorial, even when the place value system of decimal notation was not invented. For peoples with right to left scripts, the order suggested by Kaye, that is the reverse order, would have been natural. But those peoples, while adopting the modern place value system, did not change the order of the notational places they found amongst the people from

whom they borrowed. And to keep up the time honoured custom of writing the higher elements first, they rather began, strangely enough, to write numbers according to the new system from left to right, contrary to the nature of their scripts and also to the direction of writing their numbers according to the other numeral systems known to them from before, e.g., the *abjad* and the sexagesimal notation. It is interesting to note in this connection that the same normal mode of writing numbers was prevalent amongst the Mayas of Central America who had a fairly well developed system of numeral notation with the place value. The Mayas followed the scale of 20, except in one step and they had a symbol for the Zero. Again, the present mode of writing numerals follows most closely the mode of expressing numbers by writing out the names in full which is current in the Sanskrit and kindred literatures from the remotest Vedic ages. From the latter, only the names of the denominations have been deleted, for they are sufficiently indicated by the position of the digit in the series. Thus it is established beyond doubt the present system of decimal notation cannot be suspected to be of non-Hindu origin simply on the score of the mode of writing numbers.

We shall conclude the presen t paper by drawing attention to what the Hindu Scholiasts have said on the subject under discussion. The works of most of them are still in Mss. and I have had access to a very few. The subject attracted the attention of some of the eminent scholiasts of the celebrated Hindu mathematician Bhāskara. The earliest of them, as far as is known to me, to notice the subject was Gaṇeśa (*c.* 1545 A.D.).[1] It was also noticed by Kṛṣṇa (*c.* 1575 A.D.), the court astronomer to the Emperor Jehangir of Delhi, and by his nephew Munīśvara (born 1603 A.D.) and by Nṛsiṃha (born 1568 A.D.).[2] All of them are of the same opinion. As, of the successive denominations tens, hundreds, thousands, ayutas, etc. each one is more respectable (*abhyarhita*) than the preceding ones, it should be written first; for it is natural to give first place to the more respected one. For a people with left to right script, that will be possible if the denominational places are arranged to increase from right to left.

BIBHUTIBHUSAN DATTA

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1 *Vide* Gaṇeśa's commentary on *Līlāvatī*, ii. 12.

2 Vide *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, edited by Muralidhara Jha with Munīśvara's *Marīci* and Nṛsiṃha's *Vāsanāvārtika*, Benares, 1917 pp. 57, 89.

Mauryan Art

Mauryan art is represented chiefly in some animal sculptures intended to stand on columns with flower-shaped capitals and in a few Yakṣa images. These are all characterised by a lustrous polish which went out of use in course of the decadence of this art. The polish was still in vogue in the days of Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka and appears on the wall surface of the Gopi and the Vapya caves[1], in the Nagarjuni Hills. There are certain fragmentary sculptures in Sarnath[2] in the Mauryan style which are without this polish. They may be co-eval with the massive but unpolished ground rails of the Great stūpa of Sanchi, which are on palæographic grounds[3] later than the Heliodorus column. The latter also has no polish, so that by the time of Antialcidas and Heliodorus the polish had ceased to be in use.

The present distribution of the Mauryan columns is between Delhi in the west, Basarh in the east and Sanchi in the south. Some of these are in fragments while others have lost their crowning members. The capitals of the Nandangarh and the Basarh pillars are *in situ*, while those of Rampurva, Sanchi, Sankissa and Sarnath have been recovered more or less injured. The lion seated on its haunches appears on the capitals of Basarh, Rampurva and Nandangarh. The Sanchi and Sarnath specimens have four semi-lions united back to back. One of the Rampurva capitals has a bull and the Sankissa capital an elephant, both standing at full height.

The art, of which these sculptures are representative, sprang up under the shadow of the royal throne of the Mauryas. The Mauryan emperors had diplomatic and cultural relations with the ruling powers of Western Asia. Hellenistic art like Hellenistic arms was at this time supreme in that region. The art of the Seleucid kingdom of Syria, says Carotti,[4] though evolving no new school "continued the

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1 A. S. R., Cunningham, vol. I, 1862-65, pp. 48-50.

2 A. S. I. A. R., 1914-15, pl. LXVI. 1-5, 15-23.

3 Dates of the Votive Inscriptions on the Stūpas at Sanchi, Rama Prasad Chanda, p. 14.

4 Carotti, Ancient Art, pp. 208-10.

traditions of the preceding period, especially in the manner of Scopas, animated with that plastic extravagance of lines and forms and that dramatic restlessness peculiar to those times, but which did not prevent the production of fresh masterpieces." The Tyche of Antioch would belong to the school of Lysippus. Several portrait sculptures are the result of a fusion of the two manners of Scopas and Lysippus." Among the busts is one of Euthydemos I, king of Bactriana "a strange type of coarse individuality," now in the Torlonia museum. The splendid gold and silver coins of Bactria[1] "really belong to the history of Greek coinage." The bronze statue of Heracles strangling the lion found in Quetta Miri[2] is of Hellenistic character. The coins of Sophytes are of Greek style and have a similarity with some coins of Seleucus.[3] Lethaby surmises that "at Seleukeia on the Tigris, which was built about 300 B.C., the Hellenistic architects must have come in contact with[4] and have absorbed many of the structural traditions of Mesopotamia." Von Friedrich Sarre[5] has no doubts about the strong Hellenistic influence in the land of the two rivers (Mesopotamia), from the character of the finds made there, so far as they have been published. "From the Persian plateaux," says he, "where excepting Susa lying in the border region, no scientific excavations as yet have been made, we know only of very few ruins and buildings of the Hellenistic period and even about some of these there is still doubt as to whether they belong to a later date—to the Parthian period. We mean the Ionian pillars of a Seleukidian temple in Khurha, the temple ruins of Kengawer and the monument Tak-i-Girra erected at the gate of Asia—the Paitak Pass. The smaller finds of the Hellenistic period from the Iranian Highland excepting the coins are still fewer. A stone head of Satyr coming from the neighbourhood of Kermanschah in Media is similar to a head which, as may be proved, comes from Dinawer, a Greek settlement not far away and not yet explored. They seem to be of the same kind of material. No doubt we have here the work of a Hellenistic artist or an accurate imitation of the same." Sarre further points out certain terrracotta reliefs from Syria

1 Coins of India, C. J. Brown, p. 25.

2 J. A. S. B., 1887, vol. LVI, Pt. I, pl. X, p. 163.

3 Indian Coins, Rapson.

4 Architecture, H. U. Series, W. R. Lethaby, p. 113; Cotterill, History of Art Vol. I, p. 121.

5 Die Kunst d. alten Persien, pp. 24, 25.

and Mesopotamia which must be taken as rare specimens showing the fusion of Persian and Hellenistic art. These represent an archer with barbaric features—possibly Scythian, a Parthian rider and a *reiterin.*

On the other hand the splendid monuments of the Achaemenids considerably survived the fall of their empire and had been standing at the time when Mauryan art was appearing on the horizon. Two fragments of pottery, which probably belonged to the same vase, discovered on the Mauryan stratum of the Bhir mound site at Taxila, illustrate the process in which Persian and Hellenistic traditions were percolating to India. One of these has the ribs or petals which the Persian artist employed for the decoration of the bases of his columns. The other, a fragment of a handle, has at its base "a rough relief which appears to have been the familiar head of Alexander the Great wearing the lion's skin."

The influence of both Persian and Hellenistic arts is recognizable in the Mauryan monuments. "It was in Persia" says Sir John Marshall,[1]" that the bell-shaped capital was evolved. It was from Persian originals, specimens of which are still extant in the plain of the Murghāb at Istakr, Naksh-i-Rustum and Persepolis, that the smooth unfluted shafts of the Mauryan columns were copied. It was from Persia, again, that the craftsmen of Aśoka learnt how to give so lustrous a polish to the stone—a technique, of which abundant examples survive at Persepolis and elsewhere."

It is also proposed to recognize Hellenistic influence in sculptures as the Sarnath capital, "in the masterful strength of its crowning lions with their swelling veins and tense muscular development and in the spirited realism of the reliefs below in which there is no trace whatever of the limitations of primitive art."

All the same Mauryan art was not wholly borrowed and has certain touches of originality which an analysis of its forms could not fail to bring out—for which the artistic genius of India may have been responsible.

This creative genius, the genius that assimilated the forms and technique of Persian art and architecture and breathed into them a new life stands revealed in many ways.

Thus, the shafts of the Persian columns stand on bell-shaped bases,

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1 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, pp. 620-21.

like the calyx of a flower reversed or on plain rectangular blocks. The columns of the facade of the rock tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam have bases with plain circular mouldings.[1] The Mauryan shafts are maintained in position by plain slabs of stone or by brick work. These are however buried in the earth and the columns have an appearance of standing by their own weight. No base could be possibly invented which would not disturb this appearance of stability.

The Persian shaft is, according to Perrot and Chipiez,[2] "fluted in all instances save in the facades of the necropolis at Persepolis and the single column that still remains of the Palace of Cyrus in the upland valley of Polvar. In the latter case the anomaly is to be explained by the fact that the building to which the support belonged dates from a time when Persian art had not constituted itself, and was as yet groping to strike out a path of its own. On the contrary the rock cut tombs are coeval with the palaces of Darius and Xerxes and if in them the shaft is plain, it was because the vaults stood at a considerable height above ground. To have made them fluted therefore, would have still further reduced the column and divested it of a frank clear aspect when viewed at that distance. To obviate so untoward a contingency the Persian sculptor modified the form as the Greeks often did in similar cases."

The Mauryan sculptor, then, need not have borrowed a form which had been discarded by the Persian for ordinary purposes when Persian art came to be in maturity. On the other hand there were indigenous forms as the *Sthuna* of Sāl wood, a specimen of which has been discovered in a funeral mound of Lauria Nandangarh.[3] It is not improbable that some such form supplied the "motif" of the plain and circular Mauryan shaft.

"Persian capitals," writes Lübke[4] "are either formed of two foreparts of bulls or unicorns or they consist of an upright and an inverted cup, the former decorated with strings of beads, the latter with hanging petals and the whole crowned with double perpendicularly placed volutes which betray a strangely fantastic adoption of Ionic forms." The Mauryan capitals have very little in common

1 Early Architecture in Western Asia, Bell, p. 207.
2 History of Art in Persia, Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 87-88.
3 A. S. I. A. R. 1908-09 pp. 123-24, pl. XL.
4 History of Art, Ed. Bunnet, 1868, vol. I, p. 57.

with these crowning members of the Persian columns. On the other hand their resemblance with the bell-shaped bases of Susa and Persepolis is conclusive. The Mauryan architect, then, must have by a bold stroke of imagination transferred the Persian base to the top of his shaft. The Persians had to make their bases solid and massive to the eye so as to impart an appearance of stability and security to the columns. Any indulgence in curvation in their outline would compromise this firmness, real or apparent. The Mauryan sculptor was free from this restraint and some of his capitals are remarkably successful in the freedom of outline. According to Perrot and Chipiez,[1] "the lower portion of the Persian capital in every case detaches itself very abruptly from the column and forms a horizontal line on each side, parallel to the architrave and at right angles to the axis of the shaft. There is no junction or intermediary moulding between the tapering column and the rectangular member at the beginning of the capital akin to the echinus of the Doric capital. Hence it is that the support presents harsh contrasts which imperfectly satisfy the eye and are very near offending it."

The bell capital of Allahabad, of which only the abacus was to be seen[2] crowning the shaft in the thirties of the last century, detached itself somewhat abruptly from the latter. The same harshness of transition seems to have been characteristic of the capitals of the Gutivā and the Rumin Dei pillars. both in the Terai.[3] Their abaci however are not decorated like the abacus of the Allahabad capital. In other columns so far known, the transition from the shaft to the capital is made easy by the addition of mouldings at the bottom of the latter. The Basarh capital has three retreating mouldings—decorated with the rope and the bead and reel designs. Similar mouldings occur below the Nandangarh capital and below Cunningham's drawings of the Sankissa one.[4] In the other capitals, the mouldings are plain. The elegantly ribbed floral bell of the Mauryan capital presents an effective contrast with the massive, smooth and plain shaft which in its tapering form has a charm of its own. This contrast is wanting in the columns of Persepolis, which in their numerously channelled

1 History of Art in Persia, pp. 90-92.

2 Hist. Ind. Architecture, Fergusson, vol. I, p. 57, figs. 4 & 5.

3 Antiquities in the Terai, Nepal, P. C. Mukherjee, pp. 31,32, 34 pl. XVI, fig. 3.

4 A. S. R., vol. I, pl. XLVI.

shafts and triple capitals create an impression of unvaried exuberance.

Ionian and Hellenistic influences are said to be traceable in Persian sculptures from the fifth century onwards. The improved style of the figure sculptures that decorate the basement of the palace of Xerxes' throne, in Persepolis, "betrays the collaboration of Ionian and possibly Greek artists,"[1] says Carotti, "especially in the modelling and in the drapery." The same is true of the friezes from the palace of Darius and the Apadana of Artaxerxes II Mnemon at Susa. "The delicately carved lions and rosettes" which ornament "the mouldings on the architrave and the door jambs" of a rock-hewn tomb of Persepolis, presumably that of Artaxerxes II, suggest, according to Mr. Bell "that later Hellenistic influences were affecting Persian art."[2] Grecian influence is clearly perceptible[3] in the tetradrachms of the satrap Daskyleion (about 400 B.C.) stamped at Kyzikos. Considering the region whence the Mauryan artist borrowed his monumental forms and considering the time, when Hellenistic art had spread over Western Asia, it seems but natural that Mauryan art should evince Hellenistic influences. A comparison of the Susa relief of lions and the Sarnath capital would put this beyond doubt. "The genius of Greece," writes Elie Faure,[4] commenting on the above relief, "which was then ripening could not endure an original form of art subsisting at its side. And as it could not prevent Persia from speaking, it denatured her words in translating them. It is not even necessary to see the Assyrian monsters before looking at the figures of Susa in order to realize that the latter have but little life, that they are heraldic in their silhoutte and rather bombastic in style," In style, in attention to details of form as swelling veins and tense muscles the lions of the Sarnath capital resemble the lions of Susa. They are lacking however, in the dramatic restlessness characteristic of contemporay Hellenistic art. In fact their life is at a still lower ebb than in the Susa figures, their heads with the gaping mouths look still less terrible. Sir John Marshall is for recognizing in this "the tectonic and conventional spirit imported

1 Ancient Art, Carotti, pp. 93-94.
2 Early Architecture in Western Asia, Bell, p. 231.
3 Sarre, Die Kunst d. alten Persien, p. 20.
4 Ancient Art, Elie Faure, p. 106.

consciously and of set purpose to bring the lions into harmony with the architectural character of the monument."[1]

The abacus of the Sarnath capital has, among other elements of decoration a galloping horse spirited in movement and distinct from the background, yet not sharply defined against it like the reliefs of Bharhut. In its modelling and movement this figure is comparable with the two horses in the relief on the Sarcophagus of the Amazons,[2] a Hellenistic work now in Vienna.

The striding lion in the adjoining compartment is a Persian design. The humped bull, an Indian animal, appears in the identical attitude, being walked on by two men in the Persepolitan relief of the Tribute Bearers.[3] Elephants with the embellishment of horns appear, drawing the Biga and the Quadriga in the early coins of the Seleucids.[4] The elephant of the Sarnath capital is unquestionably superior in execution.

It is significant, however, that of the four animals on the abacus only the horse appears in violent movement; the rest are striding on in a leisurely fashion. This demonstrates how the artist was lacking in harmony of conception and was not bold enough to adapt to his purposes types fixed by convention.

The male statues, the yakṣas, unlike the lion sculptures are non-muscular. There is the smallest attempt at representation of muscles below the elbows, just indicating that they belong to the same school. A similar divergence between the forms of the human and animal sculptures is characteristic of Achaemenid art. Evidently the climate and the surroundings of the Persian prohibited the nude form in art, so that the Ionian Greeks who collaborated in the friezes of the palace of Persepolis and Susa, had to remain content with enclosing the figures in exquisitely soft drapery,[5] "which brings out every shade of the outline."

The Mauryan artist had no such restraint as in Persia, so that his sculptures are nude in the upper body. Yet the extravagance of form peculiar of contemporary Hellenistic art and the Kushano-

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1 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 621.
2 Ancient Art, Carotti, p. 218, fig. 298.
3 History of Art in Persia, Perrot and Chipeiz, p. 407, fig. 195.
4 Cambridge History of India, vol. I, p. 463, pl. II, figs. 1 & 2.
5 History of Art in Persia, Perrot and Chipiez, pp. 427-430.

Hellenistic art of Gandhara is lacking in them. The surface of the nude body has the gliding finish characteristic of Indian art, though variatious of plane can be felt as the hand is passed over the drapery on the legs. The massive and vigorous conception of the forms, the silent power underlying them and the feeling of dignified repose, must be regarded as Indian traits. If the folds of the drapery happen to be derived from the Perso-Ionic form, their adaptation, like the adaptation of Gandharan folds in the Gupta art of Mathura,is complete.

Bell capitals of Mauryan columns

A bell shaped base from Susa is seen in fig. 1. Its surface decoration consists of petals with broad ridges in the middle and narrow borders. The interstices at the bottom are filled up by short mouldings like the pointed ends of leaves. The upper end of the base has a ring of leaves and petals. It is of gently curved outline and its breadth is greater than its height. A "salient" torus is intermediate between the bell and the fluted shaft.

One of the two fragments of pottery from Taxila, "of grey clay burnt to red on the outside and covered with black paint," is decorated with Persepolitan petals with broad ridges and narrow borders. The closer agreement of the petals with the Persian form and their divergence with the Mauryan seem to indicate that the latter was evolved not in the neighbourhood of Gandhara, but is peculiar to the region of its provenance—chiefly the plains of the Ganges and Jumna. The band of bead and reel ornament round the rim of the cup recalls similar work at the bottom of the Basarh and the Lauria Nandangarh capitals.

The capital of the Basarh column has its bell decorated with the same type of petals but the width of the border in each petal has, in comparison with the Susa base and the Taxila cup, increased relatively to the ridge in the middle. The spaces between the ends of the petals are filled up with short mouldings as in the Susa base, but the ring of leaves and petals below the torus of the latter has been dispensed with in the Basarh capital as in all other Mauryan capitals of the same order. Below the petals are retreating mouldings decorated with the bead and reel and cable designs. Between the abacus and the bell there is another prominent cable moulding in place of the Persian torus—an admirable ornament in its "group of twisted lines." Both designs are Western Asiatic. The abacus is square and undecorated on its edge. It is in fact the pedestal

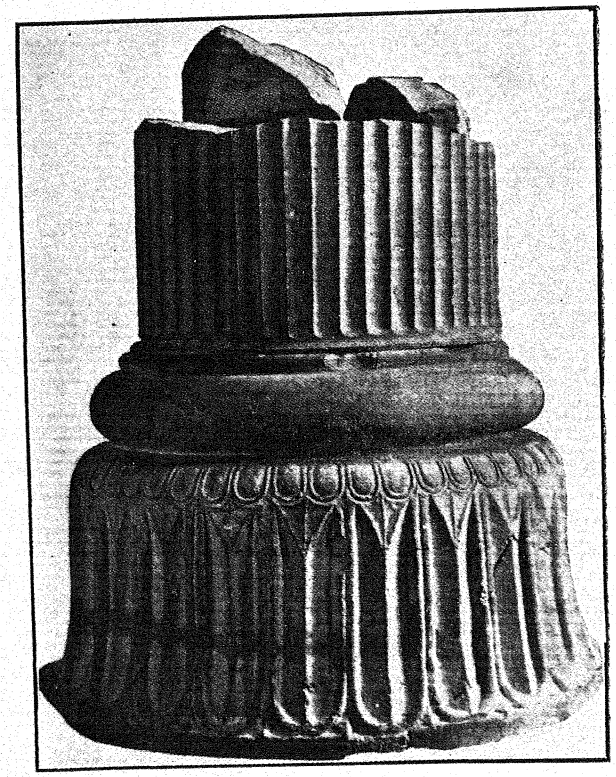


Fig. 1
Bell-shaped base of column,
Susa

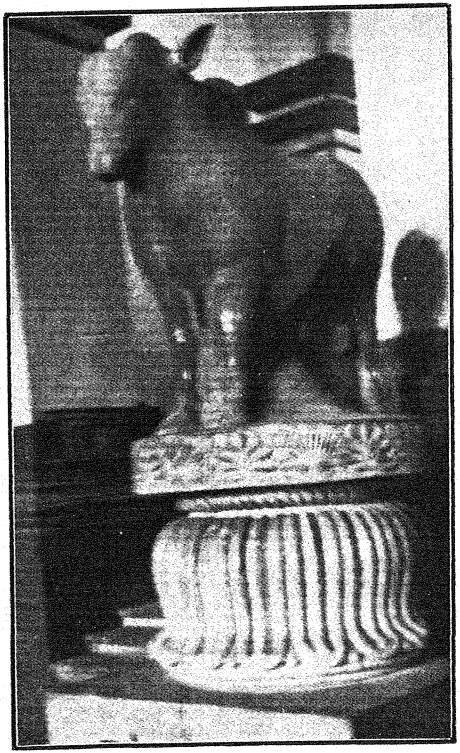


Fig. 2
Bull Capital of Rampurva,
Mauryan

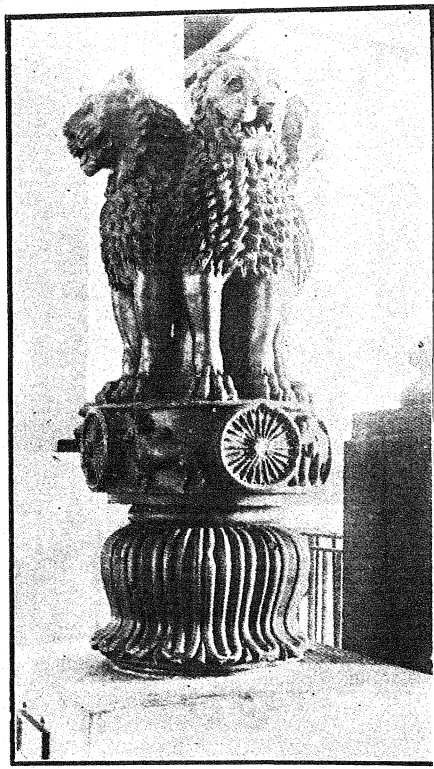


Fig. 3
Lion Capital—Sarnath
(From cast in the Indian Museum)



of the sculpture above rather than the abacus of the circular bell capital, being of a form not suited to the latter. The lion which is seated on its haunches—a type known in Western Asia—is regarded as an inferior work of art. The bell, which is of fluent outline, slopes towards the bottom with a greater slant than the Susa base. The upper part is not fully accentuated in its outward bulge. This is because the petals with their ends spreading out are not sufficiently drawn inwards at the bend as in the other capitals. A harmony of line is maintained up to the cable moulding above and likewise in the lion in its front view, but the continuity is disturbed by the square abacus. The width of the bell is greater than its height as in the Susa base.

The Lauria Nandangarh column has its shaft somewhat chipped off immediately below the capital. The lion on the abacus is also injured. The floral bell is like the Basarh capital broader than it is high. It has the same mouldings below and above it. The abacus which is decorated with a row of geese evidently pecking at food—all in relief, is circular and appropriate to the form of the capital and the shaft. The lion above it is in the same attitude as the lion of the Basarh capital. Its workmanship however is superior although the modelling would seem to be bombastic and the strenuousity of the muscles rather extravagant. The sculptor is evidently in difficulties about adapting the crowning figure to the round abacus and the rump of the animal and part of its hind-legs project beyond it in an unbecoming manner. The bell shaped drum is comparatively steep and its upper or convex part is more pronounced than in the Basarh capital. But the transition from the bell to the abacus is abrupt and the single moulding intermediate between the two does not suffice to soften down the effect.

The bell of the Sankissa capital is, according to Cunningham, "low, its breadth being greater than its height in which particular it resembles the Asoka pillar of Nandangarh Lauria, to the north of Bettiah."[1] His drawing of the capital shows the bead and reel and the cable ornaments below the bell and the cable moulding on its neck. The abacus is decorated with rosettes, honeysuckles and Aśvattha leaves etc. with a band of bead and reel at its lower edge. The elephant above is vigorous in execution. The trunk and the tail are missing. The former may have been wound up into a knot

1 A. S. R., vol. I, p. 275, pl. XLVI.

between the tusks as in the drawing above the Khalsi inscription. The body is treated in soft outlines. Details as the veins of the ear flap, the folds of the neck, the toes and the charming creases above the feet have engaged attention. The flesh is spongy in feeling and its transitions are subtle.

The stone between the body of the animal and the abacus has not been removed. This was because the Mauryan artist did not risk totally round images and his sculptures are partly in relief and partly in the round—a mingling of the two processes. The mass of unnecessary material is in this case carved into the semblance of rocks which in their shadows relieve the plain surface of the elephant's body.

The bell is steep in outline and the curve of the convex portion is somewhat accentuated. The lower or concave portion is not however well brought out as it is in the Sarnath capital. The transition from the bell to the abacus is abrupt as in the Nandangarh capital.

The bull capital of Rampurva (fig. 2) agrees with the foregoing in that the breadth of its bell is greater than its height and it has a rope moulding intermediate between the bell and the abacus. The mouldings below it are however plain, unlike the Basarh, Nandangarh and Sankissa capitals. The concave or lower portion of the bell is as pronounced as the convex upper part. The transition from the bell to the abacus is harsh as in the preceding specimens. On the other hand in the shaping of the stone between the latter and the animal above and in the disposition of the front legs there is greater consideration for line. The abacus is decorated with rosettes and honeysuckles, etc. The humped bull, which has lost its horns, right ear and dewlap, is stationary and of vigorous limbs and outline. Details are not wanting and the skin has a firm look. The head is not as distinct from the massive neck as it should be and is held in an unnatural manner. In executing the head and the neck the sculptor has shown his bold workmanship but betrayed his ignorance of the forms.

The Sanchi capital has its bell partially restored in plaster of Paris with the help of a number of fragments which preserve the shape of the original in the restoration. The breadth is not prominent, and the height has increased. It is no longer the same heavy and massive drum as at Basarh and Rampurva and the change from Susa can be noticed at a glance.

The lower mouldings would seem to have been plain. The transition from the bell to the abacus is smoothed over by the addition

of a fillet band over the cable necking. "The abacus is ornamented with four honeysuckle designs separated one from the other by beautifully sculptured geese in pairs confronting each other with lowered heads."[1]

Crowning the abacus is a group of four semi-lions united back to back, with strenuous muscles, powerful claws and swelling breasts covered with schematic curls. The heads are more or less injured. The design recalls to mind the drawing of a pillar in an Egyptian tomb, which is surmounted by a circular capital,[2] showing in the profile the heads of three lions, The lower parts of the figures do not appear and only the lion in the centre has a protruding tongue like the Mauryan lions. Schematic curls appear on the necks. Above the lions is an oblong abacus on which beams or lintels may have rested. Diodorus[3] preserves a tradition that "the famous palaces of Persepolis, Susa and Media were built after the artistic wealth of temples from the sack of Egypt had been conveyed to Asia along with Egyptian artificers." The design may have existed in some perishable material in Persia and thence carried to India, although there is every possibility of an independent invention by a gifted artist.

The Sanchi lions are at their base entirely contained within the abacus and there is no unseemly projection as in the Nandangarh capital. The lines are not confined to a single profile as in the Sankissa and the Rampurva (bull) capitals, nor is there a traingular skyline unpleasant to the eye as in the capitals crowned by lions seated on their haunches. The lines have free play along the bodies of the animals and the profiles are symmetrical in outline.

The flow of line is thus maintained along the whole sculpture—along the bell which is light in feeling and fluent in curves, the abacus which is no longer the pedestal to the lion sculpture above but an organic whole with the bell because of the two mouldings which are intermediary,—maintained right up to the top of the crowning lions. It swells up and sweeps down, being made rhythmic by the alternate expansion and contraction of the forms. The only detracting feature is the cable necking which contrasts the vertical lines of the bell by its own spirals.

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1 Sanchi Museum Cat., p. 19.

2 History of Art in Persia, Perrot and Chipiez, fig. 43. p. 112.

3 Ibid., p. 113.

The Sarnath capital (fig. 3) is of the same type as the Sanchi one. The lower mouldings are plain. The bell is light in feeling and elegantly carved, the breadth is not oppressive in proportion to the height. The rope moulding above is replaced by a bold torus. There is the plain fillet as in the Sanchi capital. The abacus is rather prominent being 1′ ½″ high, the total height being 7ft. This may have been due to the necessary insertion of the four symbolic wheels at the cardinal points. The manes of the lions are rendered in curls, rich in volume but still schematic.

The outline of the profile of the Sanchi capital has an outward swell round about the abacus in the middle. In the Sarnath specimen this swell is made boldly accentuated and with the high abacus, the claws of the lions above and the undecorated mouldings seems to enclose an elliptical form.

At the same time the artist of the Sarnath capital has achieved this rythm of line, he has lost sight of other aesthetic considerations. The Sanchi bell with its mouldings and narrow abacus is, like the Susa base with its torus, one organic whole and the same cannot be said of the Sarnath bell, although the transition to the abacus is not harsh. The abacus itself is unduly high and seems about to crush the light and elegant bell with all its super-imposing weight.

The lion capital of Rampurva (fig. 4) is one of the finest products of Mauryan art. Its bell is of greater breadth than height, but this seems to have been due to the desire to contain the whole figure within the abacus. At any rate the joints of the hind legs and the rump are not jutting out as in the Nandangarh capital and the line is continued from the abacus directly along the rounded rump. The bell is elegant with the curves of its outline well brought out and the mouldings which are, like those of the Sarnath capital, undecorated. The narrow abacus ornamented with geese is with the fillet and the torus, a real beauty and in fact seems, as it were, to grow out of the bell like the thalamus of a lotus.

The manes of the lion are in schematic curls which lead the eye along pleasant zig-zags. Some of the curls radiating beautifully from the head form a frame round it. The animal is beautifully modelled, the taut muscles and swelling veins standing out boldly.

The divergences of form between the capitals could be hardly due to the fancies of the individual artist. On the other hand they seem to indicate how the art has groped through them to arrive at self-expression. The capitals of the Rumin Dei and Allahabad columns

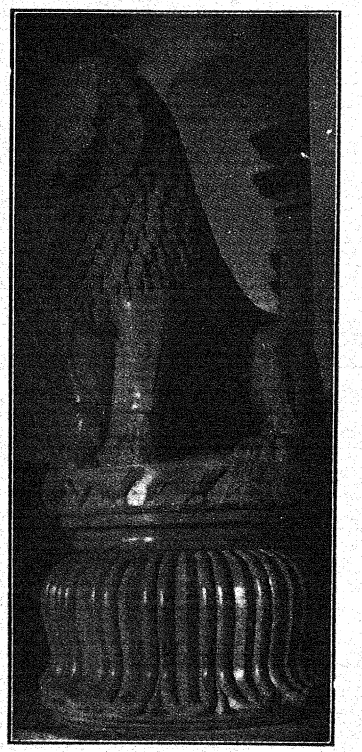


Fig. 4
Lion Capital,
Rampurva



Fig. 5
Yakṣa Statue, Patna



Fig. 6
Female Sculpture, Didargunj, Patna

have broad fillets at their base which are clearly a development of the fillet below the petals of the Susa base. The Basarh capital with its broad and heavy drum, sloping outline, square abacus—a form ill suited to the circular bell—and crude lion, is unquestionably a transitional work, belonging to a phase of the art when the form of of the capital was not successfully evolved. The Nandangarh and Sankissa capitals are allied to this by the decorated mouldings above and below the bell, which in all of them is broader than it is high. Its outline however is more emphasized and the circular abacus is a departure from Basarh. The abruptness of transition between the abacus and the bell in the Nandangarh, Sankissa and Rampurva (bull) capitals create the impression of the former being the pedestal of the animal above, in spite of its round form. The bull capital of Rampurva in its cable necking, the proportions of the drum and the crudeness in the neck of the animal itself would seem to be allied to the Nandangarh and Sankissa capitals, but the powerful curvation of its outline, and the plain-ness of the lower mouldings link it with the Sanchi, Sarnath and Rampurva lion capitals. Evidently the decorated mouldings of the Basarh, Nandangarh and Sankissa capitals were felt to be overloaded and detracting from the beauty of the bell and given up for simpler and less obtrusive ones. The Sanchi capital is allied with the foregoing by its rope necking, but the fillet above it, the lighter form of the bell, well defined in the curves of the outline, the smooth transition to the abacus and the flow of line along the entire sculpture make it later than the Rampurva (bull) capital. In the Sarnath specimen the linear quality is more developed than at Sanchi and the plain torus has taken the place of the cable necking. The lion capitals of Sarnath and Rampurva may not be much removed from each other because of the agreement of the mouldings. That the breadth of the bell of the latter is greater than its height may be due to the need of including the crowning figure within the abacus.

These capitals, therefore, may be said to mark one ascending scale of artistic achievement, although the chronology cannot be strongly insisted upon without some striking divergence of form. The feeling for form and the eye for line seem to improve step by step. The tendency of linear rhythm can be felt from the beginning and in view of the same quality of later Indian sculptures may be recognized—not improbably—as the impress of the Indian genius on Mauryan art.

The human figure in Mauryan art

The human figure in Mauryan art was represented with equal boldness if less skill than the animal sculptures. Only a few specimens have been discovered. All of these are characterized by the usual brilliant polish. Two are inscribed, but their decipherment has been the cause of a wild controversy among scholars. Patna and Sarnath are the two localities which have yielded human sculptures.

The fragmentary head from Sarnath is remarkable for its massiveness, its bold execution and hard chiselling. The face is entirely broken off and the back of the skull with part of the forehead is all that remains of the head. The latter is framed by a number of conventional spiral curls, Western Asiatic in form. A floral wreath of a pattern common in Suṅga art appears above the curls and there is a crenelated crown of Persian design. Some folds of drapery are seen on the neck. The eyebrow is sharply cut and the remaining corner would seem to indicate that the eyes had been wide open. The ear is naturalistic. The back of the head is boldly shaped and with the short neck from which it is scarcely differentiated gives an impression of strength. The face would appear to have been held up in a slanting attitude; so that the distance from the nape to the chin must have been awkward and affected the shape of the neck. Animal sculptures as the bull on the Rampurva capital would seem to demonstrate how the Mauryan sculptor, though sometimes lacking in understanding of form, was always a bold carver of stone. The Sarnath head would be another example of this.

A Patna statue—the one with its head intact—reveals in places —particularly the face—a hesitation in execution which may be due to the decadence that seems to have affected Mauryan art in its later stages. The figure stands in a perpendicular attitude with its right leg slightly in advance of the left. There must have been an oblong pedestal on which the feet had been resting flat. The left arm, of which the fore part is missing, was bent at right angles and held close to the side. The right hand is broken off from the shoulder, but existing traces show that it was held in the same attitude as in the other statue from the same place.

The upper body is nude except for the "uttariya" or upper scarf which lies across the chest and comes down to the feet from behind the left shoulder. It is for the most part gathered in a broad mass

which expands towards the right hip. The lower garment is made fast to the body by means of a sash, the knot and tasselled ends of which appear about the male organ. It is draped round the body and its right end is drawn up at the front. A peculiar feature of this garment is the absence of the "kaccha" or the end of the scarf tucked up at the back. The folds which are somewhat ornamental are represented by a broad band in the middle with two narrow borders. But as they are not sculptured in high relief and as the drapery is subsidiary to the figure and follows the configuration of the limbs the decorative tendency is effectively modified.

On the chest is a torque decorated with rosettes with the tassels of its ends hanging in a knot behind the shoulders. The left hand has a spiral armlet. There is a pendant on the left ear. The coiffre is represented in mass remaining plain over the crown and indicated at the back by the simplest hair lines. The mode of representing hair, therefore is different at Sarnath and Patna.

The massiveness of the limbs and lack of movement gives the figure a distinguished look. The artist has represented an obese type, its power being simply of mass in bold execution and a dignified attitude.

The back of the head is better formed than in the Sarnath fragment, the neck being distinct from the skull. The fleshy face has its salient features as the lips and nose worn away—all the same it is very crudely conceived. The forehead is narrow and crescent shaped. The eyebrows are raised in the middle. The eyes are wide open with heavy eyelids and long slits. The neck does not happen to be as distinct at the front as at the back and is absurdly perched on the shoulder.

The statue is plurifacial but the different aspects are not skilfully harmonized. The transition between the profile and the back is abrupt and not successfully rounded off. The movement of the right leg is not perceptible at the front and the front view of the neck is not in agreement with that of the back.

Another statue from Patna is seen in fig. 5. Its head and forearms are missing, but the lower portion including the pedestal is intact. A *chaury* rests on the right shoulder, its handle was obviously grasped in the hand. The bust is powerfully shaped but generalized in modelling. A massive garland lies on the chest. The right leg is slightly advanced but this can be discerned only in the back view. The feet are clumsily modelled.

The arrangement of drapery is the same as in the other statue. It is not a flowing robe, but clings close to the form. It is not of a decorative character as in Gandhara. Accordingly, we do not have the gracefully sweeping scarf, the charming frills, the folds which can be elegant sometimes—and all the magnificence of Gandhara. It falls to the ground heavily, revealing the feet at the front and in its simplicity adds to the repose and dignity of the figure.

The Pārkham statue is another sculpture that is dated by Sir John Marshall in the Mauryan period.[1] The great divergence between this image and the Sarnath capital, he explains by attributing this to indigenous craftsmen of the Mauryan period, while the other is evidently the work of a Hellenistic artist. The figure is perpendicular but weighted only on the right leg. The left knee is raised forward though the foot rests level on the pedestal. The left hand came down on the thigh. The right hand is missing and its exact attitude is doubtful.

There are enormous pendants from the ears hanging down to the shoulders. Below the neck is a torque and necklace, the fringed ends of which appear behind the shoulders.

The upper garment is tied like a band below the chest with its end hanging on the left side. The lower scarf is made fast by a sash, the ends of which appear between the legs.

The lower garment has its train hanging at the back without the *kaccha* as in the Patna statues. At the front, it is drawn upwards. Between the legs are the lappets characteristic of the drapery of Suṅga figures. Some of the frills are arranged over the right thigh—a feature that can be recognized on a figure in the Mahābodhi rails. The folds except in the lappets which serve an ornamental purpose are indicated by the barest scratch marks.

The feet are more shapely than in the Patna statue. In the form of the legs in particular, the sculptor essays at truth to nature. In the frontal aspect the drapery is pressed deeply against the limbs and thoroughly reveals their form. The same attempt is recognized in the Patna statues, but the conception of drapery there is different, the forms for the most part being only slightly revealed. This, therefore, is an anticipation of the same feature in later Indian sculpture. The male organ is not indicated. This again reminds us of the figures

1 C. H. I., Vol. I, p. 622.

on the Bharhut rails. The sash which keeps the lower garment in its place seems to cut through the abdomen. The neck shows the same crudeness as in the Patna statues. The head is not even rounded and there is little or no modelling in the face. The back of the skull is flat and thus distinct from the shoulder. The latter is much more accentuated in curve than in the Patna statues, while the spinal channel is deeper. The hips are flat and sharp in outline and make a near approach to the Mathura statues of Bhikṣu Bala set up in the reign of Kaṇiṣka, in this respect. The lower garment completely hides the back view of the forms. The transition from one aspect to another is more sharp than in the Patna statues.

Thus the abdomen, the neck and the head of this figure are primitive features. The train of the lower garment at the back, the swelling curve of the shoulders as well as the attempt at plurifaciality recall the conventions and the technique of Mauryan art. The absence of the male organ, the revelation of the forms by the drapery pressing close against the limbs and the lappets between the legs are akin to Suṅga traditions. The raised knee and the easy posture would seem to point in the same direction although the execution recalls the boldness of Mauryan art. For, in Suṅga figures the raised knee is indicated by a lateral extention. The absence of modelling at the back is characteristic of later Indian statuary.

The image therefore, would appear to belong to the transition between Mauryan and Suṅga art, to a period when the traditions of Mauryan workmanship were weakening and Suṅga art—the spontaneous art of the people—was appearing on the horizon.

Didargunj in Patna has yielded a highly polished female statue (fig. 6) characterized by the brilliant Mauryan polish. It is 5′ 2½″ high and stands on a pedestal 1′6½″ × 1′ 8″ sq. Its attitude is simple and perpendicular and there is no attempt at the creeper like movement characteristic of the mediæval female figure. In the back view the right leg appears to be slightly advanced, but in the frontal aspect both the feet appear weighted. This is because the sculptor could not unify the different aspects of the statue. The upper body seems to have a stoop to the front. This stoop may have been due to the weight of the breasts. This is enjoyably graceful in Gupta figures. The Mauryan sculptor would seem to have been incapable of representing such a delicate movement and has subjected to it the whole body from the hips upward. The right hand which is held a little apart from the

body is bent upwards at the elbow and holds the *chaury* resting on the shoulder. The left hand is missing and probably came down in a graceful curve on the hip.

The figure displays an enormity of ornaments characteristic of the taste of feminine India to this day. There are huge anklets on the feet and profuse bangles on the only remaning arm. A *kañci* surrounds the hips. A short neclace of beads encircles the neck while a double-stranded one hangs gracefully—"pendulously," between the breasts. Massive pendents—of a patterm which Beharee fashion has not still discarded—decorate the earlobes. "The head itself," writes Dr. Spooner, "is wreathed with ropes of beads or pearls caught up to a point in front, above a large and prominent oval disc of some kind placed centrally over the forehead and thence led backwards in a double line along the parting to find fastening beneath the luxuriant tresses of the coiffre behind."[1]

The lower garment is wrapped round the waist, the ends being drawn up between the legs at the front. The train falls to the ground as in the two male statues. The drapery clings close to the figure, but reveals more of the forms in the front than in the back. The folds are of the same character as in the male statues, but executed in better taste. At the back they follow the lower curvation of the hips and in front converge to the mount of Venus which is hidden from view by a sash hanging from the *kañci*. In this respect the figure contrasts with the early sculptures of Sanchi, of Udaigiri in Orissa and the Kuśan figures of Mathura. The *uttaria* is confined to the back, with its rightend falling to the ground, obviously because the sculptor intended to show off the frontal aspect.

The lower part of the figure is stiff and archaic in the front view. The torso tapers to the feet evidently to emphasize the breadth of the hips. The relieving feature of the statue is its upper half. The full breasts, the slim waist and the broad hips are as the Indian sculptor loved to represent. In the profile the breasts are seen hanging by their weight and the curvation of the hips is beautiful. In all this the artist has introduced a naturalism which adds to the gracefulness of the figure. The channelling of the spine, the creases of the neck, the charming knot of hair at the back, the folds of the waist and that below the navel show him at his best. The transition from one aspect to another is not abrupt

1 J. B. O. R. S., 1919, p. 110.

but rounded off. The features have the sponginess of flesh and are soft in contour.

The face is oval with the chin well brought out in the profile, with flanking ears with their lobes distended by the pendants, full cheeks narrow forehead and small mouth. The tip of the nose is damaged. The eyebrows rise directly from the lines of the bridge and are somewhat arched. The eyes have narrow and long slits with half open lids, but the pupils are not characterized. There are circular hollows round the eyes and the mouth. The face wears an expression of archaic rigidness.

The female sculpture of Besnagar has been attributed by the late Dr. Vincent Smith to the reign of Aśoka, "on account of the style and costume."[1] It is however totally discrepant from the Didargunj image, except in the attempt at plurifaciality and the perpendicular attitude.

The figure is 6′ 7″ high and stands on an oblong pedestal which has been partly broken off at the front. There is no attempt at advancing the right leg.

There are pendants on the ears and massive necklaces which disfigure the chest. On the hips are the usual *kañcis*. The waist cloth is heavy and rude in execution and comes down below the knees. There is no train falling to the ground as in the Patna statues. There is nothing here to match the delightful folding of the drapery of the Didargunj image. The lappets between the legs at the front hint at Suṅga influences having been at work and there is slight attempt to reveal the shape of the hips in the back view. The veiled coiffre and the disc like shape of the face remind of the figures on the Bharhut rails. Looked at from the front, the neck is almost charming, but the same bold execution of the back has been shirked by means of the massive coiffre. The chest is deep and the breasts fuller and rounder than in the Didargunj image and perhaps exaggerated. In the waist which is slim the same amount of detail is lacking. The hips are broad. Although the lower part of the figure is more rudely shaped, still it has less rigidity than in the Didargunj image. This is because there is variation of line near the knees, emphasized by the attempt at drawing out the lower edge of the waist cloth near

1 History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 62.

alves of the legs and because the feet are planted in a more natural attitude. The transition from the back to the sides is left sharp.

The Besnagar statue, therefore, would seem to belong to the same period of transition between the Mauryan and the Suṅga art as the statue of Pārkham.

Our knowledge of Mauryan human sculpture, therefore would be limited to the Sarnath head and the three Patna statues. Sarnath has yielded another boldly carved stone head not polished—showing crudeness of neck and wide open eyes—of a different type from the heads of the two Patna sculptures. The lower strata of Sarnath remain to be explored over a considerable area and will no doubt yield very interesting remains, in view of fact that the Sarnath sculptures differ in respect of form from the Patna statuary. Another massive head, also unpolished has been discovered among the remains of the Persepolitan hall at Kumrahr (Site No. I), which has a narrow forehead framed by rude curls, slanting eyebrows of the type of the male statue of Patna, though bolder in execution, open eyes with long and narrow slits as the Didargunj image and circular hollows about the eyes and the mouth as in both of them. Evidently the head is late Mauryan.

The discovery of these three Patna sculptures was purely accidental and systematic excavation will no doubt bring to light many more. In the present state of our knowledge, the following may be regarded as characteristic of Mauryan statuary.

1. Peculiarities of form:—Misformed neck. Concentration of attention to the upper half of the figure, the lower half remaing stiff. Fleshy face. Eyes wide open with long and narrow slits, without pupils. Hollows round the eyes and mouth. Drapery falling to the ground at the back, rendered in folds with broad band in the middle with two narrow borders.

2. Peculiarities of pose:—Simple perpendicular attitude. Right leg slightly put forward—perceptible only from the back.

3. Plurifaciality which is more or less crude owing to the sharpness of transition from one aspect to another. Conformity wanting between the different aspects.

4. A feeling of power and repose.

ACHYUTA KUMAR MITRA

Saṁsāra or
Buddhist Philosophy of Birth and Death

That birth precedes death, and death, on the other hand, precedes birth, is one of the principal tenets of Buddhism. The constant succession of birth and death in connection with each individual life-flux constitutes what is technically known as Saṃsāra (together-wandering). Several renderings are given of this enigmatic formula of Buddhist thought. One of the least correct as regards the wording, and the most misleading as regards the meaning, is "Metempsychosis," which in reality implies a transmigration of *something* or, to be more precise, an *immortal soul.* The Vedāntists will perhaps readily agree with this translation, as it only confirms the teachings of Upaniṣads, which say "just as the worm from leaf to leaf, even so goes the Ātman, the self, from existence."

Buddhists, on the contrary, strongly object to such a rendering for, according to Buddhist philosophy, there is no *goer* but a mere *going*, no *doer* but a mere *doing*. Since there is no proper English equivalent that fully conveys the meaning of the Pāli terms, it is preferable in every way to retain the original, and so avoid all misconceptions.

What, then, is the absolute beginning of Saṃsāra or, to put it in other words, what is the primal origin of life? This is a question which perplexes many a profound thinker. The expected answer has not yet been obtained, despite the fact that it has received the attention of all thinking men and it is not too much to say that in all probability it never will be.

The Indian Ṛṣis who are venerated for their colossal intellect have expended an enormous amount of labour and energy in order to comprehend this riddle of life. Deluded by the web of illusion, they have deduced all their so-called facts from the unwarranted thesis of an imaginary "self," and have concluded that life has for its origin the mystical Paramātman.

Christianity also professes to give an explanation. Citing the analogy of the clock, it attempts to trace everything to the fiat of an Almighty God. With due deference to the teachings of Christ, suffice

it merely to state in the words of Schopenhauer that "the birth of an animal as arising out of nothing, and accordingly, its death as an absolute annihilation, whilst man who has also originated out of nothing has yet an individual existence, is really something against which the healthy mind revolts, and which it must regard as absurd."

Unfettered by any religious belief, freed from all dogmatic assertions, but solely relying on *common sense*, modern science steps in and endeavours to tackle the problem with her usual accurate investigations and ingenuity. In spite of her systematised knowledge she may fairly be compared to a child making its first observations in natural history. Nevertheless we gladly welcome her into our midst for she neither claims to be perfect, nor does she deem it a sacrilege if one has the audacity to contradict her views. To an age, or rather to people who strongly believe in the creation of an omnipotent God, the scientific theories that life has had a beginning in the infinite past and that man is evolved from the ground ape, are indeed very valuable substitutes.

Buddhism interposes and pertinently says *"without beginning and end is Saṃsāra. A beginning of beings, encompassed by nescience,* who, fettered by the thirst for life, pass on to ever new births, verily is not to be perceived." It seems further to address the enthusiastic seekers after truth and say: Young friends, worry not in vain, seeking for a beginning in a beginningless past. If life is an *identity*, it must necessarily have a primal origin. Life, strictly speaking, is a flux or force like electricity or gravitation, and, as such it necessitates a beginningless past. Whether you are descended from an arboreal or a ground ape, created by God or Brahman, birth, death and suffering are inevitable. Seek therefore the cause of his 'faring on' that concerns all humanity, and utilise every ounce of your valuable energy to transmute this life-stream to the unchangeable, unconditioned state, the Nibbāna.

To a materialist who loves to speculate for the mere sake of argument these words will, of course, be of no avail. Well, it makes no great difference to Buddhism. The word of Buddha is intended only for those sorrow-afflicted brethren to whom the Dhamma has become a necessity. "The Dhamma is like some painful cure which no rational person would undergo on its own account but because necessity compels."

Accordingly, in the search after the cause of birth and death Buddhism takes for its starting point the *being as he is*, here and now,

and traces back the causes of his conditioned existence. From the Buddhist point of view all men and animals are composed of inter-related mind and matter (Nāma and Rūpa), which constantly change with lightning rapidity, not remaining for even two consecutive moments the same. Though all are identical inasmuch as they possess the two common factors mind and matter, yet they are all so varied that, leaving animals aside, even amongst mankind no two persons are found to be alike in any respect, each person having his particular traits of character.

One might say that the variation is due to heredity and enviornment. No doubt they are partly instrumental; but surely they cannot be solely responsible for the subtle distinctions that exist between individuals. Otherwise we fail to understand why twins often physically alike, sharing equal privileges of up-bringing, are often temperamentally, intellectually, and morally totally different. Tracing back the individual, therefore, to the fœtus in the womb to see where lies the cause, we discovered two other common factors the sperm-cell and the ovum-cell. Now a question might arise as to whether these two are the only materials for the production of the fœtus. We must perforce answer the question in the negative. For we cannot comprehend why precisely "he" should spring from the particular sperm and ovum-cell in question and not another, since one has equal claims to the other. Buddhism makes the matter clear by attributing this appropriation of cell-matter to the existence of a *third element*. "By the conjunction of three things, O'Bhikkus," runs a passage in the Mahātaṇhā Sankhaya Suttanta (No. 38) of the Majjhima Nikāya, "does the formation of a germ of life come about. If mother and father come together, but it is not the mother's proper period, and the 'exciting impulse' (gandhabbo) does not present itself, a germ of life is not planted. If mother and father come together, and it is the mother's proper period, and the 'exciting impulse' also presents itself, then a germ of life is there planted." This newly discovered element is, in the words of Abhidhamma, termed Paṭisandhi-viññāṇa (linking-consciousness).

We have now found out the first term of life's progression, but our limited knowledge does not help us to proceed further and determine the cause of this 'exciting impulse.' The Buddha, however, developing a supernormal sense, so as to penetrate into realms beyond the reach of normal sense, comprehended also the root of this third element. He tells that the coming-into-being of the linking cons-

ciousness is dependent upon the passing away of another consciousness in a past birth, and that the process of arising and passing away is the result of an all-ruling powerful force known as Kamma. One might call for proofs. It must frankly be admitted that this proof cannot be furnished by an experiment upon the lecture table. Whether we believe in a past existence or not, it forms the only reasonable hypothesis which bridges certain gaps in human knowledge concerning facts of every day life. Our reason tells us that this idea of past birth and Kamma alone can explain the degree of differences that exist between twins, how men like Shakespeare with every limited experience, are able to portray with marvellous exactitude the most diverse type of human character, scenes, and so forth, of which they could have no actual knowledge, why the work of the genius invariably transcends his experience, the existence of infant precocity, the vast diversity in mind and morals, in brain and physique, in conditions, circumstances, and environments observable throughout the world, and so forth.

There is yet a further cause besides Kamma, continues the Buddha. Not knowing the four realities (Saccāni), allured to life by the wholly illusory inclination to sensual pleasures, one does good and evil, which constitute what is known as Kamma-energy that materialises in multifarious phenomena. Unknowningness (Avijjā) is therefore the cause of birth and death; and its transmutation into knowingness or Vijjā is consequently their cessation. The result of this Vibhajja method of analysis is summed up in the Paṭiccasamuppāda. The Paṭṭhāna succinctly expresses the same in the following words. In virtue of unknowingness (Avijjā), Craving (Taṇhā), Activities (Saṅkhārā) Attachment (Upādāna), and Volition (Cetanā), arise Rebirth-Consciousness (Paṭisandhi-viññāṇa), Mind and Matter (Nāma, Rūpa), Six Senses, (Saḷāyatana), Contact (Phassa), and Sensation (Vedanā).

The first set of five causes produces the second set of effects, which, in their turn, play the part of cause to bring about the former five. Thus the process of cause and effect continues *ad infinitum*. The beginning of the process cannot be determined, nor the end either *if the life flux is encompassed by nesicence*. But when this nescience is turned into knowledge, and the life-flux diverted into Nibbāna-Dhātu, so to say, then the end of process or Saṃsāra comes about.

Briefly expounding the cause of Saṃsāra set forth in these enigmatic formulas of thought, and dealing with the not less interesting problem

of life's last episode, we find Buddhism assigning death to one of the following four causes :—

(1) The exhaustion of the force of Reproduction (Janaka-Kamma) that gives rise to the birth in question (Kammakkhaya). The Buddhist belief is that, as a rule, the thought, volition, or desire, which is extremely strong during life-time, becomes predominant at the point of death and conditions the subsequent birth. In this last thought-moment is present a special potential force which may be either weak or strong. When the potential energy of this Reproductive Kamma is exhausted, the organic activities of the material form in which is corporealised the life-force, cease even before the approach of old age.

(2) The expiration of the life term (Āyukkhaya). What are commonly understood to be natural deaths due to old age, may be called under this category. There are various planes of existence according to Buddhism and to each plane is assigned a definite age limit. Irrespective of the Kamma force that has yet to run one must however succumb to death when the maximum age limit is reached. It may also be said, if the force is extremely powerful the Kamma-energy rematerialises itself in the same plane or even in some higher realm as in the case of Devas.

(3) The combination of both Kamma and Āyu (Ubhayakkhaya).

(4) The action of a stronger arresting Kamma (Upacchedaka) that suddenly cuts off the Reproductive Kamma before the expiry of the life-term. A more powerful opposing force can check the flying arrow and bring it down to the ground. Just in the same way a very powerful Kammic force is capable of nullifying the potential energy of the last thought-moment and destroy the psychic life of the being. The death of Devadatta, the Buddha's cousin was due to an Upacchedaka-Kamma. The premature death of the Crown Prince of Russia may also be instanced as an example of this class.

The first three types of death are collectively called Kāla-maraṇa (timely death), and the last is known as akāla-maraṇa (untimely death).

Explaining the cause of death in the foreging manner, Buddhism tells us that there are also four modes of birth, viz:—Egg-born creatures (aṇḍaja), womb-born creatures (jalābuja), moisture-born-creatures (saṃsedaja), and creatures having a spontaneous birth (opapātika). This broad classification embraces the entire range of beings that possess life.

Birds and reptiles that are born of eggs belong to the first division.

The womb-born creatures comprise all human beings, some Devas inhabiting the earth, and those animals that take their conception in the mother's womb.

Those that take moisture as material for their growth, such as mosquitoes, are grouped in the third class.

Creatures having a spontaneous birth are generally invisible to the naked eye. They are said to be born with a form as if of fifteen or sixteen years of age appearing suddenly, independently of parent. Since they do not pass through the embryonic period which cause the total oblivion of the memories of the past, they are capable of recollecting their past births. 'Passing thence he was born as a deva and glanced into the past to see what good act conditioned him to be born thus,' are passages which often recur in the Suttantas. Brahmans, Devas of heavenly realms, Petas, and the miserable ones who are subjected to torments and suffering in the wicked states (Nirayas) belong to this last division.

It must be mentioned here, before we come to deal with the actual process of re-birth, that Darwin's theory of evolution finds no place in Buddhism. Buddhists do not believe in a succession of physical forms. The new physical vehicle is not the successor of the past, though it must be admitted that the coming-into-being of the present is conditioned by the passing away of the past. The multifarious forms are merely the manifestation of Kamma-force. "Unseen it passes whithersoever the conditions appropriate to its visible manifestation are present here showing itslf as a tiny gnat or worm, there making its presence known in the dazzling magnificence of a Deva or an Archangel's existence. When one mode of its manifestation ceases it merely passes on, and where suitable circumstances offer, reveals itself afresh in another mode or form."

It is common to say after witnessing an outbreak of passion or sensuality in a person whom we deemed characterised by a high moral standard, "how could he have committed such an act, or followed such a course of conduct? It was not the least like him. It was not the least like what he appeared to others, and probably to himself." What did it denote? It denoted, Buddhists say, a part at any rate of what he really was, a hidden but true aspect of his actual self, or, in other words, his Kammic tendencies.

Dormant but undestroyed and with an ever-present possibility of rising again there lie in us all according to Buddhism five natures

viz., Divine (Dibba), human (Mānusika), brutal (Tiracchina) ghostly (Peta) and hellish (Nerayika). These natures, however civilised we may be, may rise in disconcerting strength at unexpected moments so long as we are worldlings (Puthujjana). We live for one thought-moment just as the wheel rests on the ground at one point, and are always in the present. The present is constantly slipping into the irrevocable past. Now we sow the seed of the future. Now, even now, we are creating the hells that we shall be hurled into. Now, even now, we are building the heavens that comfortably accommodate us. What we shall become is determined by this present thought-moment. In just the same way according to Buddhist philosophy the impending birth is determined by the immediately preceding thought, which is generally the thonght volition, or desire that was extremely strong during our life-time. Therein, therefore, lies the possibility for the Kamma force that manifested in the forms of a human being to remanifest itself in the shape of a brute, ghost, deva or a human being, or, in other words, for a Kammic descent in one bound in the so-called evolutionary scale of forms.

As there is possibility for a Kammic descent so there is also the possibility for the contrary—a Kammic ascent. When the animal is to die, for instance, it will experience a moral consciousness that will ripen into a human birth. This last thought-moment does not wholly depend on any action or thought of the animal, for generally it is dull and incapable of morality. It depends on some ancient good deed it has done in the round of existence, and, which for a long time has been prevented from producing its result. In its last moment the animal therefore cherishes idea, desires or images which will cause a human birth.

Poussin, a French writer, illustrates this fact well by the law of heredity. A man may be like his grandfather but not like his father. The germs of a disease have been introduced into the organism of an ancestor; for some generation they remain dormant; they suddenly manifest themselves in actual disease. So intricate is the living complex, so mysterious the law of heredity, a Westerner says. So intricate is the law of Kamma, so mysterious is the effect of Kamma, Buddhists would say.

And now, to come to the most interesting and extremely subtle point of our subject;—

Suppose a person is about to die. From the seventeenth thought-moment reckoned backward from the point of death no renewed

physical functioning recurs. Material qualities born of Kamma (Kammaja Rūpa) arise no more, but those to which came into being before the static phase of that thought-moment persists till the time of the dying thought and then cease.

This critical stage may be compared to the flickering of a lamp just before it is extinguished.

To this dying man is presented Kamma, Kamma-nimitta, or Gati-nimitta. By Kamma here is meant some action of his whether good or bad. It may be a weighty action (garuka Kamma) such as Samādhi (established one-pointedness of the mind) or Parricide, and so forth. These are so powerful that they totally eclipse all others and appear very vividly before the mind's eye. If experience has afforded nothing weighty, he may take for his object of thought a Kamma immediately before death (Āsanna Kamma). It would not be far wrong to say that most of the soldiers who die fighting would be having a death-proximate Kamma, such as the killing of their fellowmen. Consequently their re-birth can in no way be desirable. In the abesence of an Āsanna Kamma a habitual meritorious or demeritorious act (Āciṇṇa Kamma) is presented, such as stealing in the case of a robber, or the curing of the sick in the case of a physician. Failing all these, some casual act, that is one of the cumulative reserves of the endless past (Kaṭattā Kamma), becomes the object of thought.

By Kamma-nimitta is meant any sight, sound, smell, taste, touch or idea which was obtained at the time of the commission of the Kamma, such as knives in the case of a butcher, patients in the case of a physician, an object of worship in the case of a devotee, etc.

Gati Nimitta is some sign of the place where he is to take birth, a thing which invariably happens to dying individuals. When these indications of the future birth occur, and if they are bad, they can be turned into good. This is done by influencing the thoughts of the dying man, so that his good thoughts may now act as the proximate Kamma, and counteract the influence of the re-productive which is about to effect in the next re-birth.

Taking for the object one of the above, a thought-process (Citta-vīthi) then runs its course even if the death be an instantaneous one. It is said that the fly which is being crushed by a hammer on the anvil also experiences such a process of thought before it actually dies. Abhidhamma enumerates twenty types of re-birth processes, but as space does not permit of their description here, let us imagine for the sake of convenience that the dying person is to be reborn in the

human kingdom and that the object is some good Kamma. The process of decease-consciousness (cuti-citta-vīthi) is as follows.

His Bhavaṅga consciousness is interrupted, it vibrates for two thought-moments and passes away. After which the mind-door consciousness (Manodvārā-vijñana) rises and passes away. Then comes the psychologically important stage—Javana process, which here runs only for five thought-moments by reason of its weakness instead of normally seven. As such it lacks all reproductive power, its main function being the mere regulation of the new existence. The object in the present case being desirable, the consciousness here experiences is probably a moral one—automatic or volitional, accompanied by pleasure, and connected with knowledge or not, as the case may be. The Tadālambana consciousness which has for its function a registering or identifying for two moments of the object so percieved may or may not follow. After this occurs the death-consciousness (Cuti-citta) the last thought-moment to be experienced in present life. There is a misconception among some that the subsequent birth is conditioned by this thought. What actually conditions re-birth, let it be said, is not this decease-thought, which in itself has no special function to perform, but that which is experienced during Javana process.

With the ceasing of the consciousness of dccease, death actually occurs. Then no more material qualities born of mind and food (Cittaja and Āhāraja Rūpa) are produced. Only a series of material qualities born of heat (Utuja) goes till the corpse is reduced to dust.

By death is here meant, according to Abhidamma, the ceasing of physic life of one's individual existence or, to express it in the words of a western philosopher, the temporal end of a temporal phenomenon. It is not the complete annihilation of the so-called being, for, although the organic life has ceased, the force which hitherto actuated it is not destroyed. As the Kammic force remains entirely disturbed by the distintegration of the fleeting body, the passing away of the present consciousness only conditions a fresh one in another birth. In the present case the thought experienced whilst dying being a moral one, the re-birth-resultant consciousness takes for its material an appropriate sperm and ovum-cell of human parents. Simultaneous with its rising spring up the body-decad, sex-decad, and base-decad the seat of consciousness-(Kāya-Bhāva-Vatthu-Dasaka). The re-birth consciousness then lapses into the sub-conscious state (Bhavaṅga).

"The new being which is the present manifestation of the stream of Kamma-energy is not the same as has not identity with the pre-

vious one in its line ; the aggregations that make up its composition being different from, and having no identity with, those that make up the being of its predecessor. And yet it is not an entirely different being, since it is the same stream of Kamma-energy, though modified per chance. Just by having shown itself in that last manifestation, which now is making its presence known in these perceptible world as the new being (Na ca so na ca aññо)."

The transition of the flux is also instantaneous and leaves no room whatever for any intervening stage (antara bhava). The continuity of the flux at death is unbroken in point of time. The time duration is equal to the time occupied by one thought-moment i.e. less than the billionth part of the time occupied by a flash of lightning. The only difference between the passing of one thought-moment to another, so to say, or the dying thought-moment to the re-birth consciousness, is that in the latter case a marked preceptible death is visible.

One might say here that a subject cannot exist without an object. What then is the object of this sub-conscious state ? The reply is: self-same object which was presented to the mind's eye immediately before death.

One might further ask:—Are sperm and ovum-cells always ready waiting to take up this re-birth-thought? As Doctor Dahlke says in his "Buddhism and Science," this taking hold is not something that has law, that runs its appointed course according to definite laws, but it is law itself, A point on the ground is always ready to receive the falling stone.

Thus does this process of birth and death ever recur as long as this inexorable law of Kamma prevails.

NARADA

Dates of Early Historical Records of Bengal

It is a well-known fact that epigraphic records are rarely to be discovered in Bengal and Magadha and the few that have been discovered, being mostly undated or dated in regnal years of kings do not, for want of sufficient data, yield definite dates. In such an extreme dearth of chronological landmarks in the history of Bengal, the European savants of the last century, whenever they came across the slightest chronological clues anywhere, sought to verify them with commendable zeal. Cunningham thus calculated the date of Dharmapāla's accession to the throne to be 831 A.D. (Arch. Surv. Rep., vol. xv, pp. 150f.) Dr. Venis referred the Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva to 1142 A.D. (Ep. Ind., vol. II, p. 349) and Dr. Kielhorn found out 1086 A.D. to be the the date of the Āmgāchi plate of Vigrahapāla (Ind. Ant., xxii, p. 108). Since the advent of Indian scholars in the field of archæology in Bengal, when chronological reconstruction in light of new materials rendered those dates untenable, this particular aspect of the question remained totally neglected. So much so that when the present writer attempted to offer a tentative chronology of Pāla kings based upon the working out of all the available epigraphic and literary data, it was held to be "quite useless" by an esteemed scholar, who however had his own reasons for saying so; while Mr. R. D. Banerjee summarily rejected it as ridiculous. A cogent apology is, therefore, due to the scholars, who are yet reluctant to recognise the value of astronomical calculations for the purposes of accurate chronology. And fortunately for us quite a number of calendrical records have been preserved in a work by an author who flourished in the very heart of Bengal late in the 11th century A.D. These will prove even to the most fastidious among historians that the astronomical results arrived at with the help of modern tables are based upon sound principles and should therefore demand better consideration from them. Jīmūtavāhana, the celebrated author of the *Dāyabhāga* also wrote the *Kālaviveka*, in which a detailed examination of the *Purṇimānta* and *Amānta* schemes of the lunar calendar is carried out with the help of a number of figures drawn from actual almanacs for the years 1013 and 1014 śaka (1091-93 A.D.). A comparison of

these figures with those arrived at by calculation with up-to-date apparatus is set forth below.

In the year 1013 śaka:

(1) On the 17th day of solar *Kārtika*, *badi* 15 coincided with the Citrā and Svātī *nakṣatras* without touching the Viśākhā (Kāla-viveka, p. 64). According to our calculation, on the 17th Kārtika (=Oct. 14, 1091 A.D.) *badi* 15 began at 23·53 *palas* after sunrise, ended at 17·57 *palas* after sunrise the next day, while Svātī began at 30·8 *palas* after sunrise and ended at 26·0 *palas* after sunrise the next day.

(2) In solar Agrahāyaṇa, *badi* 15 coincided with Anurādhā and Jyeṣṭhā. On the day in question (Nov. 13=16th Agrahāyaṇa) *badi* 15 ended at 43·23 *palas* (after mean sunrise) and Anurādhā ended at 38·14 *palas* the same day.

(3) In solar Caitra, the first quarter of Uttara-phalgunī ended at 15 *daṇḍas* before the ending moment of *sudi* 15 (Ibid., p. 46).

Sudi 15 ended at 50·56 *p.* on the day in question: Uttara-phalgunī began at 20·33 *p.* ending at 18·26 *palas* the next day: the first quarter of it thus ended at 35·2 *palas* i.e. 15·54 *palas* before the ending moment of the *tithi* (difference of 54 *palas* only).

In the year 1014 śaka :

(4) In solar Vaiśākha, the latter half of Citrā began at 13 *daṇḍas* before the ending moment of *sudi* 15 (Ibid., p. 46).

On the day in question (March, 1092 A.D.) *sudi* 15 ended at 15·20 *palas*, Citrá ended at 32·20 *palas* (beginning at 35·43 *palas* the previous day): the incident occurred, therefore, 11·19 *palas* before the ending moment of *sudi* 15 (difference of 1·41 *palas* only).

(5) On the *Vṛṣa-saṃkrānti* day, *sudi* 15 began in Svātī and the last quarter of Viśākhā began 8 *daṇḍas* before the ending moment of the *tithi* (Ibid., pp. 43, 46).

The *Vṛṣa-saṃkrānti* occurred at 28·50 *palas* on the day; *sudi* 15 ended at 35·17 *palas* the next day and Viśākhā ended at 44·47 *p.* the next day (beginning at 50·40 *palas* on the *saṃkrānti* day); the last quarter of Viśākhā began, therefore, at 4·2 *palas* before the ending moment of the *tithi* (difference of 3·58 *palas* only).

(6) In solar Bhādra, *badi* 14 for 2 or 3 *daṇḍas*, then *badi* 15 and on the same day Aśleṣā for 7 *daṇḍas* then Maghā (Ibid., p. 21). On the day (Aug. 5, 1092 A.D.) *badi* 15 began at 1·4 *p.* ending the next morning. Aśleṣā ended at 16·42 *p.* on the same day (in the latter case, the difference is 9·42 *palas*).

(7) In solar Pauṣa, Ārdrā ended at 13 *daṇḍas* before *sudi* 15 (Ibid., p.42). On the day *sudi* 15 ended at 47-14 *palas* while Ārdrā ended at 35-10 *palas* i.e. 12-4 *palas* before *sudi* 15 (difference of 56 *palas* only).

(8) In solar Māgha, *sudi* 15 joins half with Puṣyā and half with Aśleṣā roughly (Ibid., p. 42).

On the day *sudi* 15 ended at 34-44 *palas*, beginning at 30-58 *palas* the previous day, while the Puṣyā ended at 4-47 *palas* the same day.

(9) In solar Phālguna, Maghā ended at 15 *daṇḍas* after the beginning of *sudi* 15 (Ibid., p. 43).

On the day *sudi* 15 began at 12-51 *palas* and the Maghā ended at 31-22 *palas* i.e. 18-31 *p.* after the beginning of the *tithi* (difference of 3-31 *palas* only).

(10) In the end of solar Jyaiṣṭha *sudi* 15 began 1 or 2 *daṇḍas* before Anurādhā ended (Ibid., p. 43).

On the day *sudi* 15 began at 4-10 *palas* and the Anurādhā ended at 3-54 *palas* i.e. just missing the *tithi* for 16 *p.* only.

(11) The most interesting statement is given, however, on page 119 of the work where Jīmūtavāhana cites the record of Andhūka Bhaṭṭa that in 955 Śaka (1033 A.D.) the *Tulā-saṃkrānti* (occurring, we find, at 12-5 *palas*) took place in *badi* 15 (ending at 20-24 *palas*, as we find, the same day); the *Dhanuḥ-saṃkrānti* also in *badi* 15 (ending at 51-25 *palas* while the *saṃkrānti* was at 35-51 *palas*) ; but the *Vṛścika-saṃkrānti* by the Sun's *aticāra* (whatever that may mean) in *sudi* 1. As a matter of fact, the *saṃkrānti* was at 6-26 *p.* while the *sudi* 1 began at 6-39 *p.* i.e. just 13 *palas* (5 minutes) after. It appears that Andhūka Bhaṭṭa and the early astronomers with no means of ascertaining absolutely accurate results had, in the event of such negligible intervals, recourse to a very curious practice of pushing on the *saṃkrānti* to the next *tithi* by a supposed *aticāra* in the Sun's motion.

It should be noticed that Jīmūtavāhana's figures are only roughly approximate given in whole numbers of *daṇḍas* and, as he himself admits, are subject to correction by 1 or 2 *daṇḍas* either way (*vide* p. 42). Considering that our calculations, given in exact *palas*, are about, a hundred times more accurate, the above differences are quite negligible. Only in one case the difference comes up to as much as 10 *daṇḍas* and our conviction is that the reading of the text is at fault there; it should be amended as *sapta-daśa-daṇḍān* in place of *sapta-daṇḍān* (Ibid., p. 21). It is hardly necessary to state that all

these figures are verified according to *true* calculations only. Jīmūtavāhana in conclusion gives his emphatic verdict in favour of what we had already stated on the strength of epigraphic evidence (Ind. Ant., 1920, p. 190) viz. the *Amānta* scheme must prevail over the the *Purṇimānta*, the latter being current among the merchants alone (*Kāla.*, p. 54). His ruling in this respect, as in the Hindu Law of Succession, has been uniformly respected in Bengal proper. Jīmūta's appeal to his sceptic readers can be repeated here with equal force and freshness, though after a lapse of eight centuries:

"Scholars should respect these findings after acquainting themselves with (the correctness of) these time-calculations from mathematicians" (*Kālaviveka*, p. 54).

II

The most important literary data bearing on the chronology of the Sena kings are found in a few passages in the *Adbhutasāgara* already cited by us elsewhere. The work is an encyclopædia of omens and prodigies and consequently in its semi-astronomical character takes 1090 Śaka, the date of its beginning, as its working year. Thus, its method for finding out a year under the *Vedāṅga* Jyotiṣa calendar is as follows:

"The remainder of a particular Śaka year less 1090, divided by 5, would correspond to Sam, Pari, Idā, Anu, and Idu years respectively in the numerical order." (*Adbhuta.*, p. 236).

So that 1091 Śaka was a *Saṃvatsara*, a fact actually found in a ms. of the *Dānasāgara*. The statement is an important one, as forming perhaps the only authentic reference in mediæval times to a long-lost and ancient system. According to Garga's scheme of the calendar a coincidence of Māgha *sudi* 1 with the Sun in the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā and the moon also in Dhaniṣṭhā (the winter solstice having shifted long ago) is indispensable to start the five-years' cycle of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa. This is actually the case in the year 1091 Śaka (1170 A.D.), when on January 19, there was Māgha *sudi* 1, *badi* 15 having ended the previous night at 57-47 *palas*: Dhaniṣṭhā began at *p.* 47-54 the previous night and ended at 53-50 *palas* the same day: the Sun with a longitude of 295° was also in the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā. It is apparent that in the year 1170 A.D., a necessary adjustment by the dropping of an *adhika māsa*, as explained by the late Mr. Pillai (Ind. Chronology, p. 450) took place in the calendar. This cycle is, however, found to be in variance with the

Annuary given by the same scholar (Ibid., pp. 454f.) and it is our contention that strictly the Annuary is wrong and should be properly adjusted. For in Feb. 2, 1897 A.D., the Sun's longitude was 291·8°, which is not exactly in Dhaniṣṭhā (293·3°). Quite in consonance with the *Adbhutasāgara*, we can start a cycle in Feb. 5, 1905 A.D. (after 735 years or 21 cycles of 35 years each: cf. Ib., p. 456) when there was Māgha *sudi* 1 (which began at 24 *daṇḍas* the previous day) and Dhaniṣṭhā (began at 27-40 *p.* the previous day): the Sun with a longitude of 293·8° just reached Dhaniṣṭhā. So that a strictly correct Annuary can be constructed for a cycle of 35 years, the next adjustment taking place in Feb. 9, 1940 A.D. (not in 1935 A.D.).

The figure 1090 is similarly incorporated in the formula for determining a year under the Jovian cycle of 60 years (*Adbhuta*, p. 125) and that for calculating the *Varṣādhipa* (Ib., p. 235). Under the *Saptarṣi* cycle, the year selected is however 1082 Śaka, instead of the usual 1090, which could easily have been selected. There must have been some reasons for this deviation here and it is our surmise that the year 1082, falling in the beginning of his reign, probably marked the coronation ceremony of Ballāla, his regnal year actually beginning a little earlier (1158 A.D.). In the year 1082 Śaka (=1160 A.D.) the *Saptarṣis* completed 61 years' stay in Viśākhā (Ib., p. 203). Here we find a clue to the right explanation of a convention that has appeared ridiculous to all European scholars (cf. G. R. Kaye: Hindu Astronomy, p. 16)—the *Saptarṣis* are supposed apparently by an asrtronomical fiction to spend 100 years in each Nakṣatra (Bṛ. Saṃhita, XIII, 4). This convention, as the late Dewan Bahadur Pillai alone has stated (loc. cit., p. 483) is merely equivalent to a reckoning by centuries. The *Adbhuta.* calculates by taking the fictitious °longitude of the *Saptarṣis* at the beginning of the Kali Yuga to be in Aśvinī (and not Kṛttikā as in ancient reckoning) and thus in 1082 Śaka (=4261 Kali Yuga Era) they have completed one revolution (in 2700 years) and after occupying 15 nakṣatras in 15 centuries, they are now 61 years in the 16th nakṣatra Viśākhā. The statement is, therefore, nothing but a mention of the Kali Yuga Era in the language of an astronomical fiction.

The above date of the *Adbhutasāgara*, thus figuring correctly in the very technique of the work in several places, has been shown by us to be in accord with the historical and literary references of the period, counting about a dozen in all (Ind. Ant., 1922, pp. 145 ff.). But Mr. R. D. Banerjee, who professes too much of the scientific

nature of his historical researches, in the second edition of his History of Bengal (vol. I), would still stick to his old views, deliberately remaining blind to the numerous adverse references, and touching only the most shaky one[1] among them, though they are, he says, nothing new to him. Further he has made the statement that the present writer has cut a most ludicrous figure in proving, what as a matter of fact he has himself nowhere disputed, viz. Ballāla's authorship of the *Adbhutasāgara* and the *Dānasāgara* (*vide* History of Bengal, vol. I, p. 336).

The Mymensingh Copperplate inscription of Viśvarūpasena, son of Lakṣmaṇa, only recently discovered and published by M. M. Haraprasāda Śāstrī (Ind. Hist. Quarterly, vol. II, p. 84) has fortunately preserved an important clue to its date, unnoticed by the editor. One of the grants (of Kumāra Puruṣottama) ratified by the plate was made on "chaturdaśī-vyāpiutthāna-dvādaśyām" (l. 24 reverse) i.e. in a year where the Utthāna-dvādaśī or the Kārtika *sudi* 12 fell on a *tryahasparśa* day, joining with the 14th *tithi*, the 13th *tithi* being suppressed. This is by no means of frequent occurrence. As a matter of fact our calculations extending over a century and a half (1122-1272 A.D.) actually yield only two dates:

(1) In 1247 A.D. (Oct. 13) the *tithi* in question—Kārtika *sudi* 12 ended at 1-2 *palas* after mean sunrise and *sudi* 13 ended at 1-15 *palas* before the next sunrise.

(2) In 1271 A.D. (Oct. 17) similarly *sudi* 12 ended at 3-44 *p.* after sunrise and *sudi* 13 ended at 1-45 *p.* before the next sunrise.

There is nothing to choose between these two dates, though in 1271 A.D. the incident of a *tryahasparśa* is of greater certainty by reason of the longer margins either way. This date of Viśvarūpa, is another death-blow to Mr. Banerjee's favourite theory—unless it is held that

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1 The *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* written in 1206 A.D. by the son of a protegé of King Lakṣmaṇasena points to the latter half of 12th century A. D. as the *probable* date of that king. Mr. Banerjee ignores the word *probable*. According to him (loc. cit., p. 327) Lakṣmaṇa reigned for 30 years from 1119 A.D. and thus flourished in the first half of the century. If a man is found to be flourishing, say, in 1906 A.D., we should be seeking for his father's period of activity in the last half (1850-1900) of the last century, rather than its first half (1800-1850).

Viśvarūpa born, say, towards the end of his father's reign, lived for more than a century and reigned for more than three quarters of it. The earlier dates, where the 13th *tithi* (here necessarily of less than 60 *daṇḍas*' duration), just escaped from being suppressed by a small margin are given below for the curious readers:

1176 A.D.—*sudi* 12 for 8-43 p. and *sudi* 13 for 5-20 p. next day.

1177	,,	,,	6-40 p.	,,	5-20 p.	,,
1200	,,	,,	8-6 p,	,,	3-8 p.	,,
1209	,,	,,	6-7 p.	,,	0-35 p.	,,
1228	,,	,,	7-52 p.	,,	2-21 p.	,,
1238	,,	,,	6-33 p.	,,	3-8 p.	,,
1253	,,	,,	8-47 p.	,,	4-48 p.	,,
1262	,,	,,	5-56 p.	,,	1-5 p.	,,

Of the few epigraphic records that have fortunately preserved sufficient data for verification, those connected with the chronology of the Pāla kings are dealt with separately below. There are two more remaining, of which one the Narteśvara Image inscription of Layahacandra, dated Āṣāḍha *badi* 14, Thursday and Puṣyā of the 8th year (*J.A.S.B.*, 1914, p. 88)—refers to a king of unknown age and connection and is thus incapable at present of yielding any definite date by a choice from among the many possible ones. The other is the delightful record of Nānyadeva cited by us elsewhere (Ind. Ant., 1922). In the whole domain of Bengal and Magadha antiquities there is not another record with such a date of marvellous accuracy. It states that Nānyadeva "made an erection in the *siṃha-lagna* (i.e. early morning) of a Saturday in (solar) Śrāvaṇa, the *tithi* being śukla 7 and the Nakṣatra Svātī in the year 1019 Śaka." On July 18, 1097A.D. (1019 Śaka) which was a Saturday and the 23rd day of solar Śrāvaṇa, *sudi* 7 ended at 32-28 *palas* after sunrise and Nakṣatra Svātī ended at 51-54 *palas* after sunrise the same day. This accurate verification is a sufficient guarantee for the genuineness of the record, which may not be traced to any authoritative work.[1]

1 Mr. Banerjee is quite unable to appreciate the scientific value of this record. On the contrary, he cries shame upon us for confessing our inability to trace the record to its original source. It is, nevertheless, quoted by a number of distinguished authors, including the late Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa (Indian Logic, p. 521)

III

Mr. R.D. Banerjee has recorded a warning to those scholars engaged in historical researches, who feel aggrieved to abandon their former views (op. cit., vol. I, p. 329). But he himself would not give up his old favourite theories though exploded by later researches. The whole chronology of the Pāla dynasty, as constructed by him in the new edition of his work, stands upon two favourite theories of his—the date of Dharmapāla's accession to the throne between 790 and 795 A.D. on the one hand (loc. cit., p. 178), and on the other, the origin of the *Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat* of 1119 A.D. as marking the beginning of Lakṣmaṇasena's reign. As he would still stick to them, palpable blunders like the following crept into his work.

(1) Dharmapāla, who came to the throne between 790 and 795 A.D., reigned for at least 32 years and according to Mr. Banerjee for about 35 years (p. 199). So the next reign of Devapāla should accordingly start somewhere between 825 and 830 A.D. In the first edition of his work, Devapāla is stated to have reigned precisely from 825 A.D., but in the 2nd edition, the date of Devapāla is made to begin, after a correction, from 820 A.D. (p. 215) !

(2) The total length of the reigns of the eight kings from Dharmapāla to Mahīpāla I counts to be at least 240 years and according to Mr. Banerjee it is 250 years. Mahīpāla's death should accordingly occur in 1040 A.D. (or 1030 A.D. at the earliest). But Mr. Banerjee states 1025 A.D. (p. 250).

(3) Nayapāla dies according to him in about 1045 A.D. (It cannot be earlier in view of his synchronism with Atīśa who wrote to him from Nepal in 1041 A.D.) The length of the following reigns up to the eighth year of Madanapāla counts at the least possible calculation (allowing only 2 years to the four reigns of Mahīpāla II, Śūrapāla II, Kumārapāla and Gopāla III) to be 65 years. So that the

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and Mr. J. M. Roy (History of Dacca, vol. II, p. 317). None of them could cite the original source, nor would Mr. Banerjee (loc. cit, p. 336). If it is held to be a fabrication, it must be a most remarkable fabrication in the field of Indian antiquities, with an accuracy of details impossible to work out without the help of quite modern chronological tables.

8th year of Madanapāla falls in 1110 A.D. *at the earliest.* But Mr. Banerjee still holds that Vijayasena, who died according to him not later than 1108 A.D., conquered Varendra after the 8th year of Madanapāla (pp. 312, 317). In such a state of things obtaining in Mr. Banerjee's history of Bengal, it is our duty to make independent investigation on the subject.

The history of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal may be regarded as dividing broadly into two distinct periods, viz., (a) from the election of Gopāla I to the Kāmboja usurpation, and (b) from the reign of Mahīpāla I to the final dissolution. An attempt was made by us in a paper to fix the dates of the kings of the second period in greater details than was hitherto reached. Prof. R. C. Mazumdar has since published in the *J.A.S.B.* (1921, p. 1ff.) a valuable paper on the Pāla chronology. It has become necessary in light of newer materials to reconsider the chronology put forth by Prof. Mazumdar along with the one I had published (Ind. Ant., 1920, pp. 189f.). Prof. Mazumdar foreshadowed his main paper by a note (*J.A.S.B.*, 1920, pp. 300 ff.) in which he threw doubts on Mr. R. D. Banerjee's identifications of Pāla kings mentioned in four Mss. colophons. As three of these colophons were utilised by me in my paper, I have to state the reasons that led me to accept Mr. Banerjee's identifications. It goes of course without saying that the Mss. themselves do not specify the kings. But the learned Prof. has been, we are afraid, so over-cautious as to forget the simple truth that the Ms. written in the 15th year of Gopāla at Vikramaśilā, (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 150f.) can neither refer to the reign of Gopāla I, which falls much too early, nor to that of Gopāla III, who was too short-lived. Facts of history will similarly decide in favour of referring the Mss. in question to the reign of Mahīpāla I generally in preference to Mahīpāla II. For, it is doubtful, if Mahīpāla II ever reigned for a length of six years and even if he did, his sixth year falling presumably towards the end of his reign, must have been marked by the great and successful *Kaivarta* revolt, enough to preclude the possibility of peaceful subjects referring to it in such full glory as "pravardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijayarājye" (Pālas of Bengal, p. 75). The short length and nature of Mahīpāla II's reign of oppression, which began in bad policy ("anītikārambhamaya") and ended in a successful *Kaivarta* revolt, were possibly among the reasons that led Vaidyadeva, as they would lead any other peaceful subject, to shun his name. It seems therefore somewhat hypercritical on the part of Prof. Mazumdar to question

the decent identifications of Mr. Banerjee as far as Mss. of the reign of Mahīpāla and Gopāla are concerned.[1]

I appreciate, however, his doubts on the identification of Vigrahapāla, as I can now offer better reasons for assigning a fairly long reign to Vigrahapāla III. In the Manahali grant, Vigrahapāla III, is stated to have reigned "for a long time" (śāsaty eva *ciraṃ* jaganti janake—verse 15). Moreover, a short reign of 12 years to Vigrahapāla III leaves a good margin to be added on to the known length of Nayapāla's reign (15 years). But we must not lengthen the latter's reign if we can help it for the following reason. The Bāngaḍ plate of Mahīpāla I, dated in his 9th year (Ep. Ind., XIV, 328) gives the following account of its engraver at the end :

posalīgrāma-niryāta-vibhramāditya-sūnunā /
idaṃ śāsanam utkīrṇaṃ śrīmahīdharaśilpinā //

The Āmgāchi plate of the 12th year of Vigrahapāla III (Ib., XIV, 293) gives again the following account of its engraver in line 49 :

posalīgrāma-niryāta-mahīdharadeva-sūnunā /
idaṃ śāsanam utkīrṇaṃ śaśidevena śilpinā //

These would clearly establish the relation of father and son between the two engravers, who are separated, however, by the truly vast interval of 67 (i.e. 40+15+12) years. We should not therefore, further increase that interval even by a single year if we can help it. That the 15th year of Nayapāla possibly marked the end of his reign is also clear from the fact that three Gayā inscriptions of the same man Viśvāditya or Viśvarūpa are dated, two in the 15th year of Nayapāla and one in the 5th year of Vigrahapāla III (Pālas of Bengal, pp. 81-2).

The chronology of the later Pāla kings may be very approximately determined by the working of the following data:

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1 His inglorious reign is in our opinion hinted at covertly in the Manahali grant: "Śrimān Mahīpāla iti dvitīyo, dvijeśamauliḥ śivavad babhūva" This apparently means "Mahīpāla *the second* was like śiva a *dvijeśamauli* i.e. devoted to the Brahmins." (The meaning "was like a *second* śiva" given in Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 156, is wrong rhetorically). The covert meaning would be something like this, though it is far-fetched: Mahīpāla who was *dvitīya* "having a match" (not matchless), had his *mauli* i.e. lands, owned by birds and snakes (*dvijeśa*).

(1) The date of Vaidyadeva's grant; *viṣuvat saṃkrānti* combined to a *Hari-vāsara*.

(2) The date of Rāmapāla's demise as given in the *Sekaśubhodayā*.

(3) The date of Mahīpāla I: in his 6th year, Kārtika *badi* 13 was a Tuesday.

Between 1100 and 1150 A.D. there are altogether seven dates roughly combining *viṣuvat* with *Hari-vāsara* 1104, 15, 19, 23, 34, 38 and 42. In 1115 on the saṃkrānti day (March 24) there was *dvādaśī* throughout and *trayodaśī* for 3-15 *palas* only, the *Hari-vāsara*, therefore, falling on the previous day. This is also the case in 1134 (*trayodaśī* for 37-13 *p.* on the saṃkrānti day). In 1123 again on the saṃkrānti day, there was *daśamī* for full 30-54 *p.* and *ekādasī* later, a combination stigmatised in a separate section in the *Kālaviveka* (daśamīyuktānāṃ niṣedhavacanāni, pp. 441-51). So also in 1104 (daśamī for 41-6 *p.* on the Saṃkrānti day) and 1142 A. D. (daśamī for only 0-38 *p.* ekādaśī ending at 4-17 *p.* the next day).

The pet theory of Mr. Banerjee that the Lakṣmaṇa era starts from king Lakṣmaṇa's accession, has been mainly responsible for the trend among recent scholars to seek for the date of Madanapāla's accession to the throne in the first quarter of the 12th century A.D. at the latest. It now appears to us that the original view of Dr. Venis is not far from the truth, for though his date, 1142 A.D., is to be rejected on technical grounds, the date we now decide upon—1138 A.D.—is near enough. Our reasons for rejecting now the earlier date, 1119 A.D. are more than one. King Govindacandra of Kanauj, whose reign extended from 1114 to 1154 A.D., had for one of his queens Kumāradevī, a daughter of Devarakṣita of Magadha and Pīṭhi. We find in the *Rāmacarita* that this Devarakṣita was a son-in-law of Mahana, who quelled his hostility towards Rāmapāla and he was dead when Rāmapāla was preparing against the *Kaivarta* rebel. For Bhīmayaśas was the then king of Magadha and Pīṭhī. It is thus clear that Kumāradevī was born sometime before the great campaign, which presumably took place not later than the second decade of Rāmapāla's reign. With *circa* 1110 A.D. as the date of Rāmapāla's death, Kumāradevī becomes almost too old for Govindacandra. On the other hand, Rāmapāla whose death synchronised with that of his uncle Mahana and who became already famous in his father's reign, should not be too far removed from the 3rd quarter of the 11th century A.D. Reconciling these two factors we should seek for the date of Rāmapāla's death *circa* 1120 A.D.

Bhīmayaśas has been described in the commentary of the Rāmacarita (2/5) as "kānyakubjarājavājinī-gaṇṭhana-(? gañjana)-bhujaṅga." Mr. Banerjee (vol. I, p.256) referred the incident conveyed by this epithet to a period before the rise of the Gahrawal dynasty under Candradeva. We are inclined, however, to read in this epithet a curious parallel of an event of the previous generation. Just as Mahana's victory over Devarakṣita seemed to have secured the hand of the victor's daughter for the vanquished, Bhīmayaśa's victory possibly over old Candradeva or his regent son Madanapāla, secured for the son of the vanquished, the hand of the victor's relative (sister or niece?) Kumāradevī. At any rate, the successor of Devarakṣita cannot be reasonably supposed to have been active before the time of the grandfather of Devarakṣita's son-in-law.

Dr. Mazumdar strikes an original note, but we are afraid an impossible one, in the interpretation of the Kamauli plate: viz. Kumārapāla was the reigning monarch when that document was drawn up, the year 4 of the plate referring if not to the very reign of Kumārapāla, to that of Vaidyadeva in Kāmarūpa when the former was still alive. Kumārapāla, though eulogised abundantly in the plate, has been denied the epithet "śrī" and it would be outrageous to his sovereignty if his ex-minister—"dearer to him than his own life"—proclaims himself in such full glory as Paramamāheśvara etc. The complete independence borne out by these epithets was possibly declared, as has been reasonably supposed, during the disorders about the time of Gopāla III and the regnal year 4 of course refers to the (independent) rule of Vaidyadeva in Kāmarūpa and not certainly to that of his former patron. Dr. Mazumdar is evidently troubled over the fact that Vaidyadeva stops with the mention of Kumārapāla. We don't see however, why we should not rest content, in the present state of our knowledge, with the explanation that has been offered for this viz. Vaidyadeva severed his allegiance to the weak king Madanapāla, who may have been implicated in the probable murder of Gopāla III.

The Kamauli plate being thus referred to the year 1138 A.D., March 1135 A.D. fell in the 1st year of Vaidyadeva. Kumārapāla and Gopāla III died therefore sometime before that. This date is confirmed in our opinion by another epigraphic evidence though of a very doubtful significance. The Manahali plate of Madanapala records a land grant made in "Saṃvat 8 candragatyā caitra*karmadine* 15." The unique word *karmadina* seems to refer to a rare combination—"candragatyā caitradine 15" simply would suffice to mean

a Caitra pūrṇimā which occurs every year. In the year 1141 A.D. (March 24) there was a pūrṇimā coinciding with the Caitra saṃkrānti. We are inclined to believe that it is possibly this special combination (karmadina) that occasioned the recital of the Mahābhārata and the gift of the land. The beginning of Madanapāla's reign falls under this assumption early in 1134 A.D.

Considerable improvement is possible in the interpretation of the verse in *Sekaśubhodayā* recording Rāmapāla's death, which we sought to verify in our previous paper. In "śāke yugmaveṇu-randhra-gate (?)" the word *yugma* undoubtedly means 2, it can never mean "double" and never qualify a following noun in that sense. Moreover *yamatithi* better means *badi* 14 for on kriṣṇa caturdaśī it was customary to invoke the 14 *yamas* (vide Kālaviveka, p. 471: also Viṣṇudharmottara, III, 187—yamavratavarṇana—p. 389). The date thus recorded is Âśvina māsa, *badi* 14, Thursday. There are three possible dates between 1100 and 1135 A.D., when the combination took place viz. Sep. 7, 1116; Sep. 23, 1120; and Sep. 20, 1123 A.D. Of these the year 1120 A.D. (*badi* 1 ended at 34-20 *palas* on Thursday, Sep. 23 = Âśvina 27) corresponds to the Śaka year 1042 ending with the number 2 (yugma). Rāmapāla's death thus occurred in the forenoon ("sapta-ghaṭikopari" according to the Sekaśubhodayā) of Sep. 23, 1120 A.D. Accordingly the unfortunate *lacuna* in the reading of the year in the verse, where two short syllables are wanting to complete the metre, can be filled up with the least possible change in the following manner:

For Śāke yugmaveṇu-randhragate
read Śāke yugmaka-veda-randhra-ku-gate (1042)

Mr. Banerjee (loc. cit. pp. XIII and 336) again mistakes a "suggested emendation" in my previous paper for an "arbitrary change of reading" (yatheccha parivartana) and dismisses the whole paper with a broad grin as being "based" upon it (pratiṣṭhita). We have to repeat what we had stated before that the verse in question was regarded to be a genuine record by the late Mr. Batavyāla who brought it to light; it received remarkable corroboration from the Rāmacarita and, last of all, it has the honour of being quoted, though in a foot-note, in the ultra-scientific history of Mr. Banerjee himself in both the editions. Kumārapāla thus gets a reign of 12 years in our scheme. Mr. Banerjee assigns a very short length to his reign, which is somewhat incompatible with the fairly lengthy reference to him in the Kamauli plate.

In the 6th year of Mahīpāla I, Kārtika *badi* 13 coincided with Tuesday (Buddhist Mss., p. 2). The probable dates between 972 and 997 A.D. are the following:[1]

Nov. 2, 986 A.D. *badi* 13 ended at 59-15 *palas* after mean sunrise
Nov. 18, 990 ,, ,, 3-20 *p.* ,, ,,
Nov. 14, 993 ,, ,, 39-30 *p.* ,, ,,

We are now in favour of the latest date, 993 A.D., for the Tibetan authorities are unanimous in their statement that Nayapāla came to the throne *just at* the time when Atīśa left for Tibet in 1039 A.D. Tāranātha (Schiefner p. 244) states this on the authority of all previous biographical works. The reference is probably to the coronation. At any rate 1039 A.D. fell very early in the reign of Nayapāla.

The chronology of the later Pāla kings may thus be fixed in the following manner:

		Length of reign
Mahīpāla I	988-1036 A.D.	... 48 years
Nayapāla	1036-1050	... 15
Vigrahapāla III	1050-1076	... 26
Mahīpāla II and Śūrapāla II	1076-1078	... 3
Rāmapāla	1078-1120	... 42
Kumārapāla	1120-1132	... 12
Gopāla III	1132-33	... 1 or 2
Madanapāla	1134-*circ.* 1153	... 20
Govindapāla	*circ.* 1153-1161	... 8

It should be noted that we have stated 1161 A.D. as the date of the final destruction of the Pāla kingdom on the strength of the Gayā inscription of 1175 A.D. as interpreted by us (Ind. Ant., 1922, pp. 155-6). For reasons stated above Mahīpāla I, Nayapāla, Mahīpāla II and Śūrapāla II are not likely to get longer reigns by future discoveries. Even if they do there is sufficient margin left before 988 A.D. to accom-

1 For the curious reader I give below the results if the reference be to the reign of Mahīpāla II. Between 1058 and 1082 A.D., there are only two dates in the Amānta scheme—Nov. 9, 1064 A.D. and Nov. 22, 1071 A.D.: his date of accession to the throne would then be either 1059 or 1066 A.D., none of which are suitable.

modate them accordingly. In the event of Vigrahapāla III and Rāmapāla getting longer reigns, which is equally unlikely, we shall have to reject the verification of the Sekhaśubhodayā verse. In the present state of our knowledge, however, the scheme we have drawn above does not militate against any known facts of history. In the Belabo grant of Bhojavarmā, king Jātavarmā is stated to have defeated among others, Divya, the Kaivarta rebel.[1] We had elsewhere accepted as genuine the traditional date of Śyāmalavarmā's accession to the throne (1072 A.D.). This can be well adjusted on the assumption that the beginnings of Kaivarta unrest occurred in the reign of Vigrahapāla III, who was helped by his immediate kin Jātavarmā (both being sons-in-law of Karṇa Cedi).

The death of Mahīpāla I according to a tradition as recorded by Tāranāth (Schiefner, p. 225) synchronises with that of the Tibetan king Khri-ral. Recently a writer in the Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā (1333 B. S. p. 52-3) fixed 1038 A.D. as the date in question, assuming that Khri-ral is identical with king Lha Lhama Yeše-hod, whose former name was Khor-re. Though the date marvellously fits in our chronology, we have to reject the identification of Khri-ral, on which it rests. For Khri-ral is known to be the same as the famous king Ralpacan (vide Rockhill's Life of Buddha, p. 223: Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Indian Logic, p. 517, referring to Csoma de Koros's Tibetan Grammar, p. 185).

We are able now to work out the chronology of the earlier Pāla kings in fuller details in light of new materials. We had mentioned in our previous paper that Gopāla II is stated in the epigraphic records to have reigned for a long time (*cirataram*). This is now amply corroborated by a Ms. colophon. A Buddhist work—Maitreya Vyākaraṇa—was copied in the 57th year of Gopāla II, whose reign thus becomes the *longest* of the whole dynasty. It is a pity that this most important colophon remained so long entirely unnoticed and escaped even the eyes of Mm. H. P. Śāstrī, who passes it without any remark in his Descriptive Catalogue of Buddhist Mss. (p.13). The newly discovered Nālandā copper-plate of Devapāla is dated in his 39th year. The Bargaon stone pillar inscription of Rājyapāla is dated in his

1 The verse in question (v. 8 of the Belabo grant), it should be noticed, contains without much exaggeration a statement of the earthly achievements of Jātavarmā, whose sudden connection with "celestial" (*divya*) arm becomes therefore out of place in the phrase, "nindan divyabhujaśriyam."

24th year (Ind. Ant., 1918, p. 111). All these data produce an almost impossible situation, rendering untenable the date of the Kamboja usurpation of 966 A.D., as referring to the reign of Vigrahapāla II. For the total length of years from Devapāla to Gopāla II comes up to 177 (39+3+54+24+57) at least. This either places Dharmapāla's death before (966−177) 789 A.D., which is before the time of Govinda, or places the accession of Vigrahapāla II to the throne in 970 A.D. at the earliest. The date of Kamboja usurpation (966 A.D.) will then have to be referred to the reign of Gopāla II, who is credited, however, in all the epigraphic records with a decidedly peaceful reign. The only reasonable solution we think possible is to reject as doubtful the stone pillar inscription of Rājyapāla as deciphered by Mr. Banerjee. It is not very likely that Rājyapāla coming between two enormously long reigns of Nārāyaṇapāla (54 years) and Gopāla II (57 years) reigned for a good length of 24 years.[1] In the Bargaon inscription the figure 24 was perhaps carelessly placed after *Saṃvat* and is to go with mārga-dine, where the figure is wanting. Or like the inscriptions of Mahendrapāla, the record probably refers to the Gurjara Pratihāra king Rājyapāla.[2]

Another happy date has been worked out from the two identical inscriptions of Śūrapāla I. The editor of the inscriptions, Prof. Chakravarti, referred them to the reign of Śūrapāla II (*JASB.*, 1908, p. 107). Against this Mr. Banerjee, on palaeographical grounds, referred them to Śūrapāla I (Palas of Bengal, p. 57), which is much more likely. Śūrapāla II is not mentioned in the Rāmacarita to have ever sat on the throne. His mention in the Manahali Grant may have been occasioned by a few months' so-called reign in those troubled times when he found himself helpless and deserted as the significant words "ekaḥ sāhasasārathiḥ" sufficiently bear out. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt that the inscriptions refer to Śūrapāla I. The dating of the inscriptions has not yet been carefully scrutinised. "Saṃvat 2 dvirāṣāḍha badi 11" was the reading of Prof. Chakravarti.

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1 King Rāsapāla, the nearest approach to the name Rājyapāla, is stated in Tibetan books to have reigned for 12 years only: Schiefner's Tāranātha, p. 214: also p. 205 fn. referring to Lassen, III, 730 f.

2 Curiously the language of the Bargaon inscription e.g. "Rājapāla-devarāje" is like that of one of the inscriptions of Mahendrapāla (vide Plate XXXI in the Pālas of Bengal) corrupt.

But in the plate accompanying his paper, the figure after Saṃvat is most clearly 3 and not 2. Prof. Chakravarti evidently took the unusual word "dviḥ" to be a repetition in word of the figure after Saṃvat. But the real interpretation has been hitherto entirely missed by all scholars. The word "dvirāṣāḍha" is a well-known technical term in Indian astronomical and Smṛti literature. There is a separate section named "Dvirāṣāḍha-viveka" in Jīmūtavāhana's Kālaviveka (pp. 169-174). The word primarily means an adhika māsa falling in Saura Āṣāḍha and secondarily in a wider sense any adhika māsa falling within the first six months of the year (Vaiśākha to Āśvina). It has been used here in the first narrow sense to indicate the exact month. Now, there were adhika Āṣāḍha months in the years 822, 833, 841, and 852 A.D. Of these possible dates, 822 and 833 are too early, placing Dharmapāla's death in 792 A.D. at the latest. 852, on the other hand, is too late, placing Vigrahapāla II's accession to the throne in 987 A.D. at the earliest. The date of the inscriptions is therefore 841 A.D. Devapāla's death is thus fixed within a year before June, 839 A.D. and Dharmapāla's accession to the throne cannot be dated later than 770 A.D., thus remarkably supporting our previous conjecture (Ind. Ant., 1920, p. 193).

The Bodh-Gaya inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla contains a verifiable datum: Bhādra-bahula-pañcamī combined with Saturday. Cunningham (*ASB.*, XV, p. 150-1) tried to work it out and selected "856 A.D. as the 26th year of Dharmapāla". After him no scholar seems to have attemped to fix the date in the light of recent materials. Before giving my results in details, an attempt is made to arrive at the earliest possible date of Gopāla I. A mass of ill-digested historical and legendary matter is found in the Tibetan histories, bearing on the reigns of Gopāla I and his immediate successors. A careful examination of some of this matter would throw some new light on the early Pāla chronology. Tāranātha, it is true, gave a wrong genealogy of the first three Pāla kings, but the correct genealogy was not altogether unknown among Tibetan historians, one of whom at least—Buston—gave it and was held to be more reliable by Sum-po (Pag Sam, preface, p. iii). Tāranātha records in a true historical spirit the views of two ancient historians on the exact date of Gopāla's election to the throne. According to Indradatta, Gopāla was elected *one year* after what must have been a famous event in those times viz. the death of one "Ācārya Mīmāṃsaka," while according to Kṣemendrabhadra it was *seven years* after that event (Schiefner : p. 204).

It is not known who is exactly meant by Ācārya Mīmāṃsaka, but whoever it is—either Kumārila or Prabhākara—the event evidently dates back to the early decades of the 8th century A.D.

Gopāla is credited with the establishment of the Odantapurī vihāra near Nālandā (Tāranātha, p. 206). It is stated in the Pag Sam that the famous Samye monastery of Tibet was erected after the model of the Odantapurī vihāra and the date of its erection is said to be 749 A.D. (p. 171: also Indian Logic, p. 517). Śāntarakṣita, who worked in that monastery, "was born in the reign of Gopāla and died in that of Dharmapāla" (Pag Sam, p. 112). Gopāla, during whose reign Śāntarakṣita was born, say 40 years before 749 A.D., must then have come to the throne somewhere between 690 and 710 A.D. Both Tāranātha (p. 205) and Sumpo (p. 110) state that Gopāla was a contemporary of king Śrīharṣa of Kasmir. In our opinion the Tibetan historians had confused three kings of the same name Śrīharṣa :—Śrīharṣa of Kasmir, the famous Harṣavardhana and Śrī-Harṣadeva of Kāmarūpa (whose son-in-law was reigning in 759 A.D. (Ind. Ant., IX. p. 178) The last of these probably was meant to be the king who was contemporaneous with Gopāla I. These three Tibetan references point roughly to the first half of the 8th century A.D. as the probable date of Gopāla. A mass of legendary matter in a worse state of confusion is found also in the Jaina biographies of Bappa-bhaṭṭi, where the persistent mention of king Dharmapāla as a contemporary of Yaśovarman or his son Āma, may just be taken in conformity with the Tibetan evidence, as a piece of history pointing to the middle of the 8th century A.D. as the date of Dharmapāla. Accordingly we extend our calculations (to about 755 A.D.) with the following results, referring to the Bodh-Gaya inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla.

Amānta scheme.

In 796 A.D. (Aug. 27, Saturday) Bhādra badi 5 for 57-32 *palas* (mean). Under true system the tithi ended at 0-47 *p.* (Sūrya S.) or 2-6 *p.* (Ārya S.) the next day, which was Sunday.

In 793 (Aug. 31) the mean tithi ended at 19-33 *p.* but the true tithi ended at 44-35 *p.* (Sūrya S) or 44-20 *p.* (Ārya S.) the previous day, which was a Friday.

In 789 (Aug. 15, Saturday) the mean tithi ended at 47-52 *p.* and the true tithi at 59-46 *p.* (Sūrya S.) or 58-35 *p.* (Ārya S.)

In 786 (Aug. 19) the mean tithi for 10-0 *p.* and according to the Arya

S. true tithi for only 0-25 *p.* the same day, but according to the Sūrya S. true tithi ended at 59-42 *p.* the previous day, which was a Friday.

In 776 (Sep. 7, Saturday) the mean tithi ended at 54-15 *p.* and the true tithi at 21-58 *p.* (Sūrya S.) or 22-40 *p.* (Ārya S.)

In 773 (Sep. 11) the mean tithi ended at 16-22 *p.* and the true tithi at 10-23 *p.* (Sūrya) or 8-25 *p.* (Ārya).

In 769 (Aug. 26) the mean tithi for 44-11 *p.* and the true tithi for 42-11 *p.* (Sūrya).

In 762 (Aug. 14) the mean tithi for 35 *p.* and the true tithi for 49-30 *p.* (Sūrya), but the lunar month in which the tithi is included was an *adhika māsa.*

Purṇimānta scheme.

In 792 A.D. (Aug. 12 Sunday) the true tithi ended at 51-40 *p.*

In 785 (July 30, Saturday) the true tithi ended at 58-12 *p.*, but the mean tithi ended the next day.

In 782 (Aug. 3, Saturday) the true tithi ended at 15-36 *p.*

In 779 (Aug. 7, Saturday) ,, ,, 15-0 *p.*

In 765 (Aug. 10, Saturday) ,, ,, 48-0 *p.*, but the mean tithi ended the next day.

Though we have given, for the curious readers, both *mean* and *true* calculations (in both the Amānta and Purṇimānta schemes), we would confine ourselves to the Amānta and the true dates alone; for true calculations of tithis already came into operation since the times of Varāhamihira (6th cent. A.D.) and were certainly in vogue in the 8th century A.D. The tithi of the Eran Pillar Inscription of the Gupta period dated 484 A.D. has already been worked out similarly under the *true* system (Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions, p. 157). The following five dates are therefore available as marking the beginning of Dharmapāla's reign:—737, 744, 748, 751, and 764 A.D. In 737, the month is inauspicious being an adhika māsa: the date besides seems too early. 764 on the other hand seems a bit too late, allowing about 36 years' reign to Dharmapāla. There is nothing whatever to choose between the three remaining dates—744, 748, and 751 A.D.

The chronology of the earlier Pāla kings may thus be tentatively fixed in the following manner:—

			Length of reign
Gopāla I	circ.	700-744 A.D.	45 years (vide Tāranātha)
Dharmapāla		744-800	56
Devapāla		800-839	40

Śūrapāla I	839-845	7 years (vide Tāranātha)
Nārāyaṇapāla	845-899[1]	54
Rājyapāla	899-923	24
Gopāla II	923-980	57
Vigrahapāla II	980-988	9

For the satisfaction of scholars who would place the Kāmboja usurpation of 966 A.D. to the reign of Vigrahapāla II and reject the Bargaon Pillar inscription of the 24th year of Rājyapāla, an alternative list of the last three kings will have to be adjusted thus:—

Rājyapāla 899-903 (5 years); Gopāla II 903-960 (57 years) and Vigrahapāla II 960-988 (28 years).

The only thing that stands against the above chronology is yet another surmise of Prof. Mazumdar. He makes out from a study of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions that Dharmapāla probably met Govinda III in about 808 A.D. His reason is this: the Radhanpur grant of Govinda III dated Śrāvaṇa 730 Śaka mentions the expedition against the Gurjaras, which is omitted in the Waṇi grant dated in Vaiśākha, 730 Śaka. So the Gurjara expedition may have taken place in three months intervening between the two grants. This inference is unsound. The Gurjara invasion is not mentioned last of all in the Radhanpur plate. The Waṇi grant is irregular in its date (Ind. Ant., XXIV, p. 11, no. 172) and the omission of the Gurjara expedition therein is only a careless one like its omission of the Pallava conquest in Dhruva's reign. It is much more reasonable to assume that a chronological order is indicated in the conquest of Govinda III in the Radhanpur plate and the expedition against the Gurjaras took place very early in his reign followed by four other expeditions all before

1 A Tibetan tradition has been mentioned above which synchronises the death of king Khri-ral with that of Mahīpāla I, who had a reign of 52 years under the same tradition. King Mahīpāla, son of a Vanapāla (and grandson of Dharmapāla) and father of a Mahāpāla is a myth, but the statement may be interpreted as indicating the death of an early Pāla king, with a very long reign, who can be conveniently identified with Nārāyaṇapāla. The reign of Khri-ral, however, is not definitely dated. According to Chinese authorities Khri-ral or Ral-pa-can died in 838 A.D. According to Csoma he died in 899 A.D. and according to Setsen in 902 A.D. (Rockhill p. 225). We have taken Csoma's date.

808 A.D. We see no reasons therefore to bring down Dharmapāla further than 800 A.D. For Govinda III ascended the throne in 793-4 A.D. and met Dharmapāla sometime before 800 A.D. This does not also militate against Dharmapāla's synchronism with Nāgabhaṭṭa, who may have ascended the throne any time after 783 A.D., when Vatsarāja was still alive (*JRAS.*, 1909, p. 250).

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

Indian Literature Abroad

VIII

Dānapāla was a śramaṇa of Udyāna of Northern India. He arrived in China in A. D. 980 along with Dharmadeva and Tien-si-tsai. Two years after his arrival he received from the Chinese emperor the title of Hsien-chiao-ta-shih, Tien-si-tsai received Ming-chiao-ta-shih, and Dharmadeva received Chuang-chiao-ta-shih. The number of books translated by Dānapāla was one hundred and eleven—mostly Dhāraṇīs. These Mantras became very popular with certain section of the Buddhists, the Chinese, and they swelled the bulk of the Buddhist Chinese literature. Since the days of Amogha-vajra, Tāntrikism made a little progress, and this literature was greatly cultivated and propagated by the Indian Tāntrik Buddhists. Dānapala rendered into Chinese a few booklets ascribed to the great Nāgārjuna, e. g., *Bodhihṛdaya-rūpavimukta-śāstra* (No. 1304), *Mahāyāna Bhava-bheda-śāstra.*

Dānapāla and Tantra Literature, 980 A. D.

Three years after the death of Dānapāla, Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu), a śramaṇa of Magadha, arrived in China. As I have already told Fa-hu brought some Sanskrit manuscripts with him and he applied himself to translating them till A.D. 1058, when he died in his ninety-sixth year. In 1054 he received from the Emperor Jen-Tsung (1023-1063 A.D.) the special title of P'u ming-tzu-chiao-chwang-fan-ta-shih for his meritorious work. In 1009 a Translation Board was formed by the Imperial command with Fa-hu, Wei-tsing and others. The *Ratnamegha-Sūtra*(Nanjio 964), one of the most popular Mahāyāna Sūtras, a shorter form of

Dharmarakṣa and the Translation Board.

which had been twice translated before, was translated by Dharmarakṣa. Fa-hu and the Chinese monk mentioned above rendered into Chinese in 20 fasciculi *Tathāgata-acintya-guhya-nirdeśa,* a Mahāyāna Sūtra, which had been translated by another Dharmarakṣa (Fa-hu) in the W. T'sin Dynasty (265-316) in 7 fasciculi. This formed a part of Ratnakūṭa Group of Mahāyāna literature. Another distinctly Tāntrik book *He-Vajra-tantra* (Nanjio, 1060) which agrees with the Tibetan version in the Kanjur was made accessible in a Chinese form. Bodhisattva Dharmayaśa's *Mahāyāna Saṅgīta-bodhisattva-vidyāśāstra* (1298) was for the first time translated by Fa-hu and Sūrya-yaśas in 20 fasciculi. In the Ming collection this book is placed for the first time among the Abhidharma works and was admitted into the Canon during the Sung-Yuen period. At this late period a Hīnayāna work was translated by Fa-hu and his colleagues. It was Mahā-Maudglyāyana's *Prajñaptipāda-Śāstra* (Nanjio 1317); this is the last of the six pāda works of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharmas.

Miscellaneous works.

Wei-Tsing, a Chinese śramaṇa, who seems to have worked together with the Indian monks mentioned before, and had joined the Imperial Translation Board in 1009, must have acquired sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit to translate a few books from the original. His most important contribution was his translation of Bodhisattva Sthiramati's commentary on Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka Śāstra.* Jñānaśrī (Chu chi-siang) and Sūryayaśas were contemporaries of Fa-hu and Sūryayaśas actually worked with Fa-hu. Sūryayaśas himself translated two books of the great Aśvaghoṣa—one being a book of fifty verses on the rules for serving a teacher (N. 1080), another known as *Daśa-duṣṭa-karmamārga Sūtra* (N. 1379). That the Buddhist monks were still held in great honour is shown by the fact that Maitreya-bhadra, a śramaṇa of Magadha, became Kuo-Shih or the State-teacher of the Chinese Court. He is responsible for five translations.

Jātakamālā.

Probably the last book that was translated in the Sung Dynasty by Shao-tih, Hwui-Sung and others was *Bodhisattva-Jātakamālā* (1312). It was originally composed or collected by the Bodhisattva Āryaśūra and commented upon by Muni Jinadeva in 12 fasciculi. The translation did not find favour with the Chinese for its defective style. The Sanskrit original is preserved in Hodgson manuscripts and has been published by Kern in the Harvard Oriental Series and translated by Speyer.

The Northern Sung Dynasty ended with Hui Tsang (1101-1127),

who was carried in captivity by the Kitan Tartars. The Sungs retired to the south of the Ÿang-tse, and Hang-chow became their capital. During their rule (1128-1280) we do not meet with any translator either Indian or Chinese. Buddhism of Chan (Dhyāna) school enjoyed respect and contributed many landscape painters to the roll. The greatest figure of this age was Chu-hsi, the famous commentator of Kung-fu-tze (Confucius), and he was greatly influenced by Buddhist thought and inspite of his denial, it is clear that he was imbued by the mystic spirit of Bodhidharma.

Barrenness of the N. Sung period.

The Mongols now became supreme in China. They were a rude, uncultured people of nomadic and marauding habits. Khubilai Khan, the first Mongol emperor of China, was a man of completely different temperament, and he was anxious to encourage any faith that might humanize his rude followers. Buddhism suited them best.

Khubilai Khan and the Mongol Rule.

One Tibetan Lama, Pagspa (Ārya), invented a script on a Tibetan model for the Mongols. It was issued by Khubilai, but failed to be popular because the writing was more complicated and ornate than the simple Syriac writing which had also been introduced. Pagspa in recognition of his service received the exalted title of "Prince of the Great and Precious Law of Buddha" from Khubilai. He knew Sanskrit and Chinese and edited a book on Hīnayāna Vinaya which gave brief rules for the learning and practice of bhikṣus. The restored title would be *Mūla-sarvāstivāda-nikāya-pravarjyopasampadā-karmavācā.* (Nanjio 1137).

Pagspa, the Tibetan.

Another book translated by Pagspa's disciple Sha-lo-pa known in Chinese *Chang-su-shih-lun* or the Śāstra on explaining known objects (Nanjio 1320). It is sometimes mentioned as a Śāstra of the Hīnayāna, but it is distinctly a book on Mahāyāna. This is a very useful and interesting manual of the Buddhistic terminology, consisting of extracts from several śāstras, such as Sūrya-garbha-śāstra, Saddharma-smṛtyupasthāna-sūtra, Abhidharma-kośa-Śāstra of Vasubandhu and few other minor books. It consists of five chapters as Bhojana-loka, Sattva-loka, Mārga-dharma, Phala-dharma, Asaṃskṛtadharma. It was compiled by Pagspa for the sake of Chan-Chin, the Crown Prince of the Emperor Khubilai. The original, which was probably compiled from Sanskrit sources in Tibetan, was translated into Chinese by Sha-lo-pa, a disciple of Pagspa. He

Chang-su-lun of Pagspa.

received from the Emperor great honours and the title of Tripiṭaka-bhadanta (Hung-Chiao-fo-chih).

The list of translators at this age is very limited. We find three more names of whom only one was an Indian Śramaṇa, the second was from Tibet, and the third was a Chinese official; the exact date and other details of these translators are unknown. Although the Yuen Period did not produce as many great translators as the former periods did, this period of 88 years of Mongol rule attracted the attention of persons with a religious and literary bent. I have already noted somewhere that the Dhyāna School of Bodhidharma began to gain ground at a later date and became very popular in China and Japan. In 1291 a priest of the Chan or Dhyāna School named Siang-Mai compiled a work known as *Pien-wei-lun* (Nanjio 1607). It was a polemic work against the Taoist. Chu-pa collected in 1314-1320 A.D. some gāthās known as Guhya-pāda-malla-mahā-ṛddhirāja-sūtra-gāthā of 175 verses (Nanjio 1384). I have already referred to Chu-pa's Catalogue of the Tripiṭaka (Nanjio 1611). Wan-Tsai, a Chinese priest, compiled two works—one being a new commentary on a Treatise by San-Chao, a disciple of the great Kumārajīva, and a commentary on the same (Nanjio 1627, 1628). P'u-tu, a priest compiled a work in 1314 A.D. entitled 'A precious mirror of the Lotus school,' being a work of a priest of Lu-Shang in 10 fasciculi. A very important book, viz., the history of the Patriarchs and other eminent priests of the Dhyāna school, which had been originally collected by a monk of the Southern Sung Dynasty in 1033 A.D., was continued by T'sing-men. A big tome of 30 fasciculi, consisting of the sayings of Upādhyāya Chung-fang, was compiled by his disciple of the Dhyāna School in 1321-23. In 1322 Yuen-Chia wrote a commentary on Tsung-Mi's well-known treatise 'on the origin of Man'. Tsung-Mi was the fifth patriarch of Hwa-Yen or Avataṃsaka School, who wrote his book about 841 A.D.

Compilation work by Chinese monks.

Tsung-mi.

Nien-Chang of the Yuen Dynasty compiled a complete history of Buddhism in Chinese in 36 fasciculi (Nanjio 1637). The narration of this work begins with the first Emperor down to 1333-1344 A.D., when the compilation was finished. It relates several events concerning not only Buddhism, but also Confucianism and Taoism. One Pai-chang had written a few 'Pure Rules', something like Sanskrit Nīti-books, in the T'ang Dynasty. Te-hwui and Ta-su edited and published them. 'Most of these rules

Miscellaneous writers.

referred to worldly matters, so that they are not only far from the Vinaya, but also from the original rules of Pai-Chang.' The rest of the Chinese writers were either of the Dhyāna School or the T'ien-Tai school. Wei-tso of Tien-Tai school wrote a big commentary in 20 fasciculi, on the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra* and *Sukhāvatī-Vyūha*, the latter known as "an important gate or doctrine of meditation on the state of the Pure-land." P'u-zui, a priest of the Hwa-yen School wrote a big commentary in 40 fasciculi on the commentary of *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra* (Nanjio 1322). Phu-chao, Chi no, Chi-cho, Chu-ting all wrote on the Dhyāna School. This long and rather dry list is given here to show that the Chinese were not inactive as regards Indian books. As most of the Buddhist books had already been translated, people now gave more matured thought on its contents and wrote and studied either commentaries or expository notes on them. Another important work, which has nothing to do with translation, is *Su-chwan-tang-lu*, in 36 fasciculi which contains the lives of 3118 eminent priests of the Dhyāna School. A similar work was compiled in the later Sung Dynasty. That was also a history of the Indian and Chinese Patriarchs of the Dhyāna School. From historian's point of view these books are very valuable.

Khubilai's attitude towards Buddhism.

The Mongol Emperors were extremely superstitious and showed their sincere devotion to Buddhist religious literature. Khubilai saw to the fact that the monasteries in Peking were all supplied with books and ordered the priests to recite them on stated days. A new collection of Tripiṭaka was published in 1285-87, under the Imperial order of Khubilai. This Catalogue was compiled by Ching-Chi-Siang in collaboration with Indian, Tibetan and Chinese assistants and is known as Chi-Yuen-lu. The number of translated books in the Tripiṭaka mentioned in it is 1440 in 5586 fasciculi. These are the works made by 194 persons under twenty-two dynasties during the period of 1219 years[1]

1 "Preparatory to the translation of the Tripiṭaka into Mongolian the Emperor Khubilai convened his priestly and lay subordinates and constituted there a committee to examine the Buddhist works (1,400 in number) then extant in China and Tibet. This Committee consisted of some 28 men of several countries, China, Tibet, India, Turfan, Uigur and Mongolia." Takakusu, J.P.T.S., 1904-05, p. 80).

(67-1285 A.D.). Besides this there are 95 Indian and 118 Chinese works which are not purely Buddhist books but books dealing with Indian subjects. All the translations of Tripiṭaka and other Indian works are compared with the Tibetan Tanjur and Kanjur translation and to each of them is added the Sanskrit transliteratlon and a note after the Chinese title, stating whether both the translations were in agreement or not and whether the book was wanting in the Tibetan version. This composition, however, seems to have been made only through a catalogue of Tibetan books, and not actually with the translations themselves. From the Tibetan sources we get some information as regards this translation; ".....during the reign of the Tartar Emperor, Sa- Chhen, the Chinese scriptures were compared with the Tibetan collections of Kanjur and Tanjur. Such treatises and volumes as were wanting in the Chinese were translated from the Tibetan scriptures. All these formed one complete collection, the first part of which consisted of Buddha's teaching (Kanjur). To the second part 21 volumes of translations from Tibetan, with Chinese Śāstras, and works of emiment Ho-Shang (monks), comprising 153 volumes, were added. The whole collection consisted of 740 volumes. An analytic catalogue of all these books are furnished. In this collection many śāstras were found which did not exist in the Tibetan collections" (*JASB.*, 1882, p. 92).

The Catalogue Chin-Yuen-Lu.

Another catalogue compiled originally by Wang-Ku of the Sung Dynasty was continued by Kuang-Chu-pa in A.D. 1306 under the Yuen (Mongol) dynasty. This Catalogue entirely depends upon the previous one and adds a short account of the contents of each book. The Catalogue was first sent by M. P. Habace of Russia to S. Julien of Paris in 1848. After a careful study, Julien published a "Concordance-Sinico-Sanskrita" in the Journal Asiatique (1849 pp. 351-446). Bunyio Nanjio, while compiling his great Catalogue made use of this valuable Catalogue in which many Sanskrit words have been restored (*JPTS.*, 1905, p. 81).

Concordance.

The activities of Khubilai to enhance the cause of Buddhism was manifold. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, a census was taken, by the imperial command, of the Buddhist temples and monks in China. Of the former, the reported number was 42,318 and of the latter 213, 148. About this time, Lamaism or the form of Buddhism developed in Tibet spread to Northern China and Lamas were not regarded as men of different sect as it is now done. I have already

Mongolian Translation of Tibetan and Sanskrit Tripiṭaka.

said that Khubilai was much influenced by Tibetan culture, and he ordered a Mongol to study Tibetan language. A complete translation of the Buddhist Sūtras and Śāstras from the Tibetan and Sanskrit into Mongolian, was presented to Khubilai in 1294 A.D. These were cut out in blocks of wood and distributed among the chiefs of the Mongols. Tibetan language was held in great honour in the capital. In 1312 the Mongol Emperor Jen-Tsung ordered Pu-lan-na-shih-li, who had learned Chinese and Sanskrit in his youth, to translate Buddhist books into Mongol Language. From Chinese he translated the Leng-Yen-Ching, (*Laṅkāvatāra*), a Sūtra highly honoured by the Chinese people, and four Sūtras from the original Sanskrit and an other from Tibetan, in all a thousand fasciculi or chapters. As the history of Mongolian Buddhist literature is directly connected with Tibetan Buddhist literature, we shall deal with it elsewhere. Eliot says (III, p. 274)" It is possible that the Buddhism of the Yuen Dynasty was tainted with Śāktism from which the Lama monasteries of Peking are not wholly free" He suggests that some of the indecent scandal of the last Mongol emperors contributed to the speedy downfall of them. The Mongols were driven by the native Chinese dynasty known as Ming, who reigned from 1368 to 1644.

The Ming Dynasty.

Few Ming Emperors showed much personal interest in religion and their favour was always guided by some political motive. Still the first Ming emperor ordered that all monks should study Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra, Prajñāpāramitā-Hṛdaya and Vajra-cchedika. He called together the priests of the Dhyāna School to write commentaries, and Tsung-lo and Yu-chi wrote three commentaries on these books in 1378 A.D. The third emperor Cheng-tsu when a boy was educated by a Buddhist Priest and the Emperor imbibed Buddhistic religious and literary tendencies. He wrote ten laudatory compositions in prose and verse between 1410 and 1415 which are incorporated in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. On the whole Buddhism flourished under the Mings and got the imperial support. It was only from time to time that it suffered persecution. The reign of Wu-tsung (1506-21) was extremely favourable to Buddhism. The Emperor himself learnt Buddhist literature and knew Sanskrit as well as Mongol and Arabic. The study of Sanskrit had been throughout encouraged in China and books on Grammer, Lexicon were written in Chinese, for the benefit of scholars. During the Ming Dynasty Sanskrit study decayed in China, still Yun-lo founded in 1407 a school of language for training interpreters at which Sanskrit was taught among other tongues (Eliot, III, p. 278).

During the Ming Dynasty the thirteenth Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka was published in 1368-1398 A.D. in 3 fasciculi. It was re-issued by the Third Emperor with more books added to it and finally published by Mi-tsang at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Afterwards it was republished in Japan by a Japanese in 1678-1681 A.D. There were two distinct collections in China—Northern and Southern. The Emperor T'ai-tsu-kao (1368-1398) caused the whole Tripiṭaka to be engraved in Nanking; and the Emperor T'ai-tsung-wan (1403-1924) again caused a good edition to be published in Peking.

The Ming Collection.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka was preserved in Mss. from 67 A.D. to 972 A.D. for about 900 years, when they were first printed. Beal in his *Catena to Buddhist Literature in China* says that the tripiṭaka had been printed at various times in China from wooden blocks, which were often destroyed by fire or civil war. It is said that during the Sung and Yuen Dynasties (960 1368) as many as twenty different editions had been produced, but during the troubles occurring towards the end of the Yuen Period, all of them perished.

Under the Manchu Rule which began in 1644 and ended in 1910, the Chinese Tripiṭaka was published by the Emperors Shih-tsung and Kao-tsung who ruled from 1723-1795. But the most important and widely known collection is the Ming collection of the Tripiṭaka, the Catalogue of which has been edited by B. Nanjio in 1883. It enumerates 1662 works, classified into four divisions: (1)Sūtra, (2)Vinaya, (3)Abhidharma, and (4) Miscellaneous. The first three contain translations and the fourth original Chinese works. The first division called Ching or Sūtras amounts to nearly two-thirds of the whole, for it comprises no less than 1081 works and is divided as follows: (*a*) Mahāyāna Sūtras 541 books (*b*) Hināyāna Sūtras 240, (*c*) Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna Sūtras, 300 in number, admitted into the canon under the Sung and Yuen Dynasty.

Classification of the Ming Tripitaka.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka is a literary and bibliographical collection rather than an ecclesiastical canon. It consists of translations of Indian works belonging to a particular class which possess a certain age and authority. Among these the Mahāyāna Sūtras contain the works most esteemed by Chinese Buddhists. It is divided into seven classes:—(1) Prajñāpāramitā, (2) Ratnakūṭa, (3) Mahāsannipāta, (4) Avataṃsaka, (5) Parinirvāṇa, (6) Sūtras in more than one translation but not falling into any of the above five classes, (7) other Sūtras existing in only one translation.

The Vinaya Piṭaka is divided into Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna texts. The latter comprising five well-defined recensions of the code, besides extracts, compendiums etc. (1) Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins, (2) Vinaya of the Mūla-Sarvastivādins of I-tsing (3) Vinaya of the Dharmagupta School, (4) Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas, said to be similar to the Pāli Canon. (5) Mahāsaṅghika Vinaya.

The Abhidharma Piṭaka is also divided into Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna. They are philosophical works of Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and others. They represent two principal schools of thought, Yogācāra and Madhyamaka. The Hīnayāna Abhidharma show no correspondence to the Pāli Abhidharma Piṭaka.

The Miscellaneous portion contains books from Sanskrit as well as Chinese. The latter consist of about 200 works, historical, critical, controversial, homiletic written by 102 writers.

PROBHAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE

Cosmographical Theories of the Hindu Astronomers

From the earliest stage of the development of human knowledge attempt has been made to fathom the mysteries of creation and to link by a common principle of metaphysical and scientific investigation the different members of the solar system. Now in proceeding with this enterprise they encountered two distinct problems. One was concerned with the nature of the primeval World-stuff; the other with the operation to which it had been subjected. Modern theorists have made it their primary object to expound the mechanism of cosmic growth, the play of forces involved in it, the transformations and progressive redistributions of energy attending it. But early thinkers till the time of Descartes tried to solve this question by assuming an appropriate material for the exercise of their constructive ingenuity.

Thales asserted all things to have been derived from water. Anaximenes substituted air. A crude attempt to determine the cosmic origin is also found in the Ṛg-veda, where it is stated that at first darkness prevailed everywhere, it was only chaos and water abounded in the whole creation.[1] The Manu Saṃhitā also asserts that

1 Ṛg-veda, X, 129.

the creator at first created water and then fire and life.[1] The Vortex Theory of Descartes or the Modern Nebular Theory of Kant and Laplace ultimately reduces itself to the theory that the universe originated from vapour as nebulæ are no better than vapour.

Hindu astronomers have begun the discussion on cosmographical theories with a series of questions regarding the earth, its magnitude and divisions, the situation of the seven Patala Bhumis or imaginary lower regions of the earth, the sun's revolutions the causes of day and night of the Gods, the Demons and the Pitṛs, the order of the stars and planets, the position of their orbits with respect to each other in the Universe.[2] Next they speak of imperceptible agencies of creation, almost the same metaphysical theories as may be found in the Vedas, the Purāṇas and other mythological works.

It is said, "At first only darkness prevailed; in that darkness Vāsudeva (in whom the whole Universe lay latent), the Supreme Being whose manifestation is everything that exists, who is transcendental, without attributes, and tranquil, who is beyond the twenty-five primordial matters and inexhaustible, who pervades all places within and without,[3] who is the contracting power (lit., he who contracts) first created water at the beginning and threw his own power (of contraction) in it. That water with the power of contraction in it produced a golden egg. The sides of the egg were even then enveloped in darkness. Out of that egg evolved Aniruddha (whose motion cannot be stopped) Sanātana (who is everlasting). Hence he is called Hiraṇyagarbha in the Vedas; as he was the first to evolve out he was called Āditya and for the creation of the Universe he is called Sūrya (the Sun). Sūrya (the Sun), whose another name is Savitā, who dispels darkness and who is the cause of the creation, existence and destruction of all beings, is always moving and brings to light the different worlds..... From this originated the moon, the five planets, stars, the earth and other worlds. Brahman, the creator, exists within that egg and hence that egg is called Brahmāṇḍa (the Universe). In the hollow of that egg is situated this world consisting of Bhū, Bhuvas etc. and not outside that

1 Manu Saṃhitā, chap. I.
2 Sūryasiddhānta, chap. XII, verses 1-9.
3 Cf. Ṛg-veda (Puruṣa Hymn), x, 90, 1.

egg. It is round (गोलकाकृतिः), as if two cauldrons are joined together with faces in contact."[1]

Though the above theories seem to be more or less metaphysical, yet they can be given a scientific interpretation. It is seen that अप् was first created or was at first in existence. अप् is generally translated as water but it also means watery vapour or simply vapour. The word अप् also indicates ether and hence it means ethereal vapour. Hence it can easily be understood to be the same as nebulæ. Thus as first it was only darkness and ethereal vapour or nebulæ all around. Into that was thrust the force of contraction and the result was the outcome of a golden (सुवर्ण) egg. Utpalabhaṭṭa meant by this word "luminous".[2] In the Manu Saṃhitā in connection with the theory of creation of the Universe, Kullukabhaṭṭa, the commentator, has clearly said that it was not golden but brilliant like gold (शुद्धिगुणयोगवशात्). The visible universe is shaped like an egg, it is not exactly round. By the force of contraction, stars, planets, the sun and other orbs are formed. The force acts within the egg in a state of constant rotation. That is to say, the ethereal vapour which existed at first produced this universe by the forces of contraction and rotation.

The explanation given above is not far-fetched or imaginary. It is the most natural explanation. Then what is the difference between the above theory stated in the Sūrya Siddhānta and the Nebular Hypothesis of Kant and Laplace ?

The Brahmāṇḍa or the golden egg of Brahmā is the vast hollow sphere of the Universe at the centre of which is the earth ; within it all the stars are supposed to revolve daily, and beneath them are the orbits of the planets Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, the Sun and the Moon, in the order of their distances from the centre.[3] The earth stands firm at the centre by its own power without other support in space.[4]

In this connection the Hindu Astronomers dwelt on some peculiar geographical theories which have now probably lost their earlier

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1 Sūrya Siddāhnta chap. XII, 12 to 29 verses.

2 Bṛhat Saṃhitā—The chapter on Upanayana (उपनयन), comment on verse 6.

3 Sūrya Siddhānta, Chap. XII, verses 30, 31.

4 Siddhānta Śiromaṇi, Golādhyāya, Chap. I, verse 2.

mythological significance and seem to be pure figments of the imagination.

The circumference of the sphere of the Brahmāṇḍa, to which the solar rays extend, is declared to be equal to the product of the moon's revolutions (57,753,336000) in a Kalpa by the circumference of the moon's orbit. Bhāskara says, "Some astronomers assert that the length of the circumference of the sphere of the universe is 1871206920000000 yojanas. But those by whom the astronomical science was thoroughly understood say that it is the length of the circumference of the sphere up to the limit the darkness-dispelling rays of the sun extend. In my opinion every planet covers so much distance in yojanas in one kalpa. Hence it is called Vyomakakṣhā (व्योमकक्षा)".

Varāhamihira has given further details of the constitution of the Universe in his Pañcha Siddhāntīkā :

"The round ball of the earth, composed of the five elements, abides in space in the midst of the starry sphere, like a piece of iron suspended between magnets ; covered on all sides with trees, mountains, towns, groves, rivers, oceans and other things, in its middle there is Sumeru, the abode of the gods and below there is the place of the Asuras. Straight above Meru in space one pole is seen ; the other pole is seen below, placed in space. Fastened to the pole the sphere of the stars is driven round by the pravaha wind.

Beneath the equinoctial circle is Laṅkā ; there the sphere is right. Day and night there are always of the same length, viz. 30 nāḍikās.

Of the moon which is constantly placed below the Sun, one half is illuminated by the sun's rays, while the other half is obscured by the moon's own shadow, as is the case with a jar standing in the sunlight. The rays of the sun, being reflected from the moon which consists of water, destroy the darkness of the night, just as the rays of the sun falling on the surface of a mirror destroy the darkness inside a house.

Above the moon there are Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn (in succession), and then the stars. All planets move towards the east with the same velocity, each in its own orbit. The planets arranged in the ascending order upwards from the moon are the Lords of the months (in succession) ; in their descending order downwards from Saturn, they are the Lords of the hours ; if we take each fifth member of the ascending series we have the Lords of the days. The Lords of the year have been explained before."[1]

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1 Pañca Siddhāntikā, Chapter XIII.

We have thus given a complete account of the cosmographical theories and the constitution of the universe as stated by the Hindu astronomers. However crude might these theories have been, they were surely the forerunners of the Vortex Theory of Descartes and the Nebular Theory of Kant and Laplace.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

Kumārila and Diṅnāga

Any one who is acquainted with the Indian philosophical texts will admit that the controversy between the Buddhists and the Hindu philosophers appears most prominent in the history of Indian culture. But it is a matter for regret that nothing has yet been done to disentangle the various threads in the web of this controversy. The neglect of this field is not, however, without reason. The authors of the texts either make a passing reference to the views of others or quote them without informing us either of their source or of their author. The commentaries, too, sadly lack the information we seek for. They mention only occasionally names of philosophers who hold the opposite views without, however, referring to the work or works from which they have drawn their quotations. Owing to ravages of time many valuable books that were current at the time among literary circles have been lost, and the meaning of many passages of the texts we read today have therefore become obscure. We do not know the proper setting of the views that are found controverted in these books. This is perhaps one of the reasons why the full significance of the controversies has still remained a mystery to us. Fortunately for us, some of the texts that have been lost in Sanskrit have been preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. The only thing that we could do under the circumstances is to make a comparative study of the Hindu and Buddhist texts that exist in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese.

As an illustration we may now refer to the *Ślokavārtika* of Kumārila and its Ṭīkā, the *Nyāyaratnākara* of Pārthasārathimiśra, and compare some of their passages with those of the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Diṅnāga now available only in Tibetan translations. The name of Diṅnāga is well-known to the readers of the *Nyāyavārtika* of Uddyotakara with its Ṭīkā by Vācaspatimiśra. The pages of the *Nyāyaratnākara* (Chaukhamba Skt. Series) abound in quotations

from the works of a Bhikṣu.[1] There are also direct references to Diṅnāga.[2] Kumārila himself once refers to him as *Nyāyavid*.[3] A comparative study of these passages with those of *Pramāṇasamuccaya* would convince the reader that Kumārila hurls his vehement attacks here against the views of Diṅnāga; and the terms *Bhikṣu*, *Bhavadvṛaddha*, and *Bhavadīya*[4] occurring in the *Nyāyaratnākara* are but impersonal references to the Buddhist philosopher, Diṅnāga. This is made still more explicit in the chapter on *Apoha*; for there it seems as if Kumārila had by his side the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* of Diṅnāga when writing that chapter of his Vārtika.

The parallel passages are given below without noting occasional differences;—

Nyāyaratnākara.	*Pramāṇasamuccaya.*[5]
(1) सदित्यसदृव्यु दासाय न नियोगात् स गंख्यते। संप्रयोगो हि नियमात् सत एवोपपद्यते॥ 4. 36; p. 144.	gal te yod pas med bsal na। sbyor las de ni rtogs par ḥgyur। yaṅ dag sbyor ba ñes par ni। yod ñid la ni bstan pa yin॥ 1; $37^{c\text{-}d}$—$38^{a\text{-}b}$.
(2) सान्तरग्रहणं न स्यात् प्राप्तौ स्थानाधिकस्य वा। 4. 41; p. 146.	bar daṅ bcas pa ḥdzin pa daṅ। śes pa lhag paḥaṅ thob mi ḥgyur॥ 1; $20^{c\text{-}d}$.
(3) बुद्धिजन्यानि पुंसश्च विक्रतिर्ब्रह्मनित्यता। अथाविक्रतिरात्माऽयं प्रसातेति न युज्यते॥ 4. 52; p. 150.	skyes bu rnam par ḥgyur nas blo। gal te bskyed na mi rtag ḥgyur॥ ci ste bdag la ḥgyur med na। de la tshad ma ḥthad ma yin॥ 1; 48.
(4) कल्पनाऽपि स्वसंवित्ताविष्टा नार्थे विकल्पनात्॥ 4. 134; p. 175.	rtog paḥaṅ raṅ rig ñid du ḥdod। don la ma yin der rtog phyir॥ 1; $7^{a\text{-}b}$.

1 (*a*) तत्र भिक्षुणा, p. 144. (*b*) भिक्षुणा विषयैकत्वतया, p. 361.
(*c*) यत्त भिक्षुणा पचधर्मेत्यादि, p. 377.

2 (*a*) दिङ्नागवचनमपि न्यायमूलत्वात्, p. 250. (*b*) अत एव दिङ्नागाचार्यैरप्युभयं, p. 253.
(*c*) दिङ्नागवचनमपि, p. 259. (*d*) दिङ्नागखिदं प्रत्यक्षविरोधोदाहरणं, p. 365.

3 ब्रह्मनामप्यस्मदीयानामिदमेवाऽभिमतमित्याह—न्यायविन्निरिति, p. 258.

4 (*a*) भवद्भिरेव दिङ्नागाचार्यैः, p. 250.
(*b*) भवदीयेनापि, 250. (*c*) तदा भवदीयात्, p. 488.

5 The Xylograph used by me belongs to the Visvabharati Library.

(5) नैकं रूपाद्यभेदो वाऽदृष्टं चेन्नेन्द्रियेण तत् ।
अचाऽनेकत्ववैयर्थ्यं स्वार्थे भिन्नेऽपि शक्तिमत् ॥
4. 156 ; p. 183.

gcig min gzugs sogs gcig tu gyur ।
mthoṅ na dbaṅ po las di min ।
dbaṅ gz'an don med ḥgyur phyir ro ।
raṅ yul tha dad kyaṅ ḥdzin nus ॥
I ; 25^{b}-26^{a}.

(6) दृष्टान्तोऽभिहितो ह्येष वैधर्म्येणाऽनुशिक्षितैः ।
5. 154 ; p. 254.

mi mthun phyogs la legs bslabs pas ।
dpe de ñid du brjod pa yin ।
II ; 103^{c-d}.

(7) परार्थानुमानं तु स्वदृष्टार्थप्रकाशकम् ।
5, 146 ; p. 252-53.

gz'an gyi don gyi rjes dpag ni ।
raṅ gis mthoṅ don gsal byed yin ।
III ; 98^{a-b}.

(8) ज्ञानान्तरेणाऽनुभवे ह्यीष्टा तत्रापि च स्मृतिः ।
विषयान्तरसंचारस्तथा न स्यात् स चेष्यते ॥
5. 27, 187 ; pp. 277, 321.

śes pa gz'an gyis ñams myoṅ na ।
thug med la ḥaṅ dran pa ste ।
yul gz'an dag la ḥpho ba na ।
med ḥgyur de yaṅ ḥdod phyir ro ॥
II ; 13.

(9) पूर्ववत् फलमस्य ।
5. 52 ; p. 361.

ḥbras bu śnar bz'in ḥdi gñis kyi ।
II ; 49^{e}.

(10) विरूपाल्लिङ्गतोऽर्थदृक् ।
5. 49 ; p. 488.

tshul gsum rtags las don mthoṅ paḥo ।
II ; 49^{b}.

(11) न जातिशब्दो भेदाना-
मानन्त्यव्यभिचारतः ।
वाचको योगजात्योर्वा
भेदार्थैरपृथक्श्रुतैः ॥
5I, 114 ; p. 596.

rigs sgra khyad par rnams la min ।
mthaḥ yas phyir daṅ ḥkhrul paḥi pyir ।
brjod byed ldan nam rigs tha dad ।
don daṅ tha dad med thos phyir ॥
V ; 171.

(12) तद्वती नाऽस्वतन्त्रत्वात् ।
5. 120 ; p, 598.

raṅ dbaṅ med phyir de ldan min ।
V ; 173^{a}.

(13) तद्वांस्तु भेद एवेष्टः
स तु पूर्वं निराकृतः ।
तद्वत्त्वेऽपि सम्बन्धः
सत्ता वेति विचारितम् ॥
5. 128, 131 ; pp. 600-601.

de ldan kyad par ñid la brjod ।
de yaṅ śnar ni spaṅs pa yin ।
de ldan tsam ni ḥbrel ba ḥam ।
yod pa yin z'es rnam par dbyed ॥
V ; 178.

(14) तद्वानर्थो घटादिश्चे-
न्न घटादिषु वर्तते ।
सामान्यमर्थः स कथ-
मिति तद्वदवाच्यता ॥

5. 131 ; p. 601.

de ltar de ni bum sogs bz´in ।
bum pa la sogs rnams la spyi ।
mi ḥjug de don ji ltar yin ।
de yaṅ rgyu mtshan med mi ḥdod ॥[1]

V ; 179.

(15) सा भूदर्थान्तरे ह्यस्ति-
र्यद्येकत्वाऽसितादिवत्

5. 131 ; p. 601.

gcig la dkar po min sogs bz´in ।

V ; 180[a].

(16) नैवं जातेरजातितः

5. 131 ; p. 602.

de min rigs la rigs med phyir ।

V ; 180[e].

(17) अर्थाच्चेषेऽप्यनैकान्तः

5. 133 ; p. 602.

don gyis ḥbaṅs kyaṅ ma ṅes so ।

V ; 180[d].

(18) भेदो भेदान्तरार्थं तु
विरोधित्वादपोह्यते ।

5. 147 : p. 605.

khyad par·don gz´an khyad par ni ।
ḥgal baḥi phyir na sel bar byed ॥

V ; 197 [a-b].

(19) अन्यत्वेऽपि न सामान्य-
भेदपर्यायवाचिनाम् ।

5. 149 , p. 606.

spyi daṅ khyad par rnam
graṅs sgra ।
gz´an ñid yin yaṅ sel mi byed ॥

V ; 194[c-d],

(20) अदृष्टत्वाद् व्युदासो वा
भेदानामितरेतरम् ।

5. 155 ; p. 608.

yaṅ na ma mthoṅ phyir sel to ।
khyad par gyi ni spyi bsal ḥgyur ॥

V ; 200[a-b].

(21) नाऽन्ययुक्तस्य दृष्टत्वात्

5. 155 ; p. 608.

ma yin gz´an ldan mthoṅ baḥi phyir ।

V ; 200[c].

(22) तन्मात्रावाऽऽकाङ्क्षणाद् भेदः
तत्सामान्येन नोज्झितः ।

5. 155 ; p. 608.

de tsom ḥdod phyir khyad par ni ।
raṅ´gi spyi yis spoṇ mi byed ।

V ; 195[a-b].

(23) ह्यत्वपार्थिवद्रव्य-
संज्ञेयाः प्रातिलोम्यतः ।
चतुस्त्रिद्येकसन्देहे
निमित्तं नियमेऽन्यथा ॥

5,158 p. 609.

śin ñid sa las gyur rdzas yod ।
śes bya go rim bzlog pa las ।
bz´i gsum gñis daṅ gcig the tshom ।
gz´an du des la rgyu mtshan yin ॥

V ; 204.

(24) जातिधर्मव्यवस्थितेः ।

5. 163 ; p. 611.

rigs kyi chos ni rnam gnas phyir ।

V ; 206[a].

H. R. RANGASVAMI IYENGER

1 The text appears to be corrupt here.

Āpastamba and Gautama

Bühler (S.B.E. 2, intro.) declared that Gautama is the oldest Dharmasūtra now extant and Jolly in his "Recht und Sitte" has accepted this theory (p. 6). I differ on this point and will try to show that excepting the dubious evidence of the Caraṇavyūha there is nothing to prove that Gautama is older than Āpastamba ; all probabilities on the contrary seem to indicate rather just the opposite—that Āpastamba is older than Gautama.

First and foremost, the fact must not be lost sight of, that Āp. was pre-Pāṇinian. His work must have been written at a time when the Sanskrit language was not in that state in which it was found by Pāṇini. Secondly that he was not far removed in time from Śvetaketu, the celebrated teacher of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. He might have been an older contemporary even, for Āp. rejects his theory about the study of the Veda after marriage without the slightest show of ceremony (I,4,13,20) and Bühler has proved that this Śvetaketu is without doubt the Śvetaketu of Śat. Br. (S.B.E. 2, xxxviii). Now the Aitareya Br., even on the most conservative computation, cannot be dated later than 800 B. C. Taking this to be the *terminus a quo* for the date of the Śat. Br. and the age of Kātyāyana as the *terminus ad quem* (see his Vārttika to Pāṇini iv, 3, 105), the Śat. Br. cannot be dated later than 600 B. C. and all things considered, Āp. must be dated about 500 B. B. Bühler too arrived at practically the same result (S.B.E., 2, XL, 111). Āp.'s contiguity to the age of the Brāhmaṇas may also be inferred from another peculiar feature of his Dharmasūtra—its very frequent references to the various Brāhmaṇas. This is seen in no other Dharmasūtra.

Regarding Baudhāyana's priority to Āp. it may safely be said that the alleged references to Baudhāyana in Āp., upon which the whole theory is based, are in no way convincing. It requires not a small amount of ingenuity to discover them. Āp. labours to controvert the authority of a Vedic passage which has been quoted in Baudh. Can it reasonably be concluded from it that Āp. is posterior to Baudh. ? Āp. mentions by name not a few authorities on Dharma, of which some Dharmaśāstras in revised version, are still in existence. Why not then assume—if it is at all necessary—that one of these authors had quoted this Vedic passage as well ? As for the second alleged

quotation it may safely be said that it carries not an iota of proof. If the "wording of Baudhāyana's sūtras is not opposed to the doctrine to which Āp. objects" (S.B.E. 2, XXII), it is by no means proved thereby that Baudh. is older than Āp.

Moreover if this kind of argumentation is allowed it may be easily shown that Gaut., whom Bühler has proved to be older than Baudh. (S.B.E., 2, XLIX ff.) has quoted Āp. Gaut. (XV. 18) in his long list of persons who defile a company mentions the bald man but makes a special group of the persons in the list headed by the bald man, who, apparently, in his own opinion, were not so unholy as to be excluded from a company, but he had been compelled to include them in the list because it was the opinion of 'some' (cf. Gaut., XV, 30; also XVIII, 18 and XXI,11). Now this 'some' may easily refer to Āp., II, 7, 17, 21, where the bald man is mentionad immediately after the leper in the list of persons who defile a company. In the same manner another sūtra of Gaut. may be made to yield an indirect reference to Āp. According to Gaut. (XVI, 45) "*some* (declare, that the recitation of the Veda is) always (forbidden) in a town." Now, it will not be very wrong, I think, if following Bühler's line of arguments it is assumed that Āp., I, 11, 32, 21—where he lays down that Snātakas should not visit towns frequently—might have had anything to do with it!

Much has been made out of Āp.'s stricter code of morality; it has been taken to indicate his late origin. But are we authorised to say that a high standard of chastity and morality is incompatible with the civilization of the Brāhmaṇas—of course without taking into consideration the mythical and mystical passages which are scattered in them? As Bühler has pointed out (S.B.E.,2, XIX—XX), Aupajaudhani, mentioned in the Śat. Br. and quoted by Baudh. opposed the practice of taking substitutes for a legitimate son, let us say, about 600 B.C. Bṛhaspati (XXIV, 12) on the other hand, about 600 A.D., condemned the practice of Niyoga (S.B.E. XXXIII). All the Dharmaśāstras which came into existence during the intervening period, recommended, at least, did not oppose this practice. Contiguity to any of these two sages would explain the extraordinary law of Āp. forbidding Niyoga, —if indeed age is to be determined in that way. It is however apparent that Aupajaudhani and not Bṛhaspati in this case has a better claim to be the zeitliche Nachbar of Āp. Thus Āp.'s condemnation of Niyoga is not necessarily a proof of his posteriority. Again, Āp.'s non-mention of the two forms of marriage—Prajāpatya and Paiśāca—has been interpreted as an indication of his late origin. It may be

conceded, for the sake of argument, that Āp., the champion of a strict code of morality, characteristic of a comparatively later age, wanted to ignore the hateful Paiśāca marriage. But how can his non-mention of the Prājāpatya marriage which has nothing objectionable in it may be explained on this hypothesis? It must be admitted therefore that the Prājāpatya marriage had not yet come into vogue in the days of Āp. and of the Paiśāca marriage too, it may safely be said, that custom had not yet confirmed it into law when Āp. wrote his Dharmasūtra. Moreover it must not be forgotten that Vasiṣṭha too, who is certainly older than Manu, Yājñavalkya etc. gives only six forms of marriage and not the traditional eight.

All these arguments however afford us no direct proof of Āp.'s priority to Gaut. But direct proof is not lacking. If there is any doubt on this score, it is sure to be set at rest if the contents of the two Dharmasūtras are compared with each other. At a glance it will appear that the relation between Āp. and Gaut. is much the same as that between Manu and Yājñavalkya. The sūtras of Āp. are loose and vague while those of Gaut. are pithy and compact. Āp.'s style is distantly reminiscent of the rambling disquisitions of the Brāhmaṇas; Gaut. is the Sūtra-work par excellence. On very numerous topics, the sūtras of Āp. seem to depict a society to which many of the later complexities were still unknown. Like all other works on Dharma, Gaut. gives a masterly description of the mixed castes (XV. 16 ff.). But strange as it may appear, Āp. has nothing to say on this point—one of the most important topics dealt with in the works on Dharma. Incidentally he mentions the Ugra (I, 2, 7, 20; 21; I, 6, 18, 1), but never gives his lineage. This fact, I think, may be explained only on the hypothesis that at the time of Āp., Brahmanical authors did not yet feel the necessity of making that desperate effort to include within the fold of Hinduism all peoples in every grade of life. Even the Yavana has been allotted a place in Gaut.'s system of mixed castes (IV. 21), though after all it is no decisive proof of his posteriority. Gaut. (VIII. 14-21) gives an elaborate list of the forty saṃskāras, but Āp. seems to relegate them to the Gṛhyasūtras. On the other hand Āp. fully recognises the vedic practice of beef-eating (I, 5, 7, 30), but Gaut. (xvii. 30) positively forbids it. It should also be noticed that among the various kinds of meat to be offered to the Manes, Āp. (II, 7, 16, 27-28) mentions beef as well as buffalo's meat, but Gaut. in his corresponding chapter (xv) omits both, though he mentions various other kinds of meat, also recommended by Āp. Coming

down to the field of law we find that the legal concepts of Āp. are strangely meagre and puerile. Gaut. (X. 31) solemnly lays down the law of ownership, also found in later Dharmaśāstras, but nothing of the kind is known to Āp. Gaut. (XII, 29ff.) gives various laws about different rates of interest, pledges and deposits, closely resembling those of later Dharmaśāstras and he has even no objection to a Brāhmaṇa lending out money at interest, provided that he does it through an intermediary (X, 6), but Āp. uncompromisingly prescribes punishment for one who "lends money at interest" (I, 9, 27, 10) and declares the food offered by a usurer unacceptable (I, 6, 18, 22). One of the most striking features of Āp. is that the custom of imposing fines for crimes is not known to him. Punishments prescribed by him mostly amount to mere threats of hell and damnation ; Daṇḍanīti proper is a sealed book to him. But Gaut. on the other hand prescribes various fines (XII, 8ff.) and gives the correct grammatical derivation of the word *daṇḍa* (XI, 28). In conformity with the principles of later Dharmaśāstras, Gaut. gives laws as to how long a wife should have to wait for her absent husband (XVIII, 15ff.); Āp. is absolutely reticent on this point. The fact that Āp. depends much more upon custom than any other Dharmasūtra is a proof of his early date. His last sūtra speaks volumes in favour of his high antiquity, in which he frankly confesses that the remaining duties should be learnt from men and women of all castes. Gaut. (XXI, 7) once refers to Manu, Āp. never. Gaut. (XIX. 14) knows various places of pilgrimage but Āp. is quite innocent of them.

Arguments may thus be multiplied, but I think sufficient has already been said to prove the priority of Āp. to Gaut. Now, if the theory of interpolation is carried so far as to cover all these points, it amounts to saying that the Gaut. which had preceded Āp. is no longer extant but there is nothing to show that there actually was any such, and at all events it must be admitted that the Gaut. as we have it is later than Āp.

Lastly I beg leave to point out that the supposed acquaintance of Āp. with the division of Hindu learning as taught in Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthānabheda,—taken by Bühler to be an indication of his late origin (SBE, 2, XXIX-XXX), is but a myth. Āp. II, 11, 29, 11 is one of the passages in translating which Bühler has been led astray on account of his excessive reliance on the interpretation of the commentator. This Sūtra declares that "the knowledge which Śūdras and women possess is the completion (of all study)." The commen-

tator takes this knowledge of Śūdras and women to be "the knowledge of dancing, acting, music and other branches of the Arthaśāstra" and according to Bühler, this interpretation is "without doubt, correct" (SBE, 2, XXIX). Now, Arthaśāstras, as they are known to us, do not teach dancing and music and it is the unanimous verdict of Gṛhya and Dharmasūtras that members of the upper castes should never devote themselves to these profane arts, whether before or after the study of the Veda. Moreover even without any help from outside it may be proved that what Āp. here has in view is ācāra and not dancing and music. In the sūtra immediately following he declares, "this knowledge is a supplement of the Atharvaveda" and in the next says: "It is difficult to learn the sacred law from (the letter of) the Vedas (only); *but by following the indications it is easily accomplished.*" Now who can doubt that in the Sūtra no. 11 Āp. lays down that on completing the study of the Veda one should learn ācāra from Śūdras and women? Very probably the specific mention of the despised Śūdras and women in this connection thus sadly misled the great savant. But as Āp. (II, 6, 15, 10) expressly declares that rites for the dead should have to be learnt of women and that duties must be learnt from women and *men of all castes*" (II, 11, 29, 15), there can be no doubt that Āp. in the passage concerned has nothing but ācāra in view.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Max Müller's Introduction to the Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya*

As I am now going to offer to the friends of the Vedic literature the text of the Śākala Prātiśākhya with translation and annotations in a separate edition, I have hardly to repeat what I have said elsewhere about the importance of this work. I have tried to show in the preface to the English translation of the Ṛgveda, of what historical importance it is for the verification of the two texts of the Ṛgveda, the Pada and the Saṃhitā texts; considering that the Prātiśākhya not only quotes thousands of passages from the two texts, but also registers most accurately the seemingly very trivial variations of the one from the other, and that in all essential points our best manuscripts of the two texts agree with the data in the Prāti-

* Translated from German.

śākhya, we may prudently conclude that the text of the Ṛgveda we possess is the same as was seen by the authors of the Prātiśākhya more than 2000 years ago. The date of the composition of the Śākala Prātiśākhya has not yet been, so far as it is incumbent on me to give an opinion, swayed by anything out of the chronological limits which I assigned to it in my history of the Ancient Sanskrit Literature. I have drawn these limits as high and as low as possible and naturally have made no effort to bring the date of Śaunaka and his relation with Āśvalāyana, Kātyāyana, and, through these grammarians, also with Pāṇini, into limits narrower than allowed by the scanty data. If Kātyāyana lived in the fourth century, Śaunaka might well have lived in the fifth century and the date of Pāṇini would therefore fall at the juncture of the two centuries. Śākalya however who is reputed to have drawn up the Pada text and to have laid the foundation to the manual of phonetics, which was brought to completion and perfection in the shape of our Prātiśākhya by Śaunaka, must have lived at a still earlier date and carried on his scientific activities. It we could corroborate the view of Professor Goldstücker who assigns to Pāṇini a much earlier date than I and others dare to ascribe to this learned Grammarian, the date of Śākalya would therewith have been pushed back to still earlier times. For Śākalya has been quoted not only by Pāṇini in direct connection with phonetic points, which have been dealt with in the Śākala Prātiśākhya, but also Yāska, who, as even Professor Goldstücker admits, is older than Pāṇini, quotes Śākalya and criticises the splitting up of a word and the reading of a vedic passage on the strength of it, as it has been given by Śākalya in his Pada text. In x, 29, 1, Śākalya has treated the two syllables vā yā as two words. Now Yāska finds fault with this (Nir. vi. 28), takes vāyāḥ to be one word and remarks that if like Śākalya yāḥ is taken to be a relative pronoun, the verb ādhāyi should have been accented. Śākalya's splitting of the word does not give a good sense either.

Although it may be concluded on the strength of this passage of the Nirukta that Yāska knew the pada text of Śākalya, it does not follow on that account however that Yāska also knew the Prātiśākhyas, and particularly the Śākala Prātiśākhya whose composition, as is well known, is attributed to Śaunaka. We must take this opportunity to mention here another passage of far reaching importance from Nirukta I. 17, where Yāska says, that the saṃhitā is the close setting (of the Padas), and then continues : the saṃhitā comes out of the Pada, the Pārṣada-manuals of all the schools come out of the Pada. These

manuals (Pārṣadas) are however the Prātiśākhyas. and the solemn words—*Padaprakṛtiḥ saṃhitā* are simply a quotation from our Prātiśākhya, sūtra 105.

Neither Yāska nor Pāṇini quotes the name of Śaunaka as an authority in connection with Śikṣā or phonetics and the bare fact that Pāṇini, IV, 3, 106, teaches the formation of the name Śaunakinaḥ attributed to those who learn the sacred hymns of Śaunaka, and that he in IV, 1, 102, calls some of the descendants of Śaunaka (the Vātsyas) by the name Śaunakāyana and others by the name Śaunaka,—all this certainly does not conclusively prove that Pāṇini must have known also Śaunaka as the author of the Śākala Prātiśākhya.[1]

Also in connection with Yāska it would be hazardous to conclude that Pāṇini had known the author of Nirukta on the strength of the fact that Pāṇini in II, 4, 63, teaches the formation of the family name Yāska of the decendants of Yaska. The formation of such a name proves in itself only this that at the time of Pāṇini there were more than one descendants of Yaska and we must look for further support in order to prove the priority of Yāska, the author of the Nirukta.[2]

Now, in spite of the objections which have been raised, I stick to my old view as firmly as in the History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, that Śaunaka, the author of the Prātiśākhya as well as Yāska the author of the Nirukta is older than Pāṇini. I regret that a somewhat inaccurate expression in that work has given rise to the misunderstanding as if I hold Yāska to be later than Kātyāyana and *a fortiori*, later than Pāṇini. As in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature I was comparing the theories of language as they are found in the Prātiśākhyas and the Nirukta, I had made the remark that a classification taken as fundamental in the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana is *no more* sufficient in the Nirukta. As Yāska's Nirukta is a work on etymology, it follows naturally from above that my statement is about etymological problems which are hardly touched in the Prātiśākhya, and I have nothing to do with the question that Yāska must be younger than the author of the Prātiśākhya, and as I have attempted in several passages to prove that Śaunaka in his Prātiśākhya actually quotes Yāska and not the hypothetical Vaiyāska (see p. 142, 148 etc.), I could hardly imagine

1 Cf. Goldstücker, Pāṇini, p. 208.

2 Cf. Goldstücker, l. c., p. 222.

that my representtion of the more or less advanced ideas of Yāska and Kātyāyana about the origin and classification of the language should be used as argument against my own view about the age of these two scholars.* Although from inner grounds I hold the work of Yāska to be older than the work of Pāṇini, yet I must admit that till now the only convenient argument is Pāṇini I, 4, 109 which may be taken to be a literal quotation from Yāska's Nirukta. Yāska says:—*paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā* (*saṃninakarṣah* of Roth must be a printing mistake); and Pāṇini says: *paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā*. Such an agreement cannot be accidental and until it is explained in another way we must consider it, henceforth as before, to be an important element in the chronological articulation of the ancient Sanskrit literature.

Turning to Śaunaka's Prātiśākhya and its relation to Pāṇini's grammar, we see that Professor Goldstücker remarks quite rightly that the Prātiśākhya is no grammar and I myself have expressed this view, as he himself has mentioned. Because the level of the Grammatical knowledge of Pāṇini is much higher than that of the Prātiśākhya, it does not follow at all on that account that Pāṇini, not only in point of knowledge but also in point of date, should stand higher. So far I think Professor Goldstücker agrees with me completely. Now what are his objections to my view that the Śākala-Prātiśākhya belongs to an older period than Pāṇini, or to put it more clearly, that Yāska and the Prātiśākhya quote one another, while Pāṇini is quoted neither by Yāska nor by the Prātiśākhya, but himself howevr quotes Yāska as well as the Prātiśākhya? His opposite arguments (Gegengründe), or, as he calls it, his refutation, runs from page 183 to page 213; however it principally deals with the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya and offers against my view that our Prātiśākhya is pre-Pāṇinic, only two sharply formulated objections. I shall repeat these objections in his own words and produce my arguments against them without presuming to give them the name of a refutation or to judge for myself the weight (Tragkraft) of my arguments, for, to say with Kant, "the author can very well adduce arguments, but can not pass opinion on their effect upon his judges." I confine myself here

* But it is quite probable that there were more than one Vedic authors of the name Yāska. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIV.7. 27 mentions a Yāska; Taittirīya Kāṇḍānukramaṇikā III. 25 mentions a Paiṅgī Yāska; even Piṅgala (Chand. Sūt. III. 30) knows a Yāska. G.(=Ghosh).

to a survey of the arguments regarding the age of Śākala Prātiśākhya, for, as regards the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, I fully agree with Professor Goldstücker, and his penetrating researches have only still more strongly confirmed me in my conviction that Kātyāyana, the author of the Prātiśākhya, and Kātyāyana the author of the Vārtikas on Pāṇini's Grammar, must be one and the same person, and that Kātyāyana, just as the later tradition speaks of him, must have been a contemporary, and a rival of Pāṇini and a continuer of his work. Before I enter upon a close examination of the objections raised by Professor Goldstücker, it will be necessary to explain my view somewhat more fully than done before and to add a few materials, gathered since then, to strengthen my position.

The occurrence of quotations in ancient Sanskrit works has unfortunately been less fruitful forhistorical results than could have been expected, but still, if we compare the names which occur in Yāska, Śaunaka, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana we can affirm this with certainty that those must be the oldest authorities who are uniformly quoted by every one of them. Now the only one who is uniformly quoted in the Nirukta, in the Śākala-Prātiśākhya, in Pāṇini, in the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, in the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya and in the Bṛhaddevatā is Śākaṭāyana.* With the exception of the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya, Gārgya too has been quoted in the same sources and Śākalya lacks the guarantee of the Bṛhaddevatā also. Gālava is known to Pāṇini and the authors of the Nirukta and the Bṛhaddevatā, Kāśyapa is known to Pāṇini and the author of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, the Prācyas are known to Śaunaka and Pāṇini, and Yāska is known to Śaunaka, the author of the Śākala Prātiśākhya and the Bṛhaddevatā. Two names of the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya have also been referred to elsewhere, namely, Pauṣkarasādi (Pāṇ. VIII., 4, 48; Vārt. 3) and Bhāradvāja (Pāṇ. VII., 2, 63). The latter, whose name is wrongly written as Bharadvāja, is also the author of what seems to be a work on Śikṣā which belongs to the Taittirīyas. That most of the authorities quoted by Yāska are not known to the authors of the Prātiśākhyas and Pāṇini is mainly to be ascribed to the difference of the subject-matter and does not prove that Yāska was unknown in the sphere of the scientific activity of Śaunaka, Āśvalāyana, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

* It is a significant tradition recorded in the Kāśikā on Pāṇini I, 4, 86,—अनुशाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः. G.

The names of Āgrāyaṇa, Audumbarāyaṇa, Aupamanyava, Aurṇavābha, Kāṭṭhakya, Kautsa, Krauṣṭuki, Carmaśiras, Taiṭīki, Vārṣyāyaṇi, Śatabalākṣa, Maudgalya, Śākapūṇi, Sthaulaṣṭhīvi are indeed not mentioned by the authors of the Prātiśākhyas and Pāṇini; this is however to be noticed that four of them, Aurṇavābha, Kāṭṭhakya, Krauṣṭuki and Śākapūṇi are referred to in the Bṛhaddevatā, a work which is ascribed to Śaunaka and whose subject is to some extent closely connected with the Nirukta.

First of all let us take as well-founded the fact that while Yāska is mentioned by Śaunaka, Śaunaka by Kātyāyana and the author of the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya, Pāṇini has never been mentioned in the Nirukta and the Prātiśākhyas. Now, with regard to Yāska, Professor Goldstücker (p. 225) says "not knowing the grammar of Paṇini is tantamount to having preceded it," and I think the same is applicable to Śākala Prātiśākhya in a much higher degree. Regarding Yāska it may rather very well be urged that he who is concerned with etymology and interpretation need not necessarily refer to grammatical authorities and particularly to the system of Pāṇini. As regards Śikṣā however which is the main subject of the Śākala-Prātiśākhya, there is no such excuse. Vyākaraṇa and Śikṣā, grammar and phonetics are and were from time immemorial inseparable and it is a great advantage of Indian grammar that from the very beginning it received firm support from Śikṣā or phonetics.

Now let us go one step further, and while on the one hand we never find Pāṇini's phonetic or grammatical theories quoted in the Śākalaprātiśākhya, we see on the other hand that Pāṇini, when he comes to speak on points of Śikṣā, refers to earlier authorities and particularly quotes Śākalya, the founder of the Śākala Prātiśākhya, exactly on those points which are dealt with in this Prātiśākhya.

Before we discuss this subject more minutely, we must first try to render the relation of Śākalya to our Prātiśākhya a little clearer. We must attribute the composition or the final redaction of our work to Śaunaka according to the Indian tradition.[1] About the question, in what form this branch of instruction existed before the time of Śaunaka, the opinions of various scholars naturally differ, according as they admit of the existence of an oral tradition in a larger or smaller quantity. Śākalya always remains the recognised founder of the phonetic discipline for the Śākalas and the work of Śaunaka gives us the final form of the science founded by Śākalya and developed by his followers.

1 Already in Gaṇa Kārtakaujapau we find Śākalaśunakāḥ.

Śākalya is already known to Yāska (VI. 28) as the Padakāra of the Ṛgveda. If then the present word-division of the Pada text goes back to him, it is not at all surprising that those rules also should belong to him according to which the Pada text has been converted into the Saṃhitā text. The book, which contains these rules and whose authorship is attributed to Śaunaka, is called Śākalam and the people who follow this Śākala manual are called Śākalas. These three words, Śākalyaḥ, Śākalam and Śākalāḥ should be studiously differentiated.

If we now first examine the phraseology of the Prātiśākhya, we find that Śaunaka uses all the three words.

Śaunaka quotes Śākalya (Sūtra 199) as authority for a rule, that, when two short *i* s are joined and also in all Kṣaipra and Abhinihita sandhis, the resulting syllable will have the Svarita, provided the first vowel is Udātta. This shows that Śākalya's rules were not confined only to the Pada text but also touched points which were of significance only for the Saṃhitā text. Now Śaunaka however goes further and says that another teacher, Māṇḍūkeya (this is the correct spelling of the name and not Māṇḍukeya, as it appears in the text), recommends the Svarita not only on the occasion of two short *i* s, but in all Praśliṣṭa joinings.* Thus it is clear that already before the time of Śaunaka various views about the accentuation of the text in the Saṃhitā were prevalent and that Śākalya was only one of the many teachers who fixed the text in the shape as we have it to-day.

With regard to accentuation Śākalya is again quoted by name in sūtra 208, and here he appears along with Ānyatareya, while in sūtra 739 where he has been mentioned as authority for a technical term, namely for the word Samāpādya, which covers a number of phonetic changes such as ṣatva, ṇatva, the Sāmavaśa sandhis and the upācāra, he again appears along with two other teachers, Vyāḷi and Gārgya.

Judging by these passages we should then take our Śākalya to be an ancient scholar who had not only fixed the Pada text but also had made a number of rules about the accents and phonetics in general, which were propagated in the school of the Śākalas from teacher to pupil and were finally brought into that form by Śaunaka in which we possess it to-day. Now however it should be noticed that this

* The Māṇḍūkī Śikṣā (ed. by Bhagavaddatta) contains no such rule, but some of the verses of this Śikṣā and the Ṛk-prātiśākhya are very much alike (see Ibid., introd., p. 10). G.

Śākalya in one passage (sūtra 185) has been called *sthavira*, i. e. the ancient or the most ancient. It is said there that in the opinion of revered Śākalya, the second vowel is assimilated to the first, where, *o* and *a*, and *e* and *a* form the so-called Prācya-pañcāla-hiatus, but Śaunaka does not approve of this assimilation. This is at least the interpretation of Uvaṭa, though some other interpretation too would not be injurious to our arguments. Here then we have Śākalya as the representative of a theory which Śaunaka does not approve, and this leads us to another passage where the ancient Śākalya or as he is called there, the father of Śākalya, seems to be pitted against another Śākalya, so that we would have to accept not one but two Śākalyas as authorities on Śikṣā. In Sūtra 223 it is said that the father of Śākalya changes every *ś* into *ch* when any one of the first letters of vargas (i.e. *k,c,ṭ* etc.) follows, while in Sūtra 232 it is said that Śākalya does not allow the change of *ś* into *ch* after *c*, if this *c* represents an original *t*. If this interpretation is correct, we must at all events accept two Śākalyas. I must however admit that without further support such an assumption must remain problematic in the first place. If we had no commentary before us, it would have appeared most natural that sūtra 223 contains the general rule and that Sūtra 232 is to be regarded as a necessary limitation which could however be given only after the change of a *t* into *c* had been prescribed by Sūtra 230. (See Sūtra 392). It seemed to me even better to take the Sūtras 231 and 232 to be one, in which case the purport would be that Śākalya, although he allows the change of *ś* to *ch* after one of the firsts (i. e. *k,c, ṭ*, etc.), forbids this change when final *c* is secondary and the outcome of a *t*. Only the quite extraordinary mention of Śākalya in Sūtra 223 is a stumbling block in the way of this interpretation which in that case would have to be taken as a compound, father Śākalya, like Kaṭhadhūrta.

Now it is difficult to see why Śākalya is referred to by name only in these few passages; yet it seems to occur only there where, after the foundation of the phonetic rules by Śākalya, later difference of opinion had arisen among the ancient teachers, and where it was thus of particular importance for the Śākalas to know with certainty the opinion of Śākalya.

Going further, we find the word Śākalam used as the name of the Prātiśākhya. This appears most clearly in Sūtra 633, where it is said that in the Krama text, groups of two words are not sufficient for the purposes of the Krama, and there it is further said that one can refer to the Śākala which expressly prescribes Kramas of three

or more words. This passage is found in the Paṭala called Kramahetu whose later origin renders all the more understandable such a reference to the Śākalam as authority.

In other passages where the word Śākala is used, we must take it in a somewhat wider sense, namely as Śākala theory or Śākala school. Thus we read in Sūtra 76 that the *u* is lengthened by Śākala, *śākalena drāghitaḥ*. Here one would be inclined to take Śākala to be a synonym of the Pada-text, for the lengthening described there takes place only in the Pada-text. This sense would however be too narrow for the other passages. In sūtra 390 for example, Śākala refers to phonetic changes, a few of which, at least if we accept the first interpretation by Uvaṭa of S. 390, may be of significance only for a Saṃhitā text, and there the word thus must necessarily be taken to mean Śākala theory or Śākala school. Again we find it in S. 396, where it is said that according to Śākala, between *l* and Ūṣmans, and, if we accept the Anuvṛtti of the commentator, between *k* and *kh* (in khyāti),[1] and between *p* and *ś* (in rāpśati), a pause takes place; also that all final Sparśas excepting[2] *m* take pause when they are followed by initial *y*, *r*, *v*, or Ūṣmans. This paused pronunciation is then again defined in Sūtra 400 as belonging to the school of the Śākalas and according to Sūtra 403 it is extended by other teachers also over other cases.

Now that this Śākala actually signifies the school of the Śākalas may be clearly seen from a passage, where in the same connection the Śākalas are mentioned in the plural. Thus in Sūtra 673 (again of Kramahetu Paṭala) it is said that the Śākalas follow the system of Sthitopasthita, which so far as I can see, refers to the Pada-text as well as to the Krama text. In Sūtra 631 however the Śākalas are mentioned with unambiguous reference to the Krama text. Finally in Sūtra 65 it is said that the Śākalas particularly advocate the nasalisation of a final vowel of three Mātrās, *ācāryaśāstrāparilopahetavaḥ*, so that the work of their master may not suffer any harm, i. e. they had to specially mention the case in ṚV. X, 146, 1, because the *ī* of three mātrās is not included among the eight vowels of the manual

1 In Krama a *k* will have to be supplied before the *kh* of khyāti. G.

2 Though the literal translation would be *preceding*, I have dared to use the word *excepting* in its place in order to get a clear sense. The purport of course remains unaffected, *m* being the last of the sparśas,—G.

of Śākalya, and its nasalisation too is not provided for by the general rule in Sūtra 64.

This Ācārya or teacher is also mentioned in another passage of the Śākala-Prātiśākhya, namely in Sūtra 52. Here it is said that the teacher defines the root of the tongue and the palate to be the proper place for *ḍ* and that his *ḍ* becomes *ḷ* between vowels, his *ḍh* becomes and *ḷh*. This teacher is here called Vedamitra or the friend of the Veda.

This much appears from these passages that Śākalya, the author of the Pada-text was the chief authority of the Śākalas, even where in course of time difference of opinion had arisen and that our Prātiśākhya was meant for these Śākalas for whom Śaunaka, as he clearly says, also composed his Anukramaṇī.

Besides Śākalya, only a very few teachers are mentioned by name in this Prātiśākhya, none so often as Śākalya. Only Śākaṭāyana, Gārgya and Vyāḷi are mentioned more than once and we may very well consider these three to be the most important authorities of that time after Śākalya.

We learn but very little about Śākaṭāyana, namely, that at the end of words he recommended the first letters (of vargas) (Sūt. 17), and that in splitting up the diphthongs into their elements, he always made *a* the first member and *i* or *u* the second.

Of Gārgya we learn that he preferred the third letters (of vargas) at the end (Sūtra 16) and that he had made rules about krama-groups (S. 629, 638), and agreed with Śākalya and Vyāḷi regarding the use of samāpādya (S. 739).

Besides this agreement with Śākalya and Gārgya it is further said about Vyāḷi, that he had made rules about the accent (S. 214), specially about the accent in the Pada or Krama text (S. 209); that, he had his own views about Abhinidhāna or the pause between two consonants (S. 419); and finally, that, he recommended two different pronunciations for the Anusvāra, not only the regular one, i.e. in the nose alone, but also another, in the nose and the mouth (S. 745).

The other teachers who are further mentioned in the Prātiśākhya occupy a much inferior place. Bābhravya has been once quoted as the teacher of the Krama (S. 676) where the commentator calls him Pañcāla[1]. Yāska appears in the well-known passage (S. 993) as a metrical authority[2]; Māṇḍūkeya is once referred to on account of his

1 Cf. Pāṇ. IV, 1, 106. Bābhravyaḥ Kauśikyaḥ.

2 Presumably this Yāska has been quoted by Piṅgala. *Chand. Sūt.* III, 30.—G.

difference of opinion with Śākalya regarding the accent of Praśliṣṭas (S. 200); and Ānyatareya is once mentioned as agreeing with Śākalya about a rule of accent (S. 208). As regards Prācyas and Pañcālas, they occur only in the terminus technicus Prācya-Padavṛtti and Pañcāla-Padavṛtti (S. 137, 186); yet we can see clearly, that this grammatical technical term is ascribed to the Pañcālas and Prācyas by the author of the Prātiśākhya, and it depends on our interpretation of Sūtra 186 whether we should consider that the Śākala deviates from the general rule in the pronunciation of this Prācya and Pañcāla Hiatus.

Now turning to Pāṇini we find, as said before, that he once quotes the Prātiśākhya verbatim and indeed for a theory upon which the Prātiśākhya is based,—namely that the Saṃhitā owes its origin to the Padas, i.e. the rules of forming the Saṃhitā are taught in such a manner that the padas are considered as primary and the rules according to which they must be changed in order to form the Saṃhitā as dependent on them. This however is not all. Pāṇini quotes Śākalya four times by name and every time for things which are very closely connected with Śikṣā. I have already spoken about these quotations in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 140) and have shown there that their wording resembles rather the Prātiśākhya of the Atharva-veda than our Prātiśākhya. I admit that it is not yet quite clear to me how this is to be explained. At all events however I am quite sure of this about our Prātiśākhya that it contains all the rules for which Pāṇini quotes Śākalya as authority. This requires a closer examination.

Pāṇini I, 1, 16 says *saṃbuddhau Śākalyasyetāvanārṣe* i. e. the vowel *o* in the vocative, remains unchanged, when the non-vedic *iti* of Śākalya follows. This appears to me to be the best interpretation though with the commentators we may translate it thus: According to Śākalya, i. e. not necessarily, not universally, *o* in the vocative remains unchanged before the non-vedic *iti*. This rule reappears in the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya (I, 81) as I showed before, partly with the same words,—*āmantritam itāvanārṣe*, and had not Pāṇini mentioned Śākalya by name, it would have appeared as if he has intentionally chosen the same word which is found in the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya. Although not in the same words, yet to the same effect in substance, Śākalya also teaches in our Prātiśākhya, first in S. 69, that the *o* of the vocative is called Pragṛhya; then in S. 155, that Pragṛhyas remain unchanged when *iti* follows. Now that according to Śākalya, the final o, although called Pragṛhya, remains unchanged only before this non-vedic *iti*, is clearly seen in S. 157, when compared with S. 132, 135, 138.

Pāṇini refers to Śākalya for the second time in VIII, 3, 19 with reference to the elision of the final *y* or *v*, allowed by him, when it is preceded by a short *a* and an initial vowel† with the exception of *a* follows.§ This is likewise found in our Prātiśākhya. It is said (1) in S. 129, that *ai* and *au* become *ā* when they are followed by an initial vowel, i.e., their last element, *y* or *v*, is dropped; (2) in S. 132, that *e* and *o* become *a* when an initial vowel with the exception of *a* follows, i.e., similarly again, their last element, *y* or *v*, is dropped. So far therefore Pāṇini was quite right in quoting Śākalya as authority for the elision of the final *y* or *v*, and the fact, that the Prātiśākhya provides for the insertion of *v* after the *a* and *ā* of *o* and *au* by Sūtra 135, excepting when the following vowel is a labial, does not affect the statement of Pāṇini, specially as he is concerned only with the various possible treatments of the diphthongs *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au*§§. At all events this objection would be valid against the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya which by II, 21 provides for the elision of *y* and *v* under similar circumstances, then however by II, 22, makes an exception of *v* after *ā*, and indeed before all vowels, while our Prātiśākhya would not have allowed the retention or the insertion of this *v* before the following *u* (S. 135, compare Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya, V, 125).

It is remarkable that our Prātiśākhya which often quotes Śākaṭāyana, does not do so in the passage we are concerned with. Śākaṭāyana taught, as we know from Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 18, that these final semivowels should not be dropped but should be softly pronounced. The commentary explains this soft pronunciation (*laghuprayatna*) by a relaxation of the tip, the side, the middle and the root of the tongue. This theory of Śākaṭāyana is so well-known to the author of the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya that among the possible terminal sound of words dealt with in I, 9, he specially mentions the adhisparśa sound when the semivowels *y*

† *Auslautender* in the text must be a typographical mistake for *anlautender*. G.

§ The rule of Pāṇini is manifestly somewhat different. Pāṇini sometimes drops the final *y* or *v* preceded by *a* or *ā* when a letter of the *aś* pratyāhāra follows and not merely vowels excepting *a* as Max Müller puts it. G.

§§ It is quite clear that both Śākalya and Pāṇini had the diphthongs in view though of course Śākalya's treatment is infinitely clumsier and it cannot therefore be denied that Śākalya in S. 135 actually strikes a a discordant tune. G.

and *v* are not padya in their usual ponunciation. This adhisparśa is then explained in the Prātiśākhya, II, 24 by leśavṛtti and is ascribed to Śākaṭāyana just as Pāṇini ascribes the *laghuprayatna* to him (see Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya, IV, 125; Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya, I, 9, and II, 24).

For the third time Pāṇini mentions Śākalya in VI, 1, 127. Here he says that according to Śākalya the final *i, u, ṛ*, before dissimilar vowels remain unchanged, and adds that these vowels become short. Now, for this shortening no authority is found in the Prātiśākhya. If we admit that Pāṇini wished to ascribe to this grammarian only this unchangeableness of the vowel, inasmuch as he placed the word *hrasvaḥ* after *Śākalyasya*, then he was quite right in quoting Śākalya, for no other Prātiśākhya has more exhaustive rules by which the final vowel remains unchanged before the initial vowel than our Prātiśākhya, from Sūtra 155 on words.[1] It should also be considered herewith that the Sūtra immediately following, Paṇini VI, 1, 128, according to which certain vowels before *ṛ* remain unchanged and, if long, are shortened, is presented by the commentator under the authority of Śākalya and that for this sūtra too analogies are found in the Śākala Prātiśākhya in Sūtras 136, 168.

Now we come to the last and the most important passage in which Pāṇini quotes Śākalya. It was thought until now that there is nothing corresponding to what is here ascribed to Śākalya in the Prātiśākhya. In VIII, 4, 51, Pāṇini says that according to Śākalya reduplications of consonants in compound letters may be omitted everywhere. Now if we examine the Sūtra 390 of the Prātiśākhya, it appears as if the Śākalā school allowed the omission of the varṇakrama only when the compound letter is initial and the preceding final vowel is a long one. But I think that Pāṇini's rule shows us the right way in which the sūtra is to be interpreted and, in any case, Pāṇini interpreted it as if that the anuvṛtti of *padādiḥ* and *dīrgheṇa* is suspended and consequently it becomes that the Śākalas omit the reduplication of a consonant in a saṃyoga in all the cases which are mentioned in Sūtras 378 and the following. Here Pāṇini serves us just like a commentary to the Prātiśākhya and authorises us to give preference to that of the two interpretations of the later commentators which

1 Passages such as 163, 4, 8, 9, 13 one of course beyond the scope of Pāṇini.

the ancient Grammarian himself approved. Moreover there is no reason at all to take the word Śākala here in the sense of the Pada text for Śākala in no other passage has such a narrow sense, and specially in this sixth paṭala it occurs twice where it is impossible to interpret it in that way.

Partly to prove this and partly to present clearly the object of this whole paṭala, I give here a short sketch of the same. Though this paṭala seems at first sight to have little to do with the main question we are concerned with, yet it will prove to be not altogether useless for our purpose, inasmuch as it clearly presents before our eyes the high degree of development of the science of phonetics in the ancient Pariṣads and thus affords us a comparison of the same with meagre phonetic aphorisms of Pāṇini.

(*To be continued*)

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

MISCELLANY

More light on methods and conclusions in Hindu Politics

I am grateful to Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar for the opportunity he has given me, through his rejoinder to my reply in connection with his criticism of my work, to re-state my case on a number of important points relating to my subject.

Mr. Sarkar's charge of limited scope unsupported by facts

In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar repeats the charge of "limited scope" against my work, saying that the "infinitely extensive range" of Hindu political theory, as known from "the table of contents in ancient and mediæval political texts", cannot be covered by the four or five items to which I am supposed to have devoted my attention. It is curious to note that Mr. Sarkar does not mention which other items I have left out. Let me develop the argument which he has left incomplete and put it to the test. The most important of "the ancient Indian political texts" is undoubtedly the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya. A reference to its "table of contents" shows it to contain fifteen chapters (*prakaraṇas*) dealing successively with the items of discipline, employment of the higher officials, administration of justice, disturbers of the public peace, the work of spies, the circle of states, the six expedients of public policy, public calamities, expedition, war, corporate bodies, the powerful enemy, the capture of forts, secret contrivances, and the plan of the treatise. What use has been made of these chapters in the H.P.T.? A reference to chapter III of this work shows that all the above topics have been laid under contribution in so far as they throw light upon the ideas of state and government of the author. Thus among the topics which have been touched upon in the chapter above mentioned, occur, besides the theory of kingship (of which according to my critic the H. P. T. virtually consists), considerations relating to the general plan of the *Arthaśāstra*, its view of the mutual relations of politics (*daṇḍanīti*) and other 'sciences,' the seven elements of sovereignty, the education of princes, the qualifications of ministers, political deliberation, internal and external factions, the suppression of public disturbances, foreign policy, treacherous diplomacy, the *raison d'etre* of punishment and its right application, the

theory of republics, comparison of Kauṭilya with Machiavelli, and Kauṭilya's influence on subsequent thought. It will be noticed from a perusal of this list that the varied ideas of internal administration, foreign policy and the like, as conceived by the author of the *Arthaśāstra*, have not been ignored in the H.P.T. in a mistaken attempt to exalt the theory of kingship. Mr. Sarkar's charge, then when, subjected to the scrutiny of facts, vanishes into thin air. Let me support my case in the present instance by reference to a parallel example. It is well known that the writings of Machiavelli range over a remarkably large variety of subjects, drama, history, politics, military science and the like. Four of these works viz., the *Principe*, the *Discorsi*, the *Arte della Guerra* and the *Historie Fiorentine* may be said to constitute a single whole as they are bound together by the connecting link of the author's characteristic political principles. Now how has the "infinitely extensive range" of Machiavelli's political theory been treated by modern historians of Western political theory? We find that Prof. Dunning in his well known work deals with the political theory of Machiavelli under the following heads: Machiavelli's life and times, method of his philosophy and his point of view, his attitude towards morality and religion, his theory of political motives, the forms of government, extension of dominion, preservation of dominion, summary and conclusion (see the concluding chapter of *Political Theories, Ancient and Mediæval*). These are the very items, be it noted, which have their counterpart, as far as possible, in the Kauṭilya chapter in the H.P.T. And yet no critic has attacked the American scholar on the score of "limitation of his scope."

Source of Mr. Sarkar's mistake—He misunderstands the place of the monarchic state in the general system of Hindu political speculation

Mr. Sarkar repeats the charges more than once against my work, *viz.*, that it involves "virtually a theory of kingship." And yet it is not denied that monarchy from first to last looms large in the political speculations of the Hindus. The truth is that the Hindu thinkers, for reasons which do not concern us here, took the monarchic state as the basis of nearly all their reflections on the nature and functions of the State and Government. We thus find that the "infinitely extensive range" of political ideas of the Hindus was conceived and expressed very largely in terms of the activities of the king and his

ministers as well as subordinate officials. To find fault with the historian of Hindu political theory on this ground is as sensible as to blame the historian of Greek political theory because the ideas which he treats are oriented to the type of the city-state or the historian of political theory of the Mediæval Church because his subject-matter is oriented to the conception of a theocratic state. It remains to add, before leaving this subject, that the predominance of the monarchic state in the political speculations of the Hindus was explained as above more than once in the H. P. T. which Mr. Sarkar claims, to have read from cover to cover (See ibid., p. 16—"The Hindu political theory .... is essentially the theory of the monarchic state". Also cf. ibid., p. 269.)

Mr. Sarkar's opinion of the 'standard Indian polity'

In trying to bring out in the introductory chapter of the H. P. T. "the influence exercised upon Hindu political theory by certain specific types of polity" of which "the standard [monarchic] polity" is the predominant example, I claim to have followed the lead of the most reputed and authoritative historians of political theory in the West. [On this point see later]. Let me deal here with the main basis of Mr. Sarkar's charge, viz., that my description of the standard Indian polity shows forgetfulness of "the distinction between facts and ideas or ideals." In my work I had said, after referring to the republican states of Northern India, that the monarchic state dominated the scene. It was with reference to this last type of state that I had further held the most complete account to be derivable from the sacred canon and the sacred *Arthaśāstra*, and the grounds for this view were stated in the same context to be twofold, viz. that (1) other data were few and far between and (2) the sacred canon and the *Arthaśāstra* reflect actual, and not ideal, conditions of political existence. Both these grounds were repeated in my reply to Mr. Sarkar's original criticism. Mr. Sarkar has altogether failed to answer these arguments. He takes refuge instead in a flank attack, for he asks that since there is no well-documented institutional history as yet, I should have either filled up the gap myself or else confined my attention to the theory alone. Adoption of the first alternative would have necessitated the preparation of a work of the same compass as that of the H. P. T. on Hindu political institutions, while the adoption of the second course would have justly laid me open to the charge of omitting an important preliminary of my subject.

Confusion of ideas with institutions—A myth

It is evident from the above that whatever use was made in the H. P. T. of the *Smṛti* and *Arthaśāstra* evidence for elucidating concrete political institutions was conjoined with sufficient explanations and safeguards. My opinion about the great gulf between our knowledge of Hindu political theories and institutions was likewise expressed in the Preface (ix—x), where I had described "the obscurity in which the actual history of Indian institutions is still involved." In the face of these facts it is prepositions to argue, as Mr. Sarkar has done, that I am guilty of confusing theories with institutions. *En passant* it may be remarked that the critic's claim for bringing to light "the subtle distinction between pious wishes and real hyphen politik" which is said to have "invariably escaped the workers in Indology" is altogether baseless. Not to speak of my own case, I may mention the example of the late Mr. Vincent Smith who was certainly, whatever were his other faults, one of the most industrious "workers in Indology." In his *Oxford History of India* (Introduction page xii) after expressing his disagreement from "several modern Hindu authors" who hold that the ancient Indian king was a limited or constitutional monarch, he writes, "These authors have been misled by taking too seriously the admonitions of the text-book writers that the ideal king should be endowed with all virtues and should follow the advice of sage councillors. In reality every Indian despot who was strong enough did exactly what he pleased." These words evidently involve a more clear-cut "distinction between pious wishes and real hyphen politik" than Mr. Sarkar would perhaps be prepared to accept.

Mr. Sarkar fails to envisage the perspectives of Vedic religious thought

As Mr. Sarkar mentions no independent arguments in support of his contention that "everybody, nay everything, can become divine in the Vedic literature under certain circumstances", the conclusion may be legitimately drawn that he rests his case entirely upon the evidence of texts quoted in the H. P. T. to show how the privilege of divinity could be acquired by others than the king. Mr. Sarkar, indeed, makes this point quite clear in his statement, "The texts tell us in so many words (here follow references to the H. P. T.) that a person becomes divine through certain actions." Now a very superficial acquaintance with the H. P. T. is enough to show that its Vedic texts imputing divinity to the Brāhmaṇa etc., and explaining the significance of the *dīkṣā*

belong exclusively to the literature of the Yayus-saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, and as such reflect the spirit of that phase of Vedic thought alone. When we go back to the period of the Ṛgveda, we find ourselves in a very different atmosphere. The *dīkṣā*, the passport to divinity in the Brāhmaṇas is unknown.[1] Sacrifice has not become as yet a means of controlling the gods and of entering into the godhead. The gods themselves are primarily regarded as beings of unequalled power to whom prayers are addressed by mortals seeking their aid.[2] How wide is the gulf between the religious conceptions of the Ṛgveda and of the Brāhmaṇas is well described by an American scholar whose authority Mr. Sarkar perhaps will not care to challenge. "With the Brāhmaṇas", writes Prof. E. W. Hopkins (*Religions of India*, pp. 176-77), "not only is the tone changed from that of the Ṛgveda, the whole moral atmosphere is now surcharged with hocus-pocus, mysticism, religiosity instead of the cheerful real religion which however formal is the soul of the ṛṣis ··· All is now symbolical and the gods though in general they are the gods of the Ṛgveda are not the same as of old. The priests have become gods."[3] To say under these circumstances, as Mr. Sarkar does, that "Trasadasyu or for that matter anybody becomes a Varuṇa or an

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1 Cf. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-litteratur*, p. 14:—"Eine Weihe wie die spätere Zeit sie in der *dīkṣā* nennt ist den Rv. fremd." Also cf. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 399: "Der Ṛgveda scheint bis auf eine oder zwei ganz Zweifelhafte Stellen die *Dīkṣā* nicht zu erwähnen."

2 Cf. Macdonell, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. XII, p. 603, s.v. *Vedic Religion*:—"The most prominent characteristic of the Vedic gods is power, for they are constantly described as great and mighty, they regulate the order of nature and vanquish the great powers of evil. They hold sway over all creatures, no one can thwart their ordinances or live beyond the time they appoint and the fulfilment of wishes is dependent on them." Cf. Ibid., *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 18-19. An earlier authority describes the gods of the Ṛgveda as beings "human in their thinking, feeling and acting, but since their order is never disturbed, their will never bent, and their power never broken, infinitely more powerful and exalted and wise," and again, as "creatures against whose will no one on earth can contend" (Kaegi, *Ṛgveda*, tr. Arrowsmith, p. 29.)

3 The whole chapter is worth careful perusal by those who frame armchair generalisations on Vedic polity.

Indra, as soon as he becomes a king, or rather is consecrated" (this is said with reference to RV. iv. 42 quoted in the H. P. T. to show how the royal sage Trasadasyu identifies himself in this hymn with Indra and Varuṇa) is to transfer arbitrarily the ideas of the Brāhmaṇas to the different atmosphere of the Ṛgveda. It may be remarked in this connection that there is not the slightest hint in the hymn just mentioned, of any connection with the ceremony of royal consecration or coronation. In another respect Mr. Sarkar's contention is vitiated by the absence of a true perspective of the Vedic religious ideals. He fails to distinguish the types of divinities not only in order of time but also in their different grades and classes. The truth is that we may distinguish in the religious conceptions of the Brāhmaṇas, not to speak of those of the Ṛgveda, categories of higher and lower deities (see e.g., Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, pp) It therefore follows that the equation of the king, e.g., with Indra and Varuṇa or with Prajāpati is of much greater significance than the identification of "everybody, nay everything" with other deities.

'Divinity due to kingship'

Having previously cultivated a "thorough acquiantance with the contents of the H. P. T., on every page" and again read it for purpose of this rejoinder "from cover to cover," Mr. Sarkar has been able to discover altogether "eighteen Vedic texts" "cited by the author in relation to the king as divinity and allied topics," none of which he thinks ascribes kingship to divine origin. It is somewhat disconcerting to find that the learned critic has overlooked three other Vedic texts cited in the H.P.T. (pp. 41-43) with special reference to the question of origin of kingship, and th at one of these was held therein to prove the derivation of the severeignty of Indra (the divine prototype of the earthly king) from the will of the highest God. Commenting on the eighteen passages above mentioned the critic scents an attempt on my part to "escape" from an ugly position, for he writes, "there are altogether 18 passages in Dr. G's book bearing on different aspects of the king's divinity. In the rejoinder the author wants to single out one of these passages. In the book itself he has offered us three in regard to the problem of king's rule by virtue of his divinity." This suspicion has no basis in fact. Of the eighteen passages all but three mentioned above are explained in the H. P. T. as involving the conception of the king's divine position (however inconclusive that might be in the Brāhmaṇas) and not that of deri-

vation of the king's authority from his divinity. As I wrote in the H. P. T. (p. 31) "It is in the latter works [viz. the Brāhmaṇas] that the dogma [of king's divinity] is held to justify the king's authority over his subjects." [Here follow quotations of the three texts.]. Of these three texts again one viz., T. S. II. 2, 11, 6, was held only to foreshadow the doctrine, and another (Śat. Br. XII. 1, 3, 8,) was expressly excluded from consideration on the ground that it was pitched in "the stereotyped dogmatic fashion of the Brāhmaṇas." This leaves only one passage (Śat. Br. V. 1, 5, 14,) which is exactly the one that I had the hardihood to "single out" in the H. P. T. as well as in my reply. For the rest, it may be mentioned that the alleged "contradiction" in my reply is entirely a myth. For the Brāhmaṇa text to which I had referred to combat Mr. Sarkar's view connects the king in the clearest possible manner with Prajāpati, the chief deity of the Brāhmaṇa pantheon, and on this specific ground based his claim to rule single-handed over his many subjects. This passage would convey no other lesson than the king's claim to rule by virtue of his connection with the highest God to all persons except those who would arbitrarily read into the simple Vedic text the meaning that "the king becomes a most visible form of Prajāpati because of the ceremonial rites."

Mr. Sarkar's amusing interpretation of a Brāhmaṇa text

Taking the passage last cited (Śat. Br. V. 1, 5, 14,) into consideration in the form as given by myself ("And as to why a Rājanya shoots, he the Rājanya is the visible representative of Prajāpati; hence, being one, he rules over many"), Mr. Sarkar confidently affirms that the phrases "*Rājanya*" "*visible representative of Prajāpati*" "*ruler over many*" are essentially synonymous. How he detects identity in the causational chain of three clauses in the above sentence it is difficult to understand. He vouchsafes no argument other than the very superficial statement that explanations are not necessarily causational. But Mr. Sarkar is not content with the above version or with Eggeling's version either; he proceeds to offer his own translation and interpretation of the passage under consideration. In the original the text runs as follows:—

Tad yad rājanyaḥ pravidhyati esa vai prajāpateḥ pratyakṣatamām yad rājanyastasmādekaḥ san bahūnāmiṣṭe. Mr. Sarkar suggests a happier translation than that of Eggeling for the first part of this sentence to the following effect, "Now then (concerning the fact)

that *the* Rājanya (not *a* Rājanya) shoots." For this arbitrary departure from the authoritative translation Mr. Sarkar gives no reason worth the name. Let us turn to the greatest living authority on Vedic syntax to test the value of Mr. Sarkar's emendation. In his *Altindische Syntax*, pp. 217-218, Delbrück, after referring to the common use of 'tad yat' in Vedic prose passages, mentions four instances of its occurrence, to each of which he appends his own translation. In the first example (Ait. Br., 6, 26,) *'tadyat'* is translated *'wenn nun'* (when or if now): in the second (Śat. Br., 4, 2, 1, 1,)' where it is conjoined with *'tena'* it is translated as *'insofern ..... dadurch'* ('in so far as ..... thereby'): in the next instance. (Ibid., 1, 6, 3, 1,) where it goes with *tasmāt,* it is rendered *weil ..... darum* ('since ..... therefore'), while in the last instance (Ibid., 4, 2, 1, 4.) *'tadyad tathā'* is translated as *der Grund nun, warum es so ist, ist der folgende'* ('the reason now why it is so is the following'). In neither case has *tadyad* been rendered in the wonderful sense in which Mr. Sarkar interprets it. To go back to Mr. Sarkar's improved translation, he is doubtful about the rendering of Prajāpati in the sense of 'lord of creatures' as done by Eggeling and accepted by myself, because a "verse" of the Śat. Br. (Mr. Sarkar evidently is not aware that the Śat. Br. is a prose work) quoted by him strangely enough, from the faulty version of Eggeling, identifies Prajāpati with speech. It is however an undoubted fact that the significance of the god Prajāpati in Vedic religious conceptions has been thoroughly established by scholars whose knowledge is not confined to the few Vedic texts (including the "verses" of the Śat. Br.) above cited. Thus Kaegi in his small, but authoritative, work called the *Ṛgveda* (English translation p. *76n*) writes with reference to Prajāpati that he is lord of descendants, a genius presiding over birth, then, in general, protector of the living, and afterwards lord of creatures (*pace* Mr. Sarkar), creator, as the highest god over the gods of the Vedic period. In his *Vedic Mythology* the standard English work on the subject, Prof. Macdonell after referring to a hymn of the Ṛgveda recognising Prajāpati as the supreme god says, "Though only mentioned once in the Rv. in this sense, he is commonly in the Av. and the V. S. and regularly in the Brāhmaṇas recognised as the chief god." Mr. Sarkar next rejects as "utterly untenable" the rendering of 'Prajāpateḥ pratyakṣatamām' in the above passage of the Śat. Br. as 'visible representative of Prajāpati' whach I had proposed on the strength of Sāyaṇa's explanation (pratyakṣatamam rūpam). But the critic is

unable to mention a single argument save the authority of the same Mr. Eggeling, whose translation of a simple Vedic text he has just rejected. Mr. Sarkar also doubts the connection between Rājanya and Prajāpati on the ground that the "equation" between the two is "established" in an "unsatisfactory manner" in another passage which he quotes from the same context. In any case, we are told the Rājanya's authority cannot be derived form Prajāpati for still another "verse" of the Śat. Br. mentions the Rājanya as winning Prajāpati. Mr. Sarkar evidently is not prepared to accept any statement of the Brāhmaṇas which does not conform to the canons of logic and consistency. How very absurd such an expectation is in the case of the Brāhmaṇa literature will appear from the considered judgment of a scholar to whom I have already referred. In chapter IX of his *Religions of India*, Prof. Hopkins quotes numerous examples of "absurdities," "stupidities" and "obscurities" of statements in the Brāhmaṇas, and he concludes by describing the Brāhmaṇa literature as a "confused jumble where unite descriptions of ceremonies, formulæ, mysticism, superstitions and all the output of active bigotry" (see ibid., pp. 193-195, 201-202, 210).

The evidence of the Puruṣasūkta—Mr. Sarkar doubts an acknowledged fact

While sticking to his old view that the *Puruṣasūkta* cannot involve the dogma of precedence of some classes over others, Mr. Sarkar undertakes in his rejoinder to state his argument in full. He shows as he thinks that the order of precedence if traced in the case of the two other categories mentioned in my translation would lead to a *reductio ad absurdum*. Now in the first place the whole hymn is admittedly composed in a highly mystic vein since it personifies all nature as a giant-man (*Puruṣa*). To expect logical consistency between all its parts is, to say the least, not admissible. In the second place the idea of precedence in the verses dealing with the four classes does not depend upon the accident of enumeration in a certain order. For the continuous Brāhmaṇical tradition basing the superiority of the Brāhmaṇas over all the rest upon the dogma of creation of the four classes from the different limbs of the Creator justifies us in holding that in this earliest version of the doctrine the same idea was not lost sight of. It is indeed not without significance that a Western scholar singles out the *Puruṣasūkta* as "the Magna Charta of Brahmaṇism" (Martin Haug, quoted in Kaegi's *Ṛgveda*, p. 180.)

Mr. Sarkar's misconception of the status of the Vaiśya

With reference to Taittirīya Saṃhitā VII. 1. 1, Mr. Sarkar repeats his view that it does not "mean anything more than the fact that each one is somebody in his own place." But he now admits (what indeed should never have been doubted) that "in regard to the Śūdra the texts leave us in no doubt about his inferiority." This unequivocal admission, however belated, is welcome. Mr. Sarkar however will not admit the Vaiśya's inferiority to the Brāhmaṇa and the Rājanya. He refers to two Vedic texts both cited in the H. P. T. to show as he thinks that "the Vaiśya is on a par with the Brāhmaṇa." This argument illustrates Mr. Sarkar's usual tendency to apply the evidence of one set of Vedic texts even of a different period to that of another set. Mr. Sarkar cannot complain if following his own example I confront him with other texts (quoted in the H. P. T.) bearing more directly on the present question. In Śat. Br., VI. 6, 3, 12-13 we read, Akṣatriyasya vā purohitasya vā sarvam ..... sarvaṃ tad yat kṣatriyo vā purohito vā. ("Incomplete is he who is not either a noble or a domestic chaplain, ··· while he who is either a noble or domestic chaplain is everything"). Elsewhere in the same work (XI. 2, 7, 16) we are told that the *brahma* and the *kṣatra* are established upon the *viś*. Turning to the texts cited by Mr. Sarkar it does not require much reflection to find out how little conclusive they are. If the Vaiśya is entitled under certain circumstances to share in the divinity of the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya even to the extent of sharing the same form of address, it does not follow that they stand precisely on the same level in respect of status. But then, Mr. Sarkar triumphantly asks, does not the selfsame passage of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (VII. 1, 1) declare the Vaiśyas to be "more numerous than others." ('bhūyāṃso'nyebhyaḥ' in the original text). I shall not insult the intelligence of my readers by saying in reply that numerical superiority is not tantamount to superiority or even equality in status. Mr. Sarkar at length grapples with the clause in the above extract to which pointed attention was drawn in my reply, viz. that the Vaiśya along with others is said therein to be eaten (tasmāt ta ādyā in the original). Mr. Sarkar is convinced that it is not possible to attach the idea of inferiority to the Vaiśya "simply" on this ground and he wants "stronger" evidence to support this point. The "evidence" has been already given in the H. P. T. in the form of references to the two texts of the Śat. Br. above mentioned, which

Mr. Sarkar inspite of his "thorough acquaintance with its contents on every page" has somehow missed. But why is the evidence of the present clause inconclusive as regards the question of the Vaiśya's inferiority? Because, says Mr. Sarkar, "there is no injunction against the Śūdra's eating the Vaiśya." Now the meaning of the clause which has so much taxed the ingenuity of Mr. Sarkar (tasmāt ta ādyā) is perhaps not difficult to discover in the light of other similiar texts that have been interpreted by competent Vedic scholars. We refer to the texts mentioning the king as devouring his people which have been interpreted to mean his right of receiving contributions from them.[1] The reason why the Śūdra is not expressly debarred from eating the Vaiśya is perhaps to be found in the fact that he was not entitled to exercise the ruling authority. As regards the bearing of the Taittirīya texts upon the relative status of the Vaiśya and the upper classes we may pertinently refer (since the Yajus Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas belonged to the same cycle of thought and correspond in their broad ideas) to the famous passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII. 29) where the Vaiśya is declared to be *anyasya balihṛt*, *anyasyādyaḥ* and *yathākāmajyeyaḥ*, (translated as "tributary to another, to be lived upon by another, and to be oppressed at will"). The significance of this passage is thus explained by Prof. Keith (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 128). "From the point of the Kṣatriya this indicates the fact that the exactions of the king from the commoners of the tribe were limited only by practical considerations of expediency; the commoner has no legal right to his landholding or to his private property, if the king desired to take them from him; and if he was allowed to retain them, he paid for them in tribute and in the duty of supporting others."

Mr. Sarkar's charge of inadequate perspective met by his own admissions

In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar has thought it fit to repeat against myself the charge of "want of adequate orientation to the proper perspectives of Vedic political speculation" on the ground that I have ignored the activities of the Viś-group, "the real centre of politcal, as well as social and economic interests." The charge was partly

1 See the *Vedic Index*, s. v. *Rājanya* and the references appended thereto.

answered in my reply, but with his commendable openness to conviction Mr. Sarkar sticks to his own position. Let me then test the value of his criticism. "Vedic politics and Vedic thought" I had said, "consist of successive strands, and even granting the *'viś'* to have been the centre of common interest in the Ṛv., it is a fact that the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods witnessed a progressive advance of the king's and the Brāhmaṇa's power and disappearance of the tribal *samiti* and *sabhā*." The critic who takes credit to himself for ever remaining "teachable" tones down the above into the statement that the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods "witnessed a progressive transformation of the Vedic polity." Even as thus expressed, the statement is so inconvenient to his position that he hastens to offer a palpably poor excuse to the effect that he had confined himself to foot-notes. What is of greater importance, the critic has failed to realise the full consequences of my argument which he has implicitly accepted in full. For if it is a fact that both the king and the Brāhmaṇa rose in power to the detriment of the Vaiśya, it cannot be maintained that they were as insignificant as Mr. Sarkar conceives them to have been, e.g., in the following extract, "The chief is there as head of the expeditionary forces consisting as they do of the entire viś, and the priest as well as his ritualistic hocus-pocus has no other function but (sic) to serve the war-animus of the viś." Mr. Sarkar thinks it sufficient to meet this point by "repeating" that "no matter what the strand of Vedic thought," "the real centre of political, as well as social, and economic interests" has been virtually ignored in the H. P. T. But "repetition," even if coming from the pen of Mr. Sarkar, cannot take the place of argument. Another point urged in my reply was that the consideration of the problems which Mr. Sarkar has in view properly falls within the scope of a history of political institutions, and has no place in a history of political ideas such as the H. P. T. claims to be. Mr. Sarkar thinks this to be an attempt to "escape" out of an unfavourable position created by his ingenuity. In the H. P. T., I have undoubtedly set before myself as one of my objects the description of "the general bearing of institutions upon the growth of ideas" (Preface to H. P. T., first edition, p. 9). Consistently with this aim I have tried in my introductory chapter to estimate the influence exercised by "certain specific types of polity" including "the standard Indian [monarchic] polity" (the frequent butt of Mr. Sarkar's ridicule) upon the political ideas of the Hindus.

In adopting this course I may claim to have followed the example of the most approved historians of political theory in the West, e.g. of Principal E. Barker, who devotes a whole chapter of his standard work on Greek Political Theory (*Plato and his Predecessors*, ch. II) to a description of the Greek State in its general aspect. No critic, as far as I am aware, has levelled a charge against him on this ground by means of a deliberate misunderstanding of the scope of his work.

Mr. Sarkar's ideas on Vedic political thought have no basis in fact

Continuing his criticism of my argument on the present question, Mr. Sarkar says that he has "always" in this context been "speaking of thought, speculation" instead of political institutions. How he chooses to reconcile this positive statement with the extract "neither the polity nor the political thought of the Vedic *ṛṣis*" used in this connection I leave him to decide. What concerns me now is to point out that he has failed to quote a single instance from the Vedic literature of the magnificent set of ideas whose omission he makes the basis of his charge, viz., "the ideas of war, inter-tribal conflicts, the struggle of groups and races" aud "the group-activities of the viś, the people," That he has a shrewd suspicion that this much-talked-of set of ideas exists only in his imagination is evident from the following extract from his earlier paper, "The political thought of the Vedic *ṛṣis, should there be any*" (last four words put by him in italics). The truth is that the Vedic *ṛṣis* confined their speculations primarily, if not exclusivly, to the office of "the king and the priest" (or rather the *purohita*), as well as the relations of the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas in general with each other and with the other classes, in other words the very "items" of which I have "been talking exclusively" in my work. The reason for this regrettable perversity on their part is perhaps to be found in the fact that to the Vedic *ṛṣis* who were the authors of speculation of the period " the real centre of interest" was not the viś—group, but the office of the king and the *purohita* and the mutual relations of the social classes. Lest Mr. Sarkar, would accuse me of thrusting my own ideas upon him, I hasten to quote the words of a Western authority "The Vaiśya," we are told in the *Vedic Index* (s. v. Vaiśya), "plays singularly little part in the Vedic literature which has much to say of the Kṣatriyas and the Brāhmaṇas". Before leaving this subject it is

worth remarking as an illustration of Mr. Sarkar's scrupulous accuracy in the choice of Vedic terms that he repeatedly uses 'viś' as synonymous with 'tribe' or 'people.' Now a reference to the authority last mentioned reveals the fact, that 'viś' has the alternative meanings of 'settlement or dwelling,' 'king's subject' 'the people in general' and 'a sub-division of the *jana* or whole people.' It would seem that the correct equivalent of 'tribe' or 'people' in the Vedic literature is *'jana.'*

Value of Mr. Sarkar's contention tested by reference to a parallel example

In view of the fact that the social and political conditions in Vedic India in the earlier period are in general similar to those of Homeric Greece, Mr. Sarkar perhaps would not grudge the application of his dictum about "the real centre" of interest to the Homeric polity as well. Indeed it would not be difficult to find out, if this were needed, instances of "colonizing, conquest, and intertribal war and peace" from Homer's pages. Now let us see how modern scholars have dealt with the earliest phase of Greek political theory such as can be gathered from Homer. It appears that Dunning devotes only 8 lines to this item wherein he deals exclusively with the Homeric idea of kingship, while Barker who is the author of an independent monograph on Greek political theory has only 13 lines which he devotes to combat the view that Homer is a believer in the divine origin of monarchy. And yet, no critic has accused these scholars of the "want of adequate orientation to the proper perspective" of Homeric political speculation.

Treatment of "post-Vedic problems of political theory" not "one-sided"

It has been shown above from an examination of the items treated in the Kauṭilya chapter (ch. iii.) of the H.P.T., that it deals not only with "the theory of kingship" and the ideas on "the relation between king and priest" (such as Mr. Sarkar considers the staple of my work to consist of) but with sundry ideas of internal administration and foreign policy, How small, relatively speaking, is the space occupied by the theory of kingship in this chapter (it may be remarked that the theory of the mutual relations of king and priest is not so much as even mentioned herein) may be gauged from the fact that out of a total of 31 pages not more than 6 (i.e. less that 1/5th) is devoted

to it. In this instance, then, Mr. Sarkar's charge of "one-sided treatment," when tested by hard actual facts, turns out to be altogether baseless. The same conclusion is reached on an examination of the other chapters dealing with the "post-Vedic problems of political theory." Take, e.g., the chapter on the Mahābhārata and the Manusaṃhitā to which is added as a supplement the Cātuḥśataka of Āryadeva (H. P. T., ch. iv). Among the topics which it handles may be mentioned besides the theories of kingship and of the relations between king and priest, the significance of *rājadharma* and *daṇḍanīti*, the quasi-organic theory of government, the ideas of internal administration (including the education of the prince, the employment of ministers and the like), foreign policy, the idea of of punishment, the relation of politics with religion and with morality (involving the consideration of an elaborate body of principles connected therewith), the problem of *gaṇas*. In this case the space allotted to the theory of kingship and the mutual relations of the king and the priest amounts to less than 24 out of a total of 62 pages. In the face of these instances (which might be multiplied if necessary) it is strange that Mr. Sarkar still persists in proclaiming that the H.P.T. consists of "a series of theories of kingship and a bundle of ideas on the relation between king and priest."

Mr. Sarkar's method of extracting "confessions"

In connection with the above point Mr. Sarkar triumphantly claims that I have admitted his charges "in their entirety." In my reply to his criticism I had observed with reference to the category of seven factors of sovereignty, "it is true that none of the component factors save the king has been subjected in the H.P.T. to a detailed treatment." To conclude from this, as Mr. Sarkar does, that the H.P.T. contains "nothing save the king," is contrary to all canons of logic. If I admit that out of 3 points a, b, and c, (say, the seven factors of sovereignty) the first alone is described in my book in detail, it does not follow that 3 other points d, e, and f, (say, the theory of the priest's function of which even according to Mr. Sarkar the H.P.T. principally consists) are not treated in it with equal fulness. Indeed I could not, even if I would, make the admission imputed to me by Mr. Sarkar. For in another part of my reply which has been quoted and commented upon by Mr. Sarkar, after mentioning the place that I have allotted to the theory of kingship, I observe, "Other topics which properly fall within the scope of a history of Indian political ideas

have received in the same work (viz., H.P.T.) their just share of recognition." (here follows a list of examples).

The question of proper jurisdiction

It is evident from the above that Mr. Sarkar's dictum that my work deals in detail with "none of the component factors save the king" is the direct negation of truth. But, then, Mr. Sarkar argues, I have touched upon "neither public finance nor international law nor jurisprudence nor the the theory of war" etc. When this charge was first brought against my work, I justified myself on the ground of a well-established convention defining the boundaries of the sciences. In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar quite unjustifiably understands this to mean my belief in a well established convention fixing the categories of political philosophy, and proceeds to demolish this imaginary view. The question at issue in this case is much simpler and may be expressed in the following way. Is it, I asked, the established practice ("convention") among modern historians of political theory to treat only the ideas of State, Government and the like in detail leaving allied and incidental topics like those mentioned by Mr. Sarkar to special treatises? I claim in spite of Mr. Sarkar that both the practice and the profession of Western authorities justify an answer to this question emphatically in the affirmative. It is an undoubted fact that a detailed treatment of public finance, international law and jurisprudence, not to speak of the theory of war is conspicuous by its absence even in standard works on the history of Western political theories. We look in vain in such works for Hobbes's theory of international law or Machiavelli's theory of law, to refer to two examples pointedly mentioned by Mr. Sarkar. That this exclusion of other topics proceeds not from the sense of "convenience" of the authors concerned, but is justified by good and sufficient reasons will be seen from the following quotation from Prof. Dunning's Introduction to his *Political Theories, Ancient and Mediæval.* There the author, after mentioning the limitations "made necessary by the extent to which differentiation has proceeded within the confines of polical theory", writes as follows (Ibid., pp. xxi-xxii), "Until within quite recent times writers on politics included in their works a treatment of the topics which are included to-day under the heads of public law and political economy". "But the whole group of special sciences which these names suggest—

international law, pure and applied economics, finance and statistics—have sloughed off and expanded until each has a history and a dogma quite too comprehensive for any but special treatment ..... Some general account of the movement of ideas in the special fields is in some cases indispensable. As a rule, however, it will be necessary to leave the special just when it becomes clearly distinguishable from the general."

Treatment of the 'saptāṅga' not insufficient

If the argument advanced at the end of the foregoing paragraph is of any weight, it follows that however much the theories of public finance, international law and the like may form (according to Mr. Sarkar) integral parts of the doctrine of '*saptāṅga*,' my failure to consider these items does not in itself brand my treatment of this point as incomplete or unsatisfactory. Mr. Sarkar, however, thinks that I justify my claim of adequate treatment on the ground that I have "somewhere defined the term '*saptāṅga*' and mentioned all the seven elements of polity" and elsewhere "described the king as but one of the seven limbs of the body politic." This is a misstatement of my position. What I claimed to have done in my reply on behalf of the '*saptāṅga*' was the consideration of "general significance" of the doctrine (which helps to illustrate the *Arthaśāstra* idea of Government) and the comparison of its constituent elements after the Indian thinkers (which shows a progressive evolution of the doctrine of quasi-organic unity of government). See H.P.T., pp. 84, 87, 131, 169-170, 216, 252-253.

Mr. Sarkar's misconception of the nature of Hindu "political science"

In his original paper Mr. Sarkar in seeking to justify his charge regarding the so-called "one-sided treatment" delivered himself as follows: "Political science as a *vidyā* was not described by them [viz. the Hindu theorists] as a royal science or a priestly science. They used terms which had nothing to do with the king and priest. *Arthaśāstra*, *Nītiśāstra*, *Daṇḍanīti* are all terms that served to focus attention on large communal interest." In his rejoinder he quotes the first part of this statement by way of reiterating his view. Now this dictum stated in the unqualified fashion as above may be shown on the authority of indisputable facts to be wholly wrong. To realise the standpoint of the *Arthaśāstra* authors on this point, it is not enough to confine oneself to their strict definition of the "science," but

this has to be taken in conjunction with their commonly accepted standards of political concepts and categories. Now the quotations of Kauṭilya relating to the discussion of the early *Arthaśāstra* about the constituent elements of the seven factors and the three powers (*śaktis*) of the king make it clear that the type of the monarchic state had already fixed itself in the root-ideas of the *Arthaśāstra* thinkers long before Kauṭilya's time (see H.P.T. pp. 83-86). The same tendency to look upon monarchy as the norm of political existence is reflected in the fragments of the early *Arthaśāstra* thought that have been preserved to our own times, e.g., in Bhāradvāja's teaching of a Machiavellian statecraft to kings and ministers and the views of certain other authors on the application of punishment by the king (H.P.T., pp. 103-107). As for the title *Nītiśāstra*, Kāmandaka who brings the term into general vogue identifies the "science" so thoroughly with the monarchic state that he applies to it the synonym *rājavidyā* or 'royal science'. It is again not without significance that Kāmandaka introduces his *Essence of Nītiśāstra* by addressing his lessons to kings, for he says:—

upārjane pālane ca bhūmer bhūmīśvaram prati
yatkiñcid upadekṣyāmo rājavidyāvidām matam

The commentator explains the phrase '*bhūmīśvaram prati*' "to the rulers of the earth" by stating that other persons are not eligible for the science of polity (*anyasya tu rājavidyāyām anadhikārāt*). In the work of Śukra the term *Nītiśāstra* is defined in a wider sense than Kāmandaka's, but still he professes in his introductory verses to have written his work for the benefit of kings and others enjoying a limited span of life (H.P.T., p. 249). In the same work *Arthaśāstra* is expressly defined as involving the instruction of kings in good behaviour (H.P.T., p. 83*n*.)

Mr. Sarkar's comment on Utathya's discourse

In the H.P.T. (p. 99) I had taken certain extracts from the discourse attributed in the Śāntiparvan to the sage Utathya to involve a view apparently "peculiar to Hindu political thought," "namely, that unrighteousness on the king's part is the cause of disturbance of the social, the moral ond even the physical order." On this Mr. Sarkar commented as follows, "Utathya's dictum in the Mahābhārata on righteousness and justice as the *sine qua non* of kingship does not embody a peculiar Hindu conception, as G. believes." The misinterpretation of my meaning that is involved in this statement is too

palpable to be missed even by the most careless reader. To put Mr. Sarkar on the right track I wrote in my reply as follows, "That part of Utathya's lecture in the Mahābhārata which was cited to be perhaps peculiar to Hindu political thought was to the effect that unrighteousness on the king's part is the cause of disturbance of the social, the moral and even the physical order." In the same connection I asked Mr. Sarkar to show by quotations from specific texts the exact counter-part of the Hindu view in certain works of European thinkers that he had mentioned. After this clearest possible statement of my case it would seem that there was no room for any further misunderstanding. I note however with amazement that Mr. Sarkar persists in attributing to me the assertion that the conception of justice or righteousness being the bounden duty of the king was peculiar to Hindu political thought. And he thinks himself justified in quoting from his own work what he fancies to be parallel ideas in the West, finishing aptly enough with a homily on the necessity of cultivating "a little acquaintance" with certain authors whose works are familiar to the undergraduates of our universities.

In connection with the present subject Mr. Sarkar claims to have discovered a modification of my original position in my rejoinder. It will suffice to point out in reply that the words "a view, which it seems to us, was peculiar to Hindu political thought" (H.P.T., p. 99) are in no way modified by the statement "a view perhaps peculiar to Hindu political thought."

The position, then, may be summed up as follows:—(1) My statement whether in the text or in the reply remains unchanged. (2) In his earlier paper Mr. Sarkar failed to appreciate my standpoint perhaps through oversight. (3) In my reply I gave him a chance of correcting his mistake. (4) Nevertheless he persists in misunderstanding my position, no doubt because he finds it impossible to answer my challenge. (5) The examples which he quotes from Seneca, Bishop Hincmar and the rest are all beside the point, and apparently has no other purpose than that of confusing the issues.

The Dīgha Nikāya theory of contract

Mr. Sarkar has thought it fit to challenge afresh and on identical grounds my statement in the H.P.T. (p. 121) to the effect that "the Buddhist theory of contract virtually exists as an isolated phenomenon in the history of Hindu political thought." The grounds on which this statement made were expressed with the utmost clearness

in the original text, and it is most surprising that Mr. Sarkar with his "thorough acquaintance with its contents" should miss them a second time in succession. Let me quote the context in which the above passage occurs in full. "In his insistence on contract", I wrote, "as the foundation of political order and above all in the terms of the contract itself the Buddhist canonist had evidently discovered a weapon which might be used to justify almost any degree of popular control over the king ..... Nevertheless, no single claim is advanced on behalf of the people in the above passages ..... Nor, so far as we are aware, was the hidden significance of the theory brought out in any other work except apparently in a passage of the Catuḥśatikā ..... Thus the Buddhist theory of contract virtually exists as an isolated phenomenon in the history of Hindu political thought." I meant, in other words, that the doctrine of popular control over the king by virtue of the theory of contract was practically confined to the passage under consideration. This argument which Mr. Sarkar altogether ignores remains unshaken inspite of all the historical connexions traced by myself and quoted by Mr. Sarkar between the text of the Dīgha Nikāya and other texts.

Mr. Sarkar's charge of "unjust" treatment of "Śākya's teachings" rests on a tissue of imaginary assumptions

Mr. Sarkar repeats, as before, the charge that I have been extremely "unjust" to "Śākya's teaching," because, as he thinks, I have "considered Śākya to be a mere moralist and not a political philosopher." Now the passage to which Mr. Sarkar refers occurs in the H.P.T. (p. 123) in the course of my comment on two texts of the Pali canon professing to lay down the Buddha's test of seven conditions of welfare in respect of the republican confederacy of the Licchavi-Vajjīs, and it runs in the original as follows:—

"The above extracts involve a moralist's analysis of republican conditions, not that of a political philosopher strictly so called." When Mr. Sarkar bases his charge on this passage, he makes the following assumptions, (1) that in describing the contributions of Buddhism to Hindu political theory, I confine my attention to these two passages alone or at most to passages of a similiar import, (2) that Buddha is the author of these two passages, (3) That my remark carries with it an implied censure, (4) that on this ground I have excluded from consideration other parts of Buddha's teachings which

are relevant to my subject. Each of these assumptions may be shown to be contrary to truth. No. 1. is contradicted by the fact that I have examined at length two other extracts purporting to lay down Buddha's view of the origin of kingship, and not even the slightest hint is conveyed therein to the effect that the "Śākya" or anybody else was a mere moralist. No. 2. is so contrary to fact that Mr. Sarkar in his rejoinder hastens to explain it away with what success we shall presently see. As regards Nos. 3 and 4 there is nothing in my book to show that I attach any censure to the author of the passages under consideration, whoever he may be,or that I exclude him on this ground. Indeed it was not out of disrespect for any of the Buddhist thinkers, least of all for "Śākya," but simply because I thought that they had left behind no other contribution to the stock of political theory that I "cut short" my considerations of their ideas in my work.

Mr. Sarkar's failure to meet my arguments

It follows from the above that Mr. Sarkar's verdict which he wants to keep "unchanged" to himself, when examined in the light of sober fact, breaks down at every point. There is another aspect of the question that has still to be considered. In his original paper Mr. Sarkar had observed as part of his case for "Śākyas" admission into the rank of a political philosopher that obedience to the elders, one of the seven conditions of welfare mentioned above, was not a moral maxim but had its affinities in "later manifestations" e.g. "the Japanese Genro and the Reichstag of the present German constitution." To this I had replied by pointing to other items mentioned in Śākya's list of seven conditions to which it would be difficult to find parallels in the "later manifestations." Mr. Sarkar has chosen to be completely silent on this point.

Mr. Sarkar's rejoinder on the question of authorship of the two Nikāya passages is equally unhappy. He begins by saying that a discussion of authorship of "Śākya's lectures" in a "footnote review" would have looked quite "pedantic." But he forgets that however repugnant it might be to Mr. Sarkar's temperament this exhibition of pedantry was absolutely necessary to justify his verdict regarding my unjust treatment of "Śākya's teachings." Mr. Sarkar next points to some phrases which according to him prove his "shrewd suspicion" of the genuineness of the alleged sayings of Śākya. If this "suspicion"

was founded on fact, why did he charge me on the evidence of two samples of those self-same "sayings" with unjust treatment of Śākya's teachings? It is indeed not without significance that in his original paper the qualifying phrases are invariably reserved for the Vinaya texts (and especially the Mahāvagga and Cullavagga), while he uses the term "Śākya" without any qualification whatever no less than four times in the two paragraphs containing his comment on the seven conditions of welfare. That the misconception is still present "at the back" of Mr. Sarkar's mind is clear from the title of the paragraph in his rejoinder, viz. "unjust treatment of Śākya the Buddha's teachings."

Relations between institutions and theories,—Mr. Sarkar's view

In connection with Mr. Sarkar's charge on the score of alleged exclusion of certain items of Buddhist thought, I disputed his implied contention that a history of political theory should take cognisance of concrete institutions and the principles of their working. Mr. Sarkar retorts by asking, "Have you not yourself tried to indicate the general bearing of institutions upon the growth of ideas"? Yes. But this is altogether different from incorporating the theories that are latent in those institutions. To forget, as Mr. Sarkar does, the difference between the two is to betray a misunderstanding of the relative place of institutions and theories in a historical treatment of political theory. Mr. Sarkar has asked me to point out some of the authorities on political science whose view is different from his own. Here is one. "Political thought," says Mr. Barker (*Social and Political Ideas of some great Mediæval thinkers*, ed., F.G.C. Hearnshaw, p. 10) "is different from and greater than political theory. Political theory is the speculation of particular thinkers, which may he removed from the actual facts of the time. Political thought is the immanent philosophy of a whole age which determines its actions and shapes its life. The one is explicit, self-conscious, and (it may be) detached; the other is implicit, unconscious and immersed in the stream of vital action." If this view is not to be dismissed as a meaningless jargon, it follows that the historian of political theory need have no concern with "the ideas lying behind, around, and within the institutions," however properly these may fall within the scope of the historian of political thought.

"The politics of Vinaya and Edict literature"

In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar again describes the Vinaya and the Edicts of Asoka as potential sources of political speculation which

have not been utilised in the H.P.T. Now apart from the fact that the ideas latent in concrete institutions may not, as shown above, come within the cognisance of political theory, it is permissible to ask whether the Vinaya literature about which Mr. Sarkar is so eloquent really contains any of the ideas which Mr. Sarkar claims for it, those relating to "authority, justice, liberty, individuality, democracy and so forth" in a form sufficiently selfconscious to justify their inclusion in the H P.T. Mr. Sarkar at any rate is unable to mention a single example of the kind, though he has no longer the excuse of writing a "foot-note review." As to the Asokan Edicts Mr. Sarkar refers afresh to "certain ideas that are no mean contributions to political thought." Let me admit for once that these Edicts, as far as they involve a conscious formulation of political principles, may be justly included in a survey of the Hindu political theory. In the second edition of my work (p. 90n.) which was published at the beginning of this year, I have tried to consider the significance of the Asokan idea of paternal rule. Here I pause only to remark that one of the examples quoted by Mr. Sarkar to illustrate the Asokan "contributions to political thought" does not bear the interpretation which he has put upon it. We refer to his statement "The problem of the Empire i.e. imperial nationalism, is mainfest in Asoka's solicitation for administrative uniformity." Now the passage to which Mr. Sarkar refers runs in the original as follows, "Icchitaviye hiesā kiṃti viyohālasamatā ca siya daṇḍasamatā cā" (Delhi-Siwalik version). Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, it is true, takes this (*Aśoka* p. 310) to refer to the uniformity of judicial investigation and the uniformity of punishment, but Prof. Hultzsch (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. I., revised edition, p. 125) understands it to mean "impartiality in judicial proceedings and impartiality in punishments." If the second explanation is to be accepted as correct, there is no case for "Aśoka's solicitude for administrative uniformity" and thus the whole basis of Mr. Sarkar's dictum falls to the ground. Even if we take the first interpretation, the idea that is here involved is evidently that of adminstrative centralisation of an imperial autocracy. To characterise this as amounting to "imperial nationalism" is to be guilty of a hopeless anachronism.

Mr. Sarkar's verdict on my treatment of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

Mr. Sarkar has thought it fit to repeat his view that my chapter on Kauṭilya is but a "summary of translations of certain selected

topics" etc. I claim on the other hand on the basis of demonstrable facts that this chapter of the H.P.T. either breaks new ground or throws new light on the ground already traversed. I may mention, as illustrations of the former class, items like Kauṭilya's idea of the relation of politics to other 'sciences,' historical significance of Kauṭilya's theory of kingship, his theories of internal administration and foreign policy, and the like. As examples of the latter kind may be mentioned my examination of the scope of Kauṭilya's work (involving a criticism of the views of Profs. Jacobi and Bhandarkar), of the philosophical significance of the Kauṭilyan theory of kingship (in which connection I have considered the opinions of Shamasastry, Bhandarkar and Bottazzi) and of the current parallelism between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli, not to speak of my revised interpretations of the text in a number of places (pp. 130n, 134n, 135n etc.). It is also not without significance, as I showed in my reply, that Mr. Sarkar with all his aversion to the chapter under consideration, has selected two items from this "degenerate" "summary of translations" for detailed criticism—a fact which in itself indicates how little he believes in his own sweeping judgment. After this it will not be difficult to appraise Mr. Sarkar's verdict at its true worth.

The province of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra not "misunderstood"

Mr. Sarkar complains afresh against me on the ground that I have "sedulously avoided those contributions which constitute the greatness of the *Arthaśāstra* in the history of politics" etc. That I was not oblivious of the contents to which Mr. Sarkar refers is rendered quite certain by my description of the scope of the *Arthaśāstra* (H.P.T., p. 77) which Mr. Sarkar inspite of his "thorough acquaintance" with my book has missed altogether. "A perusal of Kauṭilya's work," I wrote in that connexion, "shows that this author treated the subjects of central and local administration, home and foreign policy, as well as civil law and the art of warfare. As Kauṭilya's work is admittedly a summary of the early *Arthaśāstra* literature, the natural presumption is that the same topics were dealt with in either case. This is reduced to a certainty by Kauṭilya's own citations which make it abunduntly clear that all the above subjects were treated by his predecessors." If, then, I still omitted the consideration of "finance, *Maṇḍala*, strategy and tactics," it was not because of "misunderstanding" of the province of Kauṭilya's work, or rather of the Arthaśāstra in general, but because I thought that the weight of authori-

tative example justified my exclusion of these items from a work on the history of political theories (see above).

Mr. Sarkar's amazing interpretation of "Kauṭilyadarśanam"

While on this subject Mr. Sarkar premising that Indologists "as a rule" have "misunderstood" the scope of Kauṭilya undertakes to enlighten them according to his lights. "The Arthaśāstra," he says, "is *kauṭilya-darśanam* (kauṭilyan philosophy). It is, in other words, a theoretical speculative treatise and not a historical work designed to portray the actual constitution of a particular state or states." It will be seen that Mr. Sarkar's case rests chiefly upon his interpretation of '*kauṭilya-darśanam*. Now a slight consideration of this point is enough to show Mr. Sarkar's interpretation to be wholly wrong. The term '*darśana*' does not mean philosophy or system of philosophy alone, but it bears other meanings such as 'opinion,' 'intention' etc. In the context (I. 10) in which the expression occurs in Kauṭilya'a work (Mr. Sarkar, it may be remarked, has thought it unnecessary to specify this point) it is incapable of being interpreted in any other way than by 'opinion.' Let me justify my position by quoting the original verses which run as follows :—

trivargabhayasaṃśuddhān amātyān sveṣu karmasu/
adhikuryād yathāśaucam ityācāryā vyavasthitāḥ//
na tveva kuryād ātmānaṃ devīṃ vā lakṣam īśvaraḥ/
śaucahetor amātyānām etat kauṭilyadarśanam//

The purport of the above is evidently to convey Kauṭilya's abrogation or rather modification of a view of his teacher and there can in this case be no doubt about the meaning of '*darśanam*.' This interpretation is likewise offered by Gaṇapati Śāstrī who comments on the above as follew :—

"Tad idam ācaryāṇāṃ matam ityarthakaṃ ślokam āha trivargetyādi ..... uktam ācāryamataṃ svamataṃ tu naivam etc." So also Meyer, the German translator of Kauṭilya, renders the above as follows :—"Das ist die stellung, die die Lehrer einnehmen ..... Das ist die Ansicht Kauṭilyas."

No "misunderstanding" of scope of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra

Throughout this part of his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar does not seem sufficiently to recognise the fact that Kauṭilya's work is not *sui generis*, but is only one of a class of works concerned with this science (or

rather art). Rightly to understand the scope of Kauṭilya we have to begin by asking what, if any, information is available in his work about the scope of this science in general. Now if Mr. Sarkar had referred to H.P.T. (p. 74), he would have lighted upon a definition of Arthaśāstra to the effect that it is a 'science' concerned with the acquisition and protection of dominion. It is described in other words (as mentioned in H.P.T., p. 76) "essentially as the Art of Government in the widest sense of the term." Now the early schools and authors of *Arthaśāstra*, as I pointed out furthermore in the same context, transcended the narrow limits of this definition so as to embrace within their survey not merely the Art of Government but the theory of the State as well. In the case of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, on the other hand, I observed by way of contrast (H.P.T., p. 126) that it involved a "studied neglect of abstract speculation" whence I drew the conclusion that its author dealt in conformity with the strict definition of the science "not with the theory of the State but with the Art of Government and kindred topics." This judgment, then, was based not upon a "misunderstanding" of the scope of Kauṭilya or upon "shunting off the right track by an unwarrantably wrong attitude" towards him, but upon a careful comparison of Kauṭilya's work with the early *Arthaśāstra*, especially (as noticed in my reply) by reference to Kauṭilya's slender stock of political speculation, and his treatment of the same in connection with concrete problems of administration.

Mr. Sarkar's charge of exclusion of "philosophy of the Art of Government" wholly imaginary

Taking as the text of his sermon the argument that "theories on constitutions, administration etc., belong as much to political philosophy as the theory on sovereignty, law, and justice, and so forth, Mr. Sarkar thinks that in my view "the one group of items excludes the other," The charge is wholly untrue. Alike in the section dealing with the early *Arthaśāstra* and the chapter on Kauṭilya, I have dealt *seriatim* with the theory of the state as well as that of the Art of Government involved therein. In the former section after examining the theories of kingship (pp. 89-101) I proceeded to analyse the rules of practical politics with the following prefatory words, "The theories of kingship in the *Arthaśāstra*, while corresponding broadly to those of the *Dharmasūtras*, are not lacking in the formula-

tion of original principles. Originality, however, is the dominant note of the rules of practical politics, which constitute, as the definition of the science indicates, the core of the *Arthaśāstra.*" In the latter chapter, after examining the theory of kingship at some length (pp. 131-139) I wrote as follows:—"From this meagre record of political theory that has been presented above, let us turn to consider what forms in Kauṭilya the essence of his philosophy, we mean the branch relating specifically to the Art of Government," and thence I proceeded to discuss this subject during the sixteen pages subsequently following.

Mr. Sarkar's method of inventing "inconsistencies" and "contradictions"

In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar conjures up a "contradiction" in my estimate of Kauṭilya as given in two different places of my work, and he undertakes very chivalrously to save me from my difficulty. He writes, "In the passage in question (H.P.T., p. 127) Dr. Ghoshal has made a categorical negative proposition in regard to the theoretical character of *Arthaśāstra* ..... In pp. 76-77 of H.P.T. he makes it clear that the book embraces a mass of abstract speculation within its orbit" etc., Now what are the facts? What I "made clear" on the pages just mentioned was that the early *Arthaśāstra* (not the book of Kauṭilya) contained a mass of speculation besides dealing with the Art of Government. On the other hand, in the passage to which Mr. Sarkar refers, I made it equally "clear" that Kauṭilya's work is distinguished from the early *Arthaśāstra* precisely by its "neglect of abstract speculation." [I refrain from quoting the original extracts as they may be easily verified.] Mr. Sarkar thus mixes up the evidence belonging to two different sets of facts which, be it remembered, occur in two distinct chapters of my book and thus concocts a charge of "contradiction" against myself from my own writings.

Mr. Sarkar's groundless charges in connexion with treatment of the Mahābhārata and the Manusaṃhitā

In connection with the theories under this head Mr. Sarkar has again charged me with "difficulties and inconsistencies" in my treatment of this subject. The truth of this remark will best be shown by an appeal to facts. One piece of "inconsistency" that he charges me with is that on page 181, I "accept the metaphorical sacredness of sovereignty"

in the Brahminical theory, while elsewhere (p. 277) I "do not set much store by the same interpretation." Now the true facts are as follows. On the former page while admitting for the Mahābhārata-Manusaṃhitā theories in part the idea of "metaphorical sacredness," I wrote that "the most characteristic" of these theories was nevertheless concerned with the doctrine of the king's divine personality, and I quoted in support of this last statement two texts (Manu, VII, 5-7 and Śāntiparvan LIX, 128-136). On the latter page I rejected Mr. Sarkar's contention (*Political Institutions*, pp. 179-180) to the effect that "the Hindu doctrine of the king's divinity was a metaphorical expression" on the strength of the same text from the Śāntiparvan that is mentioned above. These two statements, then, are not only not "inconsistent", but are in perfect accord with each other. This point was sought to be specially impressed upon Mr. Sarkar in my reply, but he has chosen to take no notice of it.

The second case of "inconsistency" or "difficulty" which Mr. Sarkar mentions is concerned with the significance of the Śāntiparvan passage just mentioned (LIX 128-136). Here, it is interesting to note, Mr. Sarkar has been compelled to admit that there is a "theocratic touch" in the above passage. Another important modification is that whereas formerly he took the king's divinely ordained duty of protection to make the people "no less divine than the king", he now understands it to mean that "the status of the people is no less divine or God-ordained (whatever it may mean) than that of the king." In other words, he is now convinced that the divinity applies not to the people as such but to their status, and further he is himself in doubt as to the significance of these expressions. Mr. Sarkar's charge, even thus modified, can be shown to be without foundation. Of the groups of priniçiples which in the theory of the Mahābhārata and the Manusaṃhitā balance the principle of monarchical authority, only one (viz. Manu, VII, 2) does this "on the strength of divine injunctions themselves" (see H.P.T., pp. 184-186) and there is nothing in this group to connect it with the passage of the Śāntiparvan under consideration. When therefore, Mr. Sarkar introduces this part of his rejoinder with the caption "Viṣṇu enters the king, but makes him the people's servant," he gives an altogether erroneous version of the theories whose significance he professes to explain.

The third case of 'difficulty' mentioned by Mr. Sarkar is concerned with my alleged statement that "the Buddhist theory of con-

tract is incongruous with the Hindu (Mahābhārata or Manu) doctrine of reciprocity." I made no statement of this kind. On page 135 of the H.P.T. to which Mr. Sarkar refers, I declared certain extracts from Kauṭilya to involve an incongruous union of the theory of the king's divinity and that of the elective origin of kingship as manifested in the form of "a Brahmanised adaptation of the Buddhist theory of contract." It is clear, then, that the incongruity which I had in view lay in the blending of the Brahminical or the Buddhist theory of contract on the one hand and the doctrine of the king's divinity on the other. Here, then, there was no suggestion, even by implication, of any "incongruity" between the Buddhist and the Brahminical theory. It is on the strength of such statements that Mr. Sarkar bases his charge to the effect that "the alleged divinity of the king and the democratic contract theory have proved to be veritable stumbling-blocks to the author."

"Hindu mind"—"Hindu view"

While in his earlier paper Mr. Sarkar dismissed the above terms that were used in my work as "vague and meaningless phrases," he is now anxious to explain the "standpoint" from which he thinks them objectionable. Hence it appears that these cannot be altogether "vague and meaningless," from certain other stand-points. In what sense, then, my phrases according to Mr. Sarkar are still "objectionable"? His answer by implication is that I have tried to describe "one bunch of ideas" as the "characteristic product of India," in disregard of "the diversity and the pluralism of Hindu political thinking." *Per contra* he claims for himself as well as for certain standard authors whom I mentioned in my reply that their use of similar phrases " nowhere ignores or overlooks the diversities" in their thought-world. As the whole of this argument rests on a series of assertions for which not a particle of evidence is forthcoming, it is impossible to take it seriously.

To show how baseless is Mr. Sarkar's charge on this point let me further quote a few extracts from an authoritative work of which I have made frequent use already. In the introductory chapter of his latest work on the history of Greek political theory (*Plato and his Predecessors*) Barker undertakes to describe the Greek theory of the State. In the course of this chapter he frequently uses phrases which are the exact counterpart of the terms used by me. Thus we read, "Political thought begins with the Greeks. Its origin is con-

cerned with the calm and clear rationalism of the Greek mind" (ibid. p. 1); "whatever may be said of the sacrifice of the individual to the State in Greek politics or in Greek theory, the fact remains that in Greece as contrasted with the rest of the ancient world man was less sacrificed to the whole to which he belonged than he was elsewhere" (p. 2); "home rule and self-sufficiency are in the traditional Greek view almost convertible terms" (p. 5).

The question of parallels

On the subject of alleged "agreement between Hobbesian absolutism of the Leviathan and those strands in the Hindu thought which promulgate obedience to the king on the basis of contract," Mr. Sarkar's view has undergone a material change. In his first paper he was so confident of this agreement that he thought its ommission in the H.P.T. to be "queer." In his present paper he is willing to make allowances for impracticable identities and special difficulties. But he is still not prepared to give up his original position. Let me examine the grounds on which he rests his case at present. In my reply, after noticing certain characteristics of the Hindu dotrine of obedience based on the theory of contract, I asked him to explain what agreement there could be between such conceptions and the Hobbesian view of absolute sovereignty. How does Mr. Sarkar answer the challenge? He says that verbal identity is the least to be expected in philosophical speculation and he refers us to his conclusion in an altogether different context to that effect. This point was not raised even by implication in the above argument, and Mr. Sarkar's mention of it makes one suspect that he wants to escape out of an untenable position by confusing the issues. Next Mr. Sarkar refers to his statement in another connection that much as the Indian material is "fragmentary and scrappy," it is but "an undeveloped form of its Western counterpart, whence he draws the conclusion that "so far as the genus, type or tendency-group is concerned, the Hindu and the Western are alike, if not identical." In his usual manner Mr. Sarkar has not cared to justify his bold generalisation by reference to concrete facts. If we test it by the example under cosideration, viz. the alleged parallelism between Hobbesian thought and certain aspects of the Hindu theory of contract it turns out to be quite chimerical. A reference to my argument in my earlier paper (I. H. Q., vol. II; no. 2, p. 427) will show that the difference in this case is deeper than can be explained merely on the basis of the theory of "unde-

veloped forms." For while the Hindu doctrine of obedience from contract is inextricably mixed up with the doctrine of divine creation of the king, the absolutism of Hobbes proceeds wholly on the basis of the contract theory. The difference in short is one of kind, not of degree.

In his original paper Mr. Sarkar thought it fit to condemn my so-called "arbitrary attitude in refusing to identify the Hindu cult of tyrannicide and resistance to the king with certain strands of the social contract theory" in Europe. The evidence for this accusation was *nil*. In his rejoinder he undertakes, in answer to my challenge, to supply this omission. He refers in delightfully vague terms to two pages of the H.P.T. (pp. 188, 276) to support his contention that I am not "prepared, as a rule, to admit the rights of the people against their king." Let me begin by informing Mr. Sarkar that if he had gone through my work with some attention, he would have lighted upon many more pages (e.g. pp. 64-65, 97, 184-186, 209-210, 258) where I had distinctly pronounced in favour of the Hindu doctrine of popular sovereignty. But I propose here to confine myself to the evidence of the two pages mentioned by Mr. Sarkar. On H.P.T., p. 181 (footnote 3) I observed with reference to two verses of the Manusaṃhitā (VII, 111-112) that they did not "involve an unequivocal enunciation of the doctrine of resistance" (as Mr. Sarkar took them to mean in an article contributed to the *Political Science Quarterly*, March, 1918), but that they "merely conveyed a solemn warning to the oppressive king." In this same context I referred to parallel passages which bear out my interpretation. How far my explanation is justified by the facts of the case may be judged from a quotation of the original text which runs as follows:—

mohādrājā svarāṣṭram yaḥ karṣayatyanavekṣayā/
sa cirādbhraśyate rājyājjīvitācca sabāndhavaḥ//
śarīrakarṣaṇāt prāṇāḥ kṣīyante prāṇināṃ yathā/
tathā rājñām api prāṇāḥ kṣīyante rāṣṭrakarṣaṇāt//

"That king who through folly rashly oppresses his kingdom (will) together with his relations be ere long deprived of his life and of his kingdom. As the lives of living creatures are destroyed by tormenting their bodies, even so the lives of kings are destroyed by their oppressing their kingdoms"—Bühler's tr., S. B. E., vol. 25.

Here, then, my reluctance to follow Mr. Sarkar in "admitting the rights of the people against their king" was due not to any innate perversity but to the fact that the text appeared to me not to bear

out Mr. Sarkar's meaning. On H.P.T., p. 276*n.* while criticising a view attributing superiority of the Hindu theory over the Hobbesian, I pointed out *inter alia* that the Hindu thinkers failed to develop the case for popular sovereignty into a complete system. Here, again, I have showed no tendency to minimise the rights of the people except in so far as it is justified by the available evidence. Mr. Sarkar says apparently with reference to the last mentioned point that well-developed systems are "the farthest to seek for quite a long time yet" in Hindu political speculation. Quite so, but is not this item of sufficient importance to be borne in mind by those who are determined at any cost to seek "identifications" between the Hindu and Western theories?

Multilinear vs. unilinear evolution

On this question Mr. Sarkar's method of argument is characteristic. He is content to repeat a string of generalisations having little relation to the question at issue. In the present instance he again expresses his view that my entire "book runs counter to the theory of multilinear evolution of social organisations" laid down in the preface. Now when this charge was first brought against me by Mr. Sarkar, I hastened to point out how again and again where Hindu political thought had appeard to me to make the nearest approach to the theory of the West, I had found it on closer inspection to reveal real and important differences. I quoted from my "entire work" a number of examples, especially and above all the comparison between Hindu theories of kingship and Western theories of divine right. How does Mr. Sarkar deal with this argument? Well, he ignores it from start to finish. This silence is all the more inexplicable since Mr. Sarkar with his professed knowledge of "other systems" was exactly in a position to enlighten other "persons who are not adequately oriented" to them. Mr. Sarkar's extreme reluctance to face my pointed arguments can be interpeted only on the assumption that he is unable to meet them. If, then, I still believe Mr. Sarkar's contention to the effect that my conclusion is an after-thought to be unworthy of serious notice, it is not myself but Mr. Sarkar that is to blame. But let me proceed. In his rejoinder Mr. Sarkar concedes that his unilinear development permits of multilinear evolution even within the limits of individual thought-systems. It is easy to see that this admission involves, inspite of Mr. Sarkar's disclaimer, an important modification of his original position and a notable approximation to my own view.

Mr. Sarkar thinks it proper nevertheless to condemn my "sociology or culture-history" as involving an attempt to emphasise the contrast between the East and the West. How unfair this verdict is will be seen from the fact that Mr. Sarkar, as he candidly admits, is not sure of his data.

Kauṭilya and Machiavelli

I now come to the last item in Mr. Sarkar's formidable array of charges, I mean, the alleged parallelism between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli all along the line. I notice at the outset that Mr. Sarkar has tacitly given up his claim to have anticipated my verdict on a certain point of methodology shared by the Italian with the Indian. On other points Mr. Sarkar chooses to stick to his original view. Regarding the historical position of the two thinkers, e.g., he maintains his original position which he now seeks to justify on the material point by saying, "Machiavelli as a believer in *Rājadharma* or duties of princes had a long line of teachers" (here follow some examples). Unhappily this "very simple" answer is concerned with the least characteristic feature of the Italian's thought, and it altogether ignores the most significant part of his teaching. When it is claimed for Machiavelli that he was "the first modern political philosopher," it is evidently his use of the historical method, his remarkable attitude towards religion and morality and even his conception of politics as an art of government that are kept in view.

As regards the relative scope of Machiavelli and Kauṭilya, without denying the "extent" of the former's "studies and writings," it may perhaps be pointed out that the details of internal admistration including the component parts of a highly complex admistrative machinery together with an elaborate code of laws such as we find in Kauṭilya's work are not paralleled in Machiavellis writings. Moreover in estimating the relative contribution of the two to philosophical thought it is not "irrelevant" to remember the fact that the "*Arthaśāstra* as a whole announces itself as a single "science" relating to the acquisition and preservation of dominion, while among all the "studies and writings" of Machiavelli only the Prince, the Discourse on Livy and the History of Florence can be conceived together as forming a system and even there the unifying principle does not rest directly on the assumption of a single science.

As to the respective ideals of Kauṭilya and Machiavelli, Mr. Sarkar believes as before that a contrast between these is "non-existent." He quotes an opinion about the aim of the "*Prince*" together with

the title of the last chapter of that book to show that "security of state is Machiavelli's fundamental thought." But if language has any meaning, both these arguments imply not the "security of the state" but its acquisition of new dominion. As to Mr. Sarkar's plea that "the gospel of territorial agrandisement constitutes the very life-blood of Kauṭilya," it is, I think, sufficiently answered by the words I wrote in my reply, "Making full allowance for the cult of *vijigīṣu, cāturanta, cakravartin*, it cannot be forgotten that Kauṭilya unlike Machiavelli pointedly deprecates territorial annexations." Before leaving this part of my subject, I may add that Mr. Sarkar has left altogether unanswred the argument on whose basis I thought his conception of "a most marvellous identity in subject-matter as well as methodology" between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli to be wrong.

As to the respective morals of Kauṭilya and Machiavelli what I wrote in the H.P.T. was to the following effect. "It appears at first sight that Kauṭilya rivals and even surpasses Machiavelli in his sacrifice of these principles to the end of public welfare. Nevertheless it has to be remembered that Kauṭilya reserves his immoral state-craft in general for extreme cases" etc. Mr. Sarkar confronts me with the evidence of some texts of Machiavelli which he thinks to be "literal paraphrase of Kauṭilyan sentiments." Let me admit the general similiarity of nearly all these texts with the ideas of Kauṭilya. I say "nearly all' advisedly since I notice that one of Mr. Sarkar's quotations is so incomplete that it does not convey the author's meaning in full. The passage occurs in chapter XVII of the "*Prince*" and is thus summarised by Mr. Sarkar. "In chapter XVIII, Machiavelli's morality teaches that there are two methods of combat, the one by law and the other by force. The first is proper to man, the second to beasts." The immediately following lines which Mr. Sarkar has not thought it fit to quote are pitched in a different key. They are as follows. "But as the first method is often inopportune, one must have recourse to the second. It is therefore necessary to know well how to use both the beasts and the men." This little statement, inspite of Mr. Sarkar's assurance to the contrary, may well "shock the prejudices" even of those who do not consider Machiavelli to be the incarnation of evil. However that may be, the effect of the line of argument mentioned above would obviously be to modify my view on this particular item of comparison between Kauṭilya and Machiavelli.*

U. N. GHOSHAL

*The controversy is closed.—Ed.

Pāṭhakam

One of the most common varieties of literary entertainment amongst us is Pāṭhakam or Pāṭhakam-parayuka, i.e. the exposition in a dramatic form of any incident from the Purāṇas. Here the whole exposition is in the local vernacular, Malayalam, and it entirely dispenses with all kinds of technical gestures. Further, there are no stage equipments and no conventions, except the presence of a Brahmin and a lighted lamp—both easily available—to be satisfied. For these reasons this variety of entertainment is very popular amongst all classes of people. For this reason and for the fact that it has created a large body of literature, a note about it may not be uninteresting.

As the term itself suggests, the actor must be quite learned. Besides he must have a witty tongue and shrewd powers of observation. These are the qualifications of an ideal actor. Of course there are quacks, but even these take care to coach themselves up in the particular portion they expound. The dress of the actor is very simple, though quaint. He has a head-dress[1] which has some faint attempt at ornamentation, though in the absence of this the tying of a piece of red cloth round his head will quite suffice. His breast is generally uncovered, but is adorned with sandal paste, necklaces or garlands. Further, he ties around his waist over his ordinary dress a piece of red cloth. There is indeed nothing to mark off the stage from the pit but a lighted lamp which separates the actor from the audience. There is no curtain, nor is there any need for a curtain.

When everything is ready, the lamp is lighted and the actor comes and stands facing it. He then performs 'Maṅgalam' in a voice that is scarcely audible. The verse, which is Sanskrit mixed with Malayāḷam, or Maṇipravāḷam, as it is generally called, runs thus :—

ghorāṇāṃ dānavānāmurutarapṛtanābhārakhinnāṃ dharitrīm
oro-līlāvatārairaḷakinoṭu samāśvāsayantaṃ nitāntam/

1 The possession of a head-dress is looked upon as the hall-mark of proficiency in the actor. This is, especially in olden days, given after a practical proficiency test in the temple at Taliparamba, presided over by a learned coterie of judges and hence is looked upon as a coveted distinction.

kṣīrāmbhodhau bhujaṃgādhipaśayanatale yoganidrāmudārām
nerekaikkoṇḍu lakṣmīkuḷurmula puṇarum padmanābham
bhajethāḥ//

This is then followed by a long prose piece setting forth in a very chaste and elegant language the aims of narration, i.e., the art the actor is professing, which runs as follows :—

puruṣārthacatuṣṭhayathe sādhippānāyikoṇḍakhila-jagadādhārabhūtanāyi, saccidānanda-svarupiyāya bhagvān śrīnārāyaṇaṭe śrimadpādāraviṅdaṃgaḷe hṛḍayakamalakarāṇikāmadhyattiṅgalammāru vaccu niścalabhaktipurassaram upāsiccu kollaṇam; ennatu kūṭātekaṇḍu maṭṭu asāraṅgaḷāyi, anityaṅgaḷāyi, alpasukhapradaṅgalāyirikkunna ororo saṃsārasāgarataraṅgaṅgaḷil sārabhudhyā paribhramiccu vṛthātanne kālakṣepam ceytu duritamārjjikkayenniye maṭṭoruphalam varuvatilla duritamārjjikka ennuvarunnasamayattiṅkal Īśvarasseva ceytu duritanivṛtti varutti gativarutti kollaṇnam. Īśvaranes sevikkayennuvarunna samayattiṅgal sevāmārgaṅgaḷum palaprakārēṇayuṇḍu: devālayaṅgaḷil pradakṣiṇam, pratimārccauam, svarūpadhyānam, kathāśravaṇam, kathāprasaṅgam ennitukaḷil kaliyugattiṅgalanāyāsenamokṣatte sādhipānāyikoṇḍu kathāprasaṃgathoḷam nannallate maṭṭonnum. Kathaparayuka ennu varunna samayattiṅkal vākkinnu mādhuryādi ṣālgunakalate paripūrṇata veṇam: āyatonninṭeyum tanne lavaleśam polum parijñānamilla; enkilumubhayakula pariśudhanmārāyi satkarmaniratanmārāyirikkunna brāhmaṇarekoṇḍu narayapeṭṭa sabhāmadhyatte prāpiccu paṭhiccativaṇṇam prasaṅgikkuka ennuvarunnasamayathiṅkalśvarā! ivanṭe budhi esvarakathayilalle layiccatu! ivannu melil guṇotkarṣam vardhikaṭṭe'—enniṅgine mahābrāhmanaruṭe anugrahamundakumennatre matguru bhutanṭeniyogam.

—gurukaruṇya lakṣmīniyogāt.'

The opening verse and the subsequent prose passage may well be compared to the verse which concludes the Nāndī rites and the Prastāvanā or Sthāpanā, we are familiar with in dramas.

These items over, he begins again in Malayalam and describes the particular situation of the story he is going to expound. The audience being thus well introduced to the context, he recites the text and expounds it with a wealth of illustration making references to current social topics and not rarely to individuals. There is little of acting, though appropriate gestures are often utilised to make the narration more vivid and appealing. He also enjoys, though in a limited measure, freedom of speech, but for fear of losing his patronage he does not use it to the same extent as the Cākyār does. Thus

the main aim of this variety of popular entertainment appears to be the impartation of education leavened with wit and humour.

Such is Pāṭhakam, and it will be seen that this is not far distant from that variety of Kūttu-Sanskrit theatre—called Prabandham Kūttu. For, in both we have dramatic exposition, and both serve more or less the same purposes. The two, however, are different and the differences may briefly be summed up as follows:—(1) In Kūttu there are both acting and narration, but in Pāṭhakam the latter predominates; (2) In Kūttu there is scope for more than one actor, but in Pāṭhakam there can be only one actor; (3) In Kūttu a particular class of Ambalavāsis alone are allowed to act, namely the Cākyārs and the Naṅgyārs, but in Pāṭhakam all caste Hindus, as far down as the last sub-section of Ambalavāsis, can act; (4) In Kūttu significant gestures of a technical character find a prominent place, but in Pāṭhakam gestures exist not as a means of, but as an aid to, communication; (5) For Kūttu a stage, or a semblance of a stage, music and some sort of costume are necessary, but Pāṭhakam completely dispenses with these; and (6) It is a convention that Kūttu can be performed only in a Devasadas, i.e. in a temple, but Pāṭhakam may be conducted anywhere, the only condition being that there must be a Brahmin in the audience.

A careful scrutiny of the difference will show that in Pāṭhakam we have Prabandham Kūttu in miniature. The prominence given to the vernacular and the freedom given to the performance, the place of and the person acting are evidently innovations introduced in the direction of simplification with a view to make it more and more popular and well was it for our land that such a type of recreation came into existence. For, as a result of this the sparks of Sanskrit learning came to light up even the masses.

From another point of view also, we feel grateful to the originators of Prabandham Kūttu and Pāṭhakam. For, these have led to the creation of a large body of Campū Literature in Sanskrit, locally known as Prabandhams.[1] In number they are over thirty and in volume they may fill about 300 pages of royal size, while in merit they easily occupy a high place in literature. Here is a definite

1 A detailed notice of these works is under preparation by the present writer.

measure of Kerala contribution to Sanskrit literature, but, alas, it is yet unknown and unjudged.

These two kinds of popular entertainments have borne fruit in quite another direction also. The need for an expository commentary to help the Cākyārs and Pāṭhakakarans worked as a powerful driving force to create a school of literary criticism in the land; it can be said without any exaggeration that in this field the Malayāḷis—chiefly Nambudiris—top the list of commentators. One commentary alone need be mentioned to substantiate this, namely the Vidyullata on the *Meghasandeśa*.

Thus it will be seen that the continued popularity of these two varieties of entertainments, Prabandham Kūttu and Pāṭhakam, have not merely supplied a source of noble recreation to all alike, both the literate and the illiterate, but also enriched the Sanskrit literature both by original contributions and by valuable commentaries.

K. R. PISHAROTI

Two New Publications about Buddhism

I should like to draw the attention of Indian scholars to two recent publications : Louis de la Vallée Poussin's La morale Bouddhique (Paris 1927) and Th. Stcherbatsky's. Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa (Leningrad 1927). No student of Buddhism can leave these two books unread.

Professor Poussin calls his book Buddhist morals, but it is a systematic treatise on the Buddhist religion. And it differs from other books of a similar kind in being a condensed epitome of what Vasubandhu and his school actually teach. In other words, it contains the system of ancient Buddhists themselves, and not a modern European discussion and evaluation.

Professor Stcherbatsky has also throughout based his study on the systematic treatises of learned Buddhist theologians, and added a careful translation of Nāgārjuna's Treatise of Relativity and Candrakīrti's commentary. The famous Russian scholar is a learned savant, and, besides, he possesses the almost intuitive faculty of grasping the most intricate details and systems, which is sometimes found with the best Śāstrins.

STEN KONOW

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xxii, (1926), no. 1.

C. W. GURNER.—*Some Textual Notes on Aśvaghoṣa's 'Buddhacarita.'* A few emendations of the text of the *Buddhacarita* have been suggested here.

UMESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARJEE.—*The Upaniṣad Texts and their Position in Śruti Literature.* The author points out in this article that the earlier Upaniṣads, which had no independent existence, originated, as parts of the Brāhmaṇical literature, in the same way in which the *Brāhmaṇas* had developed, and opposes the view of those who suggest that the philosophy of the Upaniṣads sprang outside the circle of Brāhmaṇical influences i.e. among the Kṣatriyas.

Journal of the Department of Letters, vol. xv.

NARENDRA NATH LAW.—*The Spiritual Culture of the Hindus and the Interpretation of their Civilization.* The writer of the article is of opinion that for the right interpretation of the civilization of the Hindus, it is essential that the value of its spiritual side should be fully realized, as the spiritual culture of the Hindus was indissolubly connected with their civilization, and influenced every phase of their life.

CARLO FORMICHI.—*The Upaniṣads as the Land-mark in the History of Indian Thought.* The paper has been divided into three parts dealing with (i) Upaniṣadic Period, (ii) Ātman in the Upaniṣads and (iii) the Doctrine of Karman.

SURES CHANDRA DUTT.—*The Dialectic of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja in Relation to the Western Types of Dialectic.*

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.—*On the Cult of the Sun-god in Mediæval East Bengal.*

KSHETRESA CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA.—*The Identification of the Rg-vedic River Sarasvatī and some connected Problems.* The paper in the main tries to prove that in the earlier portions of the Ṛg-veda, Sarasvatī stands for the Indus, and in the tenth maṇḍala, it denotes the Sarsuti in Kurukṣetra.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTĀCHĀRYYA.—*Sandhyakṣaratattva.* This is a philological discussion in Bengali on the *sandhyakṣaraṣ* (combination-syllables) or dipthongs of the Sanskrit alphabet.

Journal of Indian History, April, 1927

S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYANGAR.—*The Gurjara Empire in North India.*

B. BHATTACHARYYA.—*Vindhyavāsin.* The writer is inclined to identify Vindhyavāsin, a reputed Sāṅkhya teacher mentioned in several Sanskrit philosophical works, with Vārṣagaṇya, who has also been named in the *Bhāmatī.* He assigns him a date (A. D. 250-310) earlier than Īśvarkṛṣṇa.

R. SATHYANATHA AIYAR.—*The Climacteric of Tālikoṭa.* This is an estimate of the effects of the battle of Tālikoṭa on the empire of Vijayanagar.

D. B. DISKALKAR.—*Chronology of the Paramara Rulers of India.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1927

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.—*The Uuknown Co-founders of Buddhism.* The purport of the article is that Hīnayāna Buddhism is not a homogeneous whole borrowed or derived from a still more ancient system or planned by Gotama alone, but a heterogenous aggregate—a complex of teaching to which contributions were made by the distinguished early converts like Kondañña, Vappa, Sāriputta. There were also men of the world who had a hand in the shaping of the religion.

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*The Text of the Buddha-carita, Cantos I-VIII.* Mr. Johnston has utilised a fresh manuscript of the Buddha-carita, Dr. Weller's edition of the Tibetan text with German translation, etc., and has suggested some improvements in the readings of the Sanskrit text.

R. L. TURNER.—*The Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan.* Prof. Turner shows how some of the terminational elements of Indo-Aryan languages have undergone changes. This is due to the fact that the terminational elements are not properly accented and the muscular effort in uttering them is not intense. As other means of expressing grammatical relationship came into being, the terminations were still more lightly stressed ; consequently phonetic changes in the Indo-Aryan languages were rapid.

N. D. MIRONOW.—*Buddhist Miscellanea.*

(1) The writer shows that the name of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara should be *Avalokita-svara* as the latter corresponds to the Chinese rendering *Kuar-Yeir.* This is corroborated by an old Central Asian ms. which gives the name as *Avalokita-svara.* The writer suggests that the form Avalokiteśvara has come through the blending of the two names *Avalokitasvara* and *Lokeśvara.*

(2) *Central Asian Recensions of the Sadaharma-Puṇḍarīka.* In this paper, a comparative study of various recensions has been made leading to the conclusion that there were at least *two* Central Asian recensions of the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarkaā.*

(3) *Future and Conditional in Buddhist Sanskrit.* The purpose of this note is to show "certain peculiarities in the use of the two above-named verbal forms in some Buddhist Sanskrit works."

F. W. THOMAS and G. L. M. CLANSON. *A Second Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Character.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Socicty, July, 1927

S. K. DE.—*On the Date of the Subhāṣitāvali.* It has been pointed out here that a reference to Vallabhadeva and his *Subhāṣitāvali* in Sarvānanda's *Tīkāsarvasva,* which was composed, according to its author himself in 1160 A.D., supplies a lower limit to the date of the anthology and does not justify a later date like the 15th century assigned to it by Peterson.

H. R. DIVEKAR.—*The Dual Authorship of the Kāvyaprakāśa.* The author of this article arrives at the definite conclusion that the *Kārikās* of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* as far as the figure of speech *Parikara,* i.e., up to the first half of the 118th verse of the last chapter were composed by Mammaṭa, and the rest of the Kārikās and the whole of the *vṛtti* were written by Alaka.

Obituary Notice

The Late Dr. E. Hultzsch (1857-1927)

Dr. Eugen Hultzsch was born at Dresden in March 1857; he studied Classical and Oriental Philology, especially Sanskrit, at Bonn and at Leipzig; he became a *Privatdocent* for Oriental Studies at the University of Vienna in 1882. Dr. Bühler, who after his retirement from India made the Austrian capital a centre of Oriental Studies, soon after he was appointed to its University Chair of Sanskrit and Indology, and who founded the Oriental Institute of Vienna and besides started, as an auxiliary to it, the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, introduced Hultzsch to the study of Indian Epigraphy. In the course of 1884-5, with the magic charm of Indology strong upon him, Hultzsch travelled for six months in Northern India and Kashmir during which he collected valuable manuscripts and inscriptions. He was appointed in 1886 Superintendent of Epigraphy for the Madras Presidency. The 1st volume of *South Indian Inscriptions, Tamil and Sanskrit*, which was published by the Government of Madras in 1890 was chiefly the result of his special labours in 1886-87, supplemented with the assistance of the talented Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. A second volume followed, dealing with the numerous and valuable inscriptions engraved in the great Temple of Tanjore (1891-95), the first 3 parts of which were done by Dr. Hultzsch himself and the following by Mr. Venkayya who later rose to be the Government Epigraphist for India. Scrupulous accuracy in the minute details of the transcripts and a sound comparative study of the records themselves which would extract from them all the historical facts marked all his editing work; while in the editing of the Tamil inscriptions he deviated to some extent from the methods followed by Drs. Bühler and Fleet in their publication of Sanskrit inscriptions.

Dr. Hultzsch retired from the post of Epigraphist in 1903 and remained till his death Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Halle; he was for long Secretary to the *Deutsche Morgenlindische Gesellschaft*. He published three *Reports on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in South India* in the years 1895-1905, the lines of which were largely followed by the later *Reports* on the search for Tamil, Sanskrit and Telugu manuscripts in the Southern Presidency, undertaken by the Government Oriental Mss. Library. The *magnum opus* of Dr. Hultzsch

was his monumental edition of the Inscriptions of Aśoka, "likely to be the most authoritative edition of the Edicts yet published." It contains an exhaustive Introduction which describes fully each one of the Emperor's records and has also chapters on the Emperor, his religion and empire, and on the grammars of the various groups of inscriptions. The texts and translations are accompanied by excellent collotype reproductions of negatives made from estampages of the Edicts. Many of Dr. Hultzsch's treatises on Indian Epigraphy were published in *The Indian Antiquary*. He was closely associated with the editing of the *Epigraphia Indica* from its inception down to 1907. He was a profound scholar of Sanskrit and Prakrit, edited several works like *Baudhāyana's Law-Book* (1884); *Prolegomena su Vasantarāja Śakuna* (1879); Madana's *Pārijatamañjarī* (1906); Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* (translated into German and published last year) and others. His seventieth birthday was to have been celebrated early this year; but death snatched him off a few weeks too soon and thus prevented the consummation of the desire of his friends and admirers to present him with a complimentary volume of essays.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

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On the Cāṇakya-sūtrāṇi

In the second edition of the Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra R. Shamasastry has published, as an appendix, the *Cāṇakya-sūtrāṇi*, and thereby countenanced, in a way, a presumption that they are somehow connected with the Kauṭalīya or its author. He has, however, shown that they are not to be taken for the *sūtra* alluded to in the anonymous[1] verse स्वयमेव विष्णुगुप्तश्चकार सूत्रं च भाष्यं च। He is, no doubt, quite right. But then it may be asked, what are those Cāṇakya-sūtrāṇi ?

It is quite evident that in the title of this work *sūtra* is not to be taken in the usual denotation of the word. For the meaning of most of these *sūtras* is quite plain, and to write a *bhāṣya* on them would be useless, nay absurd. They have, as a rule, very much the character of adages, and may be quoted in discussions for succinctly stating one's opinion and giving, at the same time, more weight to it. In practice

1 This verse does not make part of the Kauṭalīya, but is appended to it in the mss. It is certainly not by Kauṭalya. For (1) it is an *āryā*, a metre which does not occur in the Arthaśāstra, (2) no ancient writer would use the perfect चकार in speaking of his own work (परोक्षे लिट्), and (3) the author of the Arthaśāstra calls himself by no other name but Kauṭalya. The verse in question is most probably taken from some old commentary on the Kauṭalīya.

they are more useful than gnomic verses with which pedantic savants like to adorn their conversation, because like adages they directly make for the point at issue, while gnomic verses generally contain more statements than are called for by the occasion.

The subject of the Cāṇakya-sūtrāṇi is policy, both political wisdom, *rājanīti* or *daṇḍanīti*, and prudence in the conduct of life, general *nīti*. The former is treated of in the opening part of the work (some hundred *sūtras*) and sporadically in the remaining part also when an occasion offers; but in the last 400 *sūtras* or more the main subject is rules of life. In this part, *i.e.*, in about four-fifths of the whole work, there is no plan or logical arrangement, but small groups of *sūtras*, linked together by a common idea or a catchword, succeed each other without any apparent order. The opening part of the work has less the character of a miscellany, since the author there treats of subjects contained in the Kauṭalīya, chiefly in the first and eighth *adhikaraṇas* of it. In this part occur several borrowings from the Arthaśāstra, two are identical,—no. 32: व्ययाणामेकवाक्ये संप्रत्ययः cf. p. 21; no. 91: अर्थमूलौ धर्मकामौ cf. p. 328; others are more or less differently worded, *e.g.*, no. 22: मन्त्रमूलाः सर्वारम्भाः cf. p. 26 : मन्त्रपूर्वाः स° and p. 322: अमात्यमूलाः स°. Of the same kind are nos. 17, 21, 52, 53, cf. pp. 55, 58, which need not be transcribed here, as the editor has already quoted, in the footnotes of his text, the parallel passages from the Arthaśāstra. Sometimes a *sūtra* seems to give in a condensed form the meaning of a longer passage, *e.g.*, no. 64: अग्निवद्राजानमाश्रयेत् as compared with the *ardha-śloka* p. 251: अग्निवत् हि संप्रोक्ता दक्षा राजोपजीविनाम्.

In most cases the changes introduced in the original sentences of the Kauṭalīyam by the author of the *sūtrāṇi* are quite arbitrary and serve no reasonable purpose. This would have been otherwise, if the same man had composed both works. And besides, in that case, he would have made a more systematic abstract from his former work, and not have selected a few subjects only; nor would he have allotted, as he actually

did, only a fourth part of the *sūtras* to *rājanīti*, and the majority of them to general *nīti*, which he did not treat of in the Arthaśāstra. I, therefore, have no doubt that the Cāṇakya-sūtrāṇi are by a later author who drew upon the Kauṭalīyam and other sources besides. Of what kind the latter were will now be discussed.

A close study of the Cāṇakya-sūtrāṇi discovers a curious fact. A considerable number of them are solitary *pādas* of a śloka, quite regular ones, odd as well as even *pādas*, *e.g.*, no. 503: आशया बध्यते लोकः, no. 507: आशा खल्वां व्यपोहति. There are 28 cases of an odd *pāda* of the *Pathyā* (2nd foot ⏑ – –⏓), *viz.*, nos. 34, 48, 89, 144, 222, 232, 234, 249, 251, 276, 297, 307, 313, 366, 367, 419, 451, 459, 460, 466, 473, 503, 533, 534, 537, 539, 561, 569.—and 10 *pādas* of a *Vipulā*, *viz.*, 2nd *Vipulā* (2nd foot – ⏑ ⏑ ⏓): 149; 4th Vipulā (2nd foot – ⏑ – ⏓): 91, 138, 237, 385, 411, 426, 493; ष- Vipulā (2nd foot ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓) 279.[1]

There are 11 cases of an *even pāda*, *viz*: 67, 171, 327, 410, 416, 417, 418, 421, 506, 507, 532. Besides no. 209 is an *ardhaśloka*, no. 256 becomes one by transposition of the *pādas*, and no. 212 contains two even pādas.[2]

Now it can be easily proved that not by mere chance so

1 With regard to these Vipulā-pādas it may be remarked that with the exception of two all are 4th Vipulās, which in Sanskrit Literature are by far less frequent than any of the three preceding ones and are almost entirely avoided by most classical poets. In only three cases, *viz.*, 411, 493, 542 the first foot is ⏓ –⏑ –, the *usual* form in epical and classical poems; while in the remaining cases the first foot has the form ⏓ ⏑ – –, which elsewhere occurs only quite sporadically. The single instance of the second Vipulā (no. 149) has also an unusual form, the first foot being ⏑ ⏑ – –, which is occasionally met with in the Epics only. The ष- Vipulā is restricted almost to the Mahābhārata.

2 To the above list may be added a number of *sūtras* of which the beginning is a *pāda* and the rest is in prose, *viz.*, nos. 54, 97, 174, 241, 343, 403, 518; the reverse is the case in no. 436.

many *sūtras* could have assumed the form of regular *pādas* of a śloka. For in a clause of eight *akṣaras* there are 256 possible combinations of short and long syllables ; only 24 of these combinations give regular odd *pādas* of a Pathyā, and 16 even *pādas*, altogether 40 regular *pādas*. Therefore, if mere chance had decided the form of the *sūtras* of eight *akṣaras*, the proportion of the metrical ones (not taking into account Vipulās for the reasons suggested in the last foot-note but one) *viz.* 40, to the rest, *viz.* 216, would be 5·4 : 1. But in the Cāṇakya-sūtras there are 28 + 11 = 39 regular *pādas*, and 20 *sūtras* of eight syllables which cannot be considered as *pādas* of a śloka, *viz.*, nos. 7, 22, 90, 107, 134, 175, 258, 285, 295, 310, 315, 332, 353, 372, 442, 449, 464, 490, 500, 515, 542. Here the proportion of unmetrical to metrical *sūtras* is 20: 39, or nearly 1:2, *i.e.*, nearly ten times smaller than we might expect it to be if chance alone had been responsible for the form of those *sūtras*. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that most of the metrical *sūtras* were intended as pādas of a śloka actually. And this I can prove to be true in the following cases. No. 537: आपदर्थं धनं रक्षेत् first *pāda* of a well-known verse in Manu, 7, 213, occurring also in the Mahābhārata, Cāṇakya-śataka ; and of another one in Vṛddha-Cāṇakya ; no. 307: विषादप्यमृतं ग्राह्यं first *pāda* of the verse in Manu 2, 239, and one in Cāṇakya-śataka ; no. 473: गतानुगतिको लोकः, beginning of a well-known verse in the Hitopadeśa, and two more quoted in the Subhāṣitāvali; no. 34: षट्कर्णं भिद्यते मन्त्रः,[1] first *pāda* of four different verses quoted in Boehtlingk's Indische Sprüche ; no. 419: सत्येन धार्यते लोकः, beginning of a verse in Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, with the variant पृथ्वी for लोकः. No. 249: परोऽपि न हितो बन्धुः may be compared with the following verse in the Hitopadeśa: परोऽपि हितवान् बन्धुर्बन्धुरप्यहितः परः , no. 222: अजीर्णे भोजनं दुःखं with the verse in Cāṇakya-śataka: दुरधीता विषं विद्या अजीर्णे भोजनं विषम्, no. 421 नानृतात्पातकं परं with the whole line in Mahābhārata 12,6000: नास्ति सत्यात् परो धर्मो नानृतात् पातकं परम् ; no. 327 : स्वभावो दुरतिक्रमः with the end of a line in Cāṇakya-

1 Corrected from षटकर्णाद्।

śataka coming after संसर्गैः किं करिष्यते. No. 539: श्वःकार्यमद्य कुर्वीत together with the next one which is not a *pāda*, चापराह्णिकं पूर्वाह्णे कर्तव्यं represents an *ardhaśloka* which occurs four times in the Mahābhārata and elsewhere[1], *viz.*: श्वःकार्यमद्य कुर्वीत पूर्वाह्णे चापराह्णिक The two *sūtras* nos. 374 and 375: रिक्तहस्तो न राजानमभिगच्छेत्, गुरुं च दैवं च are both mere prose, yet they will be readily recognised as a paraphrase of a well-known verse which occurs in Vṛddha-Cāṇakya and is quoted in Subhāṣitāvali, Vikramacarita, etc.

रिक्तपाणिर्न पश्येत राजानं दैवतं (or भिषजं) गुरुं ।
दैवज्ञं पुत्रकं मित्रं फलेन फलमादिशेत् ॥

A variant of the 3rd pāda is नैमित्तिकं विशेषेण.[2]

In the above nine cases I have been able to assign a *pāda* given as a *sūtra* to some known śloka as its seeming origin. By a more searching investigation the number of these identifications might no doubt be considerably augmented. But I do not believe that all *pādas* occurring in the Sūtrāṇi or the majority of them have actually been taken by the author from the original ślokas of which they once formed part; many of them, I suppose, had already acquired a sort of independent existence as proverbial sayings without any reference to their origin. For in some of the above cases, *viz.*, nos. 34, 307, 473, 539, I have pointed out more than one verse in which the same *pāda* occurs; their authors most probably regarded the *pāda* in question as a proverb, and used it in composing a *subhāṣita* of their own, a *samasyā* as it were. As a further proof of my theory I adduce an adage with which all readers of Sanskrit are familiar: यथा राजा तथा प्रजाः; it is a regular *pāda*, whose source is not known if indeed it was once taken from an original śloka. An Adage states a general truth, and therefore when used in conversation adds weight to one's opinion. In many languages, *e.g.*, in

1 Indische Sprüche, 6595 and notes.

2 A somewhat different case is no. 490: निशान्ते कार्यं चिन्तयेत् (not a regular *pāda*); it may have been suggested by Yājñavalkya, 1, 115: ब्राह्मे मुहूर्ते उत्थाय चिन्तयेदात्मनो हितम्.

German, a great number of adages are rhythmical or even rhymed; for a short verse is more impressive than prose. If for the same purpose in Sanskrit a rhythmical form was to be chosen, the *pāda* of a śloka whose rhythm was familiar to all, would appear to be the most appropriate form of an adage; for an adage should be short and announce *one* general truth, the point at issue for which it is used. A complete stanza is too large and pretentious; it generally illustrates more than one point; well suited for written works like the Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa, etc., it is out of place in oral proceedings because it unduly interrupts the course of discussion.

A great number of such adages in the form of a *pāda* of a śloka was, I assume, at some time the common property of the educated classes of India. From this common stock the author of the Cāṇakya-sūtrāṇi derived some of the *sūtras* in question; on their model he may have coined some of his own composition; perhaps those which present an unusual form of a Vipulā may be thus ascribed to him. In this way the occurrence of so many *pādas* of a śloka in his work can be satisfactorily explained.

It should, however, be noted that in the Sūtrāṇi there occur no *pādas* of the Triṣṭubh or Jagatī; perhaps they were regarded as too far removed from prose to be used in conversation or discussions. There seems to have been no objection to simple iambic or trochaic metres. For nos. 56 and 462 are iambic tetrameters, 526 an iambic pentameter, and 233 a catalectic trochaic tetrameter. The metre of no. 462 is called *Pramāṇī*, that of no, 233 *Samāṇikā*, and of 464 *Siṃhalīlā*. These metres are very rare in refined poetry, but they are not uncommon in popular literature, which may have been a fertile source of adages.

Only a small part of the *sūtras* is metrical, the majority are prose sentences; some of them may have been popular sayings in Sanskrit or translated into it from the vernacular language, but most of them were probably penned by the

author himself. Which works furnished him with the materials for them is doubtful; only this much is certain that his guide for the *rājanīti* was the Kauṭalīyam. His treatment of common *nīti*, being all but systematical, seems to have been a new departure. The subjects for this part of his work were probably furnished him by the vast gnomic literature both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, besides the Dharma-śāstra and similar works.

The Cāṇakya-sūtrāṇi and Cāṇakya-śataka (Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, etc.) are, as indicated by the titles, imputed to Cāṇakya. It is, however, almost certain that these two works have not been written by the same man. For in that case we should expect to find a great many borrowings from one work in the other, considering the similarity of their subjects. Actually, however, only four Cāṇakya-sūtras occur as *pādas* of verses in the other collection.

In conclusion I may add a few words about Cāṇakya. The author of the Arthaśāstra calls himself in that work by no other name but Kauṭalya (or Kauṭilya); and in the Purāṇas the name of Candragupta's minister who dethroned the last Nanda, is given as Kauṭilya. Viṣṇugupta as another name of Kauṭalya occurs first in the anonymous *gāthā* added in the mss. after the end of the Kauṭalīyam (see above), and then in the Kāmandakīya, Mudrārākṣasa, Daśakumāracarita, and in other classical Sanskrit works. The name Cāṇakya to the exclusion of other names, is the one chiefly used, as far as I know, in Prakrit works, the Bṛhat-kathā (as preserved in the Sanskrit versions of the original by Kṣemendra and Somadeva) and in Jaina legends; it was afterwards adopted by Sansktit writers, but not yet by Kāmandaki. The lexicographers give these three names, together with some more, as synonyms; but their authority in this regard must be set aside as entirely unfounded and self-contradictory.[1]

1 See the Preface of Shamasastry's 2nd edition of the Arthaśāstra p. x.

The puzzle is that the name Viṣṇugupta in Sanskrit literature, and Cāṇakya originally in Prakrit literature should appear not before many centuries after Kauṭalya's time. These names may have belonged to different persons living at an interval of some centuries, and the traditions about the earlier man may have been transferred to the later one, as frequently happens in political as well as literary history, *e.g.*, Vararuci and Bhaṭṛhari have been confounded with one another. It may be imagined that there was once a popular Prakrit poet on *nīti* called Cāṇakya, whom the people afterwards confounded and identified with Kauṭalya, the famous author of the science of politics. But in the present state of our knowledge it is useless to put forward any definite theory; the problem will remain unsolved as long as some more explicit information does not become available.

HERMANN JACOBI

Tattvasvabhāvadṛṣṭigīṭikā dohā

An Old Bengali Dohā and its Tibetan Version

In the section Tshi of the Rgyud Hgrel (Tantravṛtti) portion of the Tibetan Bstan Hgyur (Tanjur) there occur several works which are mainly collections of *dohās* 'couplets' (see Cordier's *Catalogue du Fonds tibétain de la Bibliothéque Nationale*, Deuxième Partie, pp. 230). From their titles they seem to be works on Sahajayāna Buddhism, very few works of which important developement of Mahāyāna Buddhism during its later days have as yet been found in their original form.

Fortunately for us some of these Sahajayāna treatises though mainly lost in their original form are preserved in the Tanjur in Tibetan translations. And the names of some

of the authors of such works and fragments of the original works have been made familiar to us by the researches of Mm. Haraprasad Shastri, who has done much to unravel the history of these later phases of Mahāyāna.

Mm. Haraprasad Shastri (=HPS) has edited and published a collection of some of these treatises, at best only a fragment of the whole, under the title, *Hājār bacharer purāṇa Baṅgālā bhāṣāya Bauddha Gān o Dohā*, which besides furnishing us with some earliest specimen of Bengali language gives us a clue to the Buddhist religious concepts of those days.

In course of our examining the above-mentioned Tibetan works we came across one named *Tattvasvabhāvadṛṣṭigītikā dohā* by the celebrated Siddhācārya Lūïpāda, the reputed founder of this school of Mahāyāna. He was known as the Ādi-siddhācārya and his date is approximately the 10th century A.D. (for discussions about Lūïpāda and his date see HPS's introduction to *Bauddha Gān o Dohā*, p. 21 and Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Introduction, p. 119).

On examination this work was found to be the Tibetan translation of the 29th dohā of the *Caryācaryaviniścaya* of the *Bauddha Gān o Dohā*. The *Caryācaryaviniścaya* is a collection of *caryāpadas* which were meant to be sung or recited. A *caryāpada* consists of several *dohās*.

In his introduction to the above work while giving a short sketch of the life of Lūïpāda HPS mentions the name of the above work as found in the Tanjur but deplores the fact of its being lost in the original. Now this identification will be welcome from the fact that we shall be able to ascertain with the help of these Tibetan translations—they being generally very faithful and sometimes explanatory—the meaning of certain passages which have not as yet been clearly interpreted. No apology is therefore needed to give below a comparative study of the old Bengali *dohā* and its Tibetan translation occurring in the section Tshi of the Rgyud Hgrel

portion of the Tanjur (see Cordier, *op. cit.*, p. 230, no. 2). It should be mentioned in this connection that Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji has noticed this agreement between the above dohā and the Tibetan work in the Tanjur previously mentioned (*op. cit.*, p. 113, footnote).

The xylograph we have used belongs to our Visvabharati Library. We have also compared our readings with those in the xylographs of the Asiatic Society and the Calcutta University. There is no difference worth mentioning among the three xylographs, all being of the Narthang edition.

We give below the original Bengali text as given by HPS; but we have not given its translation as it would not differ very much, as regards the main body of the *caryāpada*, from the translation of the Tibetan text which follows it.

भाव न होइ अभाव ण जाइ
अइस संवोहिँ को पतिआइ ॥ ध्रु ॥
लूइ भणइ वट दुलक्ख विणाणा
तिअ धाए विलसइ उह लागे णा ॥ ध्रु ॥
जाहेर वानचिह्न रूव ण जाणी
सो कइसे आगम वेएँ वखाणी ॥ ध्रु ॥
काहेरे किंघणि मइ दिवि पिरिच्छा
उदक चान्द जिम साच न मिच्छा ॥ ध्रु ॥
लुइ भणइ भाइव कीष्
जा लइ अच्छम ताहेर उह ण दिस् ॥ ध्रु ॥[1]

The following is the Tibetan text :

Rgya gar skad du |
Ta ttva sva bhā ba dri ṣti gī ti kā do hā nā ma ||
Bod skad du |
Raṅ bz´in gyi do hā mdzod kyi gluḥi lta ba z´es bya ba ||
dpal He ru ka la phyag ḥtshal lo ||
gñis med bdud rtsi kun ḥdus grub thob kyi |
dri med dgoṅs pa lta spyod la sogs ni |

1 HPS reads for this line जालइ अच्छमता हेर उह ण दिस ; but we have accepted the above reading which was suggested by Prof. Sahidullah (see *Bangīya Sāhitya Parisat Patrikā*, 1327 B. S., p. 44).

ñams len thobs de kun la phan paḥi phyir |
bde gśegs rnams la phyag ḥtshal bśad par bya |

1

dṅos poʾyaṅ ni ma yin zʹiṅ |
dṅos med pa[1] ni ma skyes paḥo[2] |
ḥdi lta bu yi raṅ bzʹin ni |
su zʹig gis ni rtogs bar ḥgyur |
Lū yi pa ni smra bar byed |
ḥdi lta bu ni ṅo mtshar che |
khams gsum gnas su loṅgs spyod kyaṅ |
de ñid gnas ni rtogs pa med ||

2

de yi kha dog rigs[3] daṅ ni |
dbyibs kyaṅ bdag gis rtogs pa med |
de lta bu yi raṅ bzʹin ni |
dṅos por ma grub ji ltar bstan |
Lū yi pa˚ ||

3

bdag gis gzʹan la ji ltar ḥdri[1] |
chu gtiṅ zla ba gzugs brñan ni |
don dam sgyu mar rtogs pa med |
Lū yi pa˚ ||

4

Lū yi pa ni smra bar byed |
bdag gis gzʹan la ji ltar ḥdri[4] |
de yi raṅ bzʹin rtogs pa med |

Raṅ bzʹin gyi do hā mdzod kyi gluḥi lta ba zʹes bya ba |
slob dpon Lū yi pas mzod pa rdzogs so ||

The following is a translation of the above :

In the language of Bhārata *Tattvasvabhāvadṛṣṭigītikā dohā* and in that of Bhot (Tibet) Raṅ bzʹin gyi dohā mzod kyi gluḥi lta ba.

Salutation to Śrī Heruka.

After saluting the Tathāgatas I shall speak, for the benefit of all, of the means of exploring the pure thought, vision and conduct etc.

---

1 X (X=Xylograph) *la*. 2 X *ḥi*.

3 In accordance with the original text in Bengali the actual reading must be *rtags* meaning *cihna* 'mark' as in the text.

4 X *dri*, but it is not correct as the original is *piricchā*, the Tib. equivalent of which is *ḥdri*.

which lead to complete consummation in the form of the nectar of Advaya (one free from all sorts of duality).

1

There is neither becoming (bhāva), nor non-becoming (abhāva). Who can believe in such nature ?

Lūï says though this most wonderful things sports in the three worlds (dhātus), its real existence cannot be ascertained.

2

It has neither colour nor mark nor form. Such nature being in fact not established, how can it be explained ? Lūï says etc.

3

How shall I then put questions to others ? Like the reflection of the moon in water (its) truth or falsehood cannot be ascertained. Lūï says etc.

4

Lūï says how shall I then put questions to others ? Its nature is not known.

Svabhāvadohākośagītikādṛṣṭi by Ācārya Lūï is finished.

In reading the Bengali original the first thing that strikes the reader is the complete absence of the title, and the benedictory and introductory lines which in the Tibetan preced the *dohās* proper. The title *Tattvasvabhāvadṛṣṭigītikā* as found in the Tibetan shows clearly the inner idea running through these *dohās* and its absence in the Bengali original leaves the reader to wonder what may be the meaning of these negative assertions which seem to be so mystical.

It should be noted here that in translating the name of the work the Tibetan translator omitted translating the word *tattva* and misplaced *dṛṣṭi*, this error being possibly due to not clearly understanding the significance of the word.

The benedictory line is addressed to Heruka, one of the chief gods of the later Buddhist Vajrayāna pantheon.

In the introductory lines in Tibetan, the author states the object of the work viz. to speak of the means of attaining perfect knowledge and conduct which lead to nectar like consummation. Then follows the translation of the *dohās* proper.

In the second line of the original there occurs a word *saṃbohe* (Skt. *sambodha* or *sambodhana*) for which we have *svabhāva* (raṅ bzin) in the Tibetan tranalation. While speaking of the nature (svabhāva) of Reality (*tattva*), the word *saṃbohe* seems to be not perfectly clear and apparently the Tibetan translation gives a better reading and is more explicit.

The third and fourth lines of the original occur as the refrain as is apparent from Tibetan. The refrain asserts that its (Reality's) real existence cannot be ascertained. So apparently HPS's manuscript is defective in not clearly stating which couplet is the real refrain. According to Tibetan the refrain is :

लूइ भणइ वट दुलक्ख विणाणा

तिअ धाए विलसइ उह लागे णा ॥

HPS has translated *vaṭa* by fool, the Sanskrit commentary appended to the original has *bālayogin* for it ; in the Tibetan translation this word does not occur.

In the same line of the refrain their occur two other words *dulakhha viṇāṇā* (Skt. durlakṣya vijñana) ; for these the corresponding Tibetan has *ṅo mtshar che*, which can be translated as "the most wonderful thing", meaning thereby Reality (tattva), the nature of which is being discussed.

For *vilasaï* in the second line of the refrain, Tibetan has *loṅs spyod* which has been translated by S. C. Das in his dictionary by *sambhoga*, and here used apparently as a verb. After this the Tibetan gives two extra words *de ñid gnas ni* which can be translated by *tattvasthiti*, i.e., the existence of Reality. These two additional words in the Tibetan do certainly make the meaning clearer.

The next couplet, too, is more explanatory in the Tibetan version. For *jāher* in the original the Tibetan reads *de yi* '*tasya*' (*tāher*), and says that without form, colour and mark such nature is in fact non-existent and asks how it has been expressed. In the original there is a fling at the *Āgama* and the *Vedas* and it relates how the *Āgamas* and the

Vedas have discussed what has neither form nor colour nor mark.

The last of the four couplets in the original completes the idea running through the three preceding ones by saying that there is nothing to contemplate, as even that on which I (the author) stand, has no real existence.

None of the Xylographs give any Tibetan version of the above couplet which had apparently been omitted by the Tibetan translator ; in its stead reoccurs the first line of the third couplet : "How shall I put questions to others ?" and then it concludes by saying that the nature (of Reality) is unknowable. That the original with these two last lines is more complete as regards the idea there is no doubt and that the Tibetan translation without them is a little incomplete is apparent ; but Tibetan sums up with the statement that the nature (of Reality) is unknowable, a conclusion quite logically following from what had been said before.

The above comparative study of the *caryāpada* and its Tibetan version is interesting for the fact that it shows how in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries the Tibetans used to translate even works in the local dialects of India. It also shows us the way to newer possibilities of Tibetan-Bengali comparative studies which are sure to help us much to form a clearer idea of the state of religious ideals in those days when the whole of India and particularly the eastern part of it was passing through a great transitional period in matters religious.

ANATH NATH BASU

The Date of Zoroaster

While Professor Johannes Hertel still contends in favour of his hypothesis[1] that Zoroaster lived to inspire the zeal of Dareios, a much more plausible contention has been put forward by Professor Antoine Meillet[2] in defence of the traditional date which may be treated as placing the birth of the prophet in 660 B. C. In adopting this attitude Professor Meillet evades the fundamental objection which, in my opinion, is completely fatal to the theory of Professor Hertel. If Dareios were really the patron and supporter of Zoroaster, common sense suggests that we would find the fact recognised clearly (1) in the inscriptions of the great king himself; (2) in the traditions of Iran; and (3) in the Greek reports on Persian religion. The silence of any one of these sources might be explained away, but their agreement in ignoring the relation of the two men—for Professor Hertel's attempts to find knowledge of Dareios by Zoroaster are wholly implausible—precludes the possibility of accepting their contemporaneity, unless we are prepared to discard all canons of historical evidence. As against Professor Hertel's view of the religion of Dareios may be set Professor Meillet's emphatic declaration that the state of the Greek evidence is such as to show that under the Achaemenid empire Zoroastrianism was neither the official nor even an important religion of Persia proper. The truth seems to lie between these two extreme views; the Greek vagueness on the subject of Zoroaster is frankly difficult to understand if he really were born no earlier than 660 B. C., and, so far as it goes, it rather suggests that Zoroaster flourished at a somewhat earlier date.

Professor Meillet again has a very different theory of the

1 See *I. H. Q.*, 1, 4-19.

2 *Trois Conférences sur les Gāthā de l' Avesta.*

relation of Zoroaster to the empire than that advocated by Professor Hertel, who conceives the prophet as an active factor in inspiring the actions of Dareios. Very justly he lays stress on the clear fact that the Gāthās contain no hint of the existence of a great monarchy, but instead represent the religion of a peasantry, oppressed by rich nobles, of a type similar to those of the *Ṛgveda*, whose sacrifices attest their command of large means won from the labour of the masses. The Gāthās seek, on the one hand, ordered peace in life, on the other, look forward to retribution and reward in the world to come, to redress the grievous inequalities of life on earth. This was the state of society which, in Professor Meillet's view, paved the way for the Achaemenid empire, which deposed the local rulers and placed all the land under royal satraps, relieving the peasantry of the constant feuds of local lords at their expense. But, granting a measure of truth in this conception, it remains clear that there is nothing to help us to establish the temporal relations of Zoroaster and the Achaemenids. The social conditions which are reflected in the Gāthās may well have persisted for centuries until they were redressed in some degree by the emergence of the empire of Kyros and his successors.

Equally inconclusive is the evidence from language adduced by Professor Meillet. The Avestan language in the Gāthās he holds to be a dialect of the north-west of Iran which confirms the tradition that Zoroaster was born at Raghā, Rhagai of the Greek tradition, near Teheran. This view he bases on the article of Paul Tedesco on the Dialektologie der west-iranischen Turfantexte,[1] in which the author seeks to show that it is with the speeches of the north-west alone that the Avestan of the Gāthās shows essential coincidences, while it differs in important regards from the Sogdian dialect and the speech of Khotan. It must, however, be observed that the proof adduced is far from rigorous: the

1 *Le Monde Oriental*, xv, 182-258.

only way of proving continuity in language development is through the possession of texts of authenticated provenance without serious breaks in time. In this case no such possibility of proof exists, and in our present state of knowledge to assert that the north-west origin of the Avestan is proved goes far beyond what is plausible. Moreover the Gāthās themselves and the tradition suggest that the scene of the activity of Zoroaster lay rather in the region of Baktria, where, as Oldenberg[1] held, the opposition of the settled life of the husbandmen and that of the nomads was specially marked. Professor Meillet, indeed, meets this argument by holding that the texts reveal no such contrast, but merely the contest between the poor peasants and their lords, but this is doubtless an exaggerated view. It remains true, of course, that this opposition of conditions is not necessarily an indication of Baktria; similar conditions might doubtless be found elsewhere as on the Helmend. All that is certain is that, owing to the break in our linguistic evidence, we cannot on the strength of certain similarities between the Avestan of the Gāthās and the later West Iranian dialects locate the home of Avestan in the west rather than in the east.

Similarly it is impossible to make anything out conclusively regarding the age of the Ayestan of the Gāthās. Professor Meillet readily recognises that exact dating is precluded by the fact that we have no standard for the time in which languages change, and that a literary language may persist without substantial modification for centuries. But he attempts to show that a century is not too short a time to explain the difference between the Avestan and the Old Persian of the inscriptions of the Achaemenids. Incidentally, it may be noted, this view is wholly opposed to that of Professor Hertel, who sees in the Avestan and in the Persian of the inscriptions contemporary forms of speech.

1 *Aus Indien und Iran*, p. 129. Compare L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Indo-européens*, p. 58.

But Professor Meillet's arguments are by no means conclusive. As he points out, the Persian of the inscriptions is already in an advanced stage of evolution; there is confusion of the dative and genitive case forms, of the instrumental and the ablative; the nominative and accusative plural masculine of the demonstratives have but a single form; the perfect has nearly always been replaced by a periphrastic form. It is very significant that Ahura Mazdā, whose name appears always as two distinct terms, often in reverse order, in the Gāthās, now is regularly reduced to the invariable compound Ahuramazdā. The changed state of the language can be accounted for, on Professor Meillet's theory, by holding that the speech of a conquering people occupying new territories suffers often rapid change, and thus a century is not inadequate to explain the divergence of type from the Avestan of the Gāthās. But as against this contention, must be set the fact that on his theory the language of the inscriptions is the speech of the Persian aristocracy, and there is ample evidence, for instance, in the case of Latin, that ruling aristocracies tend to preserve their speech jealously. Professor Meillet's argument would, in fact, have much greater plausibility if his contention were that the language of the inscriptions represented the speech of the lower orders of a community which had taken over the speech of an invading army of conquerors.

As opposed to the Persian of the inscriptions, the language of the Gāthās is remarkably archaic; in certain respects it is notably more archaic than even the oldest of the hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. Above all it preserves clear traces, as shown by Andreas and Wackernagel,[1] of the existence of the short vowels which in the Vedic language have coalesced in *a*; it has not reduced the short diphthongs to *e* and *o* as has Vedic; it preserves the pronominal forms *ma-* and *thwa-*; the first person in the primary form of the thematic verbs has

1 See *Göt. Nachrichten*, 1911, pp. 7ff.

the form *-ā*; the plural neuter has the verb in the singular. In many points the agreement with Vedic is close and remarkable, suggesting inevitably that the Gāthic language is of considerable antiquity. Against this suggestion Professor Meillet adduces suggestions of the intrusion of modern forms; thus, for instance, the declension of *vīspa* has been assimilated to that of nouns, as in the dative singular *vīspāi* and the genitive plural *vīspanām*[1]; or we have a thematic first person in *-ā* side by side with a non-thematic third person. Such slight details suggest, in his view, that the language was on the point of undergoing substantial change. Unfortunately this argument is very far from satisfactory, when it is considered in the light of Vedic. It is certain that even in the *Ṛgveda* side by side with very old forms we find forms which show signs of those changes which are characteristic of Prākrit, but very few scholars are willing on this score to deny the antiquity of the *Ṛgveda*. Rather it is recognised that the presence of these forms is susceptible of various explanations compatible with the early date assigned to the hymns. In some cases the deviations may be set down as mere corruptions of the text or interpolations during transmission,[2] the soundness of this view being established in certain instances by comparison with the forms preserved in parallel texts which do not show the corruption. Or, again, the changes may be regarded as sporadic forerunners of what perhaps much later became a regular process, or borrowing from another dialect may be admitted. In the case of the *Avesta* the alleged signs of linguistic evolution seem all to belong to natural categories of the working of analogy, and any cogent evidence that they point to a late date seems

1 To be read *vīspānān* (see *Göt. Nachrichten*, 1911, p. 10).

2 Several forms in the Kashmir Ms. of the Khilas of the *Ṛgveda* illustrate these points, which are also to be noted in the careless tradition of the *Atharvaveda* (Whitney's translation, Lanman's notes on x, 9, 23; xix, 8, 4).

wholly lacking. Indeed one of the facts adduced by Professor Meillet tells definitely against such a view. In the *Later Avesta* we find a definite deviation from the rule of the Gāthās by which in consonantal stems genitive and ablative singular have the same form; the characteristic termination *-t* of vowel stems is used in the ablative of consonantal stems also. The Gāthās, on the contrary, show once at least (xxxiii, 4) the use of the genitive form for the ablative of a vowel stem, indicating that the trend of analogy at that period was quite different from that prevailing at the time of the *Later Avesta*. Nor is it open to Professor Meillet to contend that the archaism of the Gāthās can be explained by their being composed in a hieratic and, therefore, unchanging form of speech, for his point is that the Gāthās are essentially intended to covert the laity, and, therefore, could not be couched in a form of speech unintelligible or remote from life; just as the Buddha had to instruct his hearers in a vernacular, so Zoroaster addressed his audiences in a living tongue.

It is, therefore, difficult to resist the impression that it is very curious, if Zoroaster lived but a short period before Kyros ascended the throne in 558 B.C., that the Gāthās should be written in a language so much more archaic than the Persian of the inscriptions. It is impossible to arrive at any certain results from the facts of language, because they permit of various possibilities of explanation, but they accord well with the view that Zoroaster was already a figure of the somewhat distant past when the Achaemenids began to reign. No doubt it would be more satisfactory if we could share Professor Meillet's view that the linguistic facts accord with the traditional date, and that it is in itself entirely probable and is not contradicted by any other facts, for to have a fixed date for the work of the prophet would be a result of the greatest value. But the tradition cannot be treated as even prima facie valid, for it forms part of a wholly unhistorical conception of Iranian history, and we have no right to fasten on one point and claim it to be valid, while admitting

the worthlessness of the rest. If we are to adhere to the measure of assurance at which we can justly arrive, we must content ourselves with the view that Zoroaster was a predecessor of the Achaemenids, from whom he was probably separated by a considerable interval of time ; to seek to fix a more definite date is idle ; even if we feel little doubt that he lived not later than 700 B.C., we must admit that means for more definitely locating him in time are wholly wanting.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

Dhyāna in Early Buddhism

Learned men have told us in a certain Encyclopædia that there is no mysticism in Buddhism.[1] This is true to some extent because they, with fellow-writers in that work, have certain preconceptions about what we have come to call mysticism. And perhaps it is also because a critical, i.e., a historical, knowledge of the Buddhist texts is as yet, or certainly was a decade and more ago, very immature.

'Mysticism' was unknown to Johnson's Dictionary. But he defined 'mystical' as 'sacredly obscure', as 'having a hidden meaning', and again as just 'obscure.' And Dhyāna, in Pali *Jhāna*, had a meaning in early Buddhism that is nearly, if not quite, hidden. It is an 'obscure' subject ; Dr. Heiler's admirable study in it, also of a decade ago, shows it clearly as a 'sacredly obscure' subject.[2] For him its obscurity lies more in the history of its appearance, growth and decadence in Buddhism, than in its object. He makes wise and suggestive comments about its history, but about the object of Jhāna he reckons to have found in the texts adequate explanation.

1 *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, art : Dhyāna.
2 *Die Buddhistische Versenkung*, 1918.

He sees in Buddhist, Jaina and Vedāntist Dhyāna a triple expansion, the roots of which run down to obscure pre-Yoga beginnings. But the object of Buddhist Jhāna he claims to have been a gradual but sure way to attainment, cathartic and strenuous, of that Nirvāṇa here and now which is different only in degree from, and is the antechamber of, the final goal, Parinirvāṇa. In other words, he sees in Buddhism "not philosophy nor metaphysic nor ethic, but a mystical religion of deliverance," *the* way to which was the way of rapt musing or absorption known as Dhyāna or Jhāna. With a worthy jealousy for the genius of the Founder—the genius of warding and leading individually the individual—he repudiates the idea, that Gotama himself taught this 'way' in the stereotyped, fourfold Jhāna formula (much less in the four- and five-fold formula of the abstractions called Arūpa-jhāna). With a less worthy rejection of Gotama's significant 'manifesto'[1] of the Way, the Mārga, of life as a wayfaring according to a man's inner guidance through the worlds to the goal—this he calls "an incomplete and inexact popular-poetical conception of the path of salvation"—he makes the Founder turn away from the need and the call of a world he had set out to help, turn away from the warding of Everyman, and hold out a way of salvation to the world-lorn, world-forsaking recluse (a strange picture of a world-saviour !).

For me early Buddhism may be worthed as 'mystical' or not. The word of course means now not merely obscure. But the ascription may produce more obscurity than it clears. Mysticism in its broadest, its most real, because its (for us) most practical, meaning is *converse, usually solitary, with the unseen.* Converse is access. It is comm-union ; it is not necessarily union. When the earth comes to accept this humbler, more practicable aspect of mysticism, instead of using terms of an as yet inconceivable union with the Highest, we may then come to worth a mysticism that is not attain-

1 I refer to the so-called 'first sermon'.

able only by a saintly aspirant now in this continent, now in that century, but one that is a way for the help of the many : *ye keci sikkhakāmā* ; whosoever are willing to learn.[1]

If we take converse, communion, with the unseen as our meaning of 'mystic', we can, as I shall show, claim that there is mysticism, and much of it in early Buddhism. Some years ago I took a different line in making out such a claim. It was in connection with a modern untitled Pali and Sinhalese manuscript, which my husband called the Yogāvacara's Manual, and its English translation by Mr. Woodward, which we called the Manual of a Mystic. There I took penetration (*paṭivedha*) into 'things' as admittedly belonging to at least European mysticism. I have been learning much since then. Later Buddhism dealt far too exclusively with 'things' (*dhammā*). Early Buddhism, like the true gospel as which it started, was far more concerned with men, and in each man with the very man, the *puruṣa* or *ātman*.

But so-called mysticism is of both the old world and the new, both of primitive culture anywhere, and of riper culture in East and West. And the tendency at present is for the new and the riper to read later traditions and concepts into the old and the more primitive. I propose, here as elsewhere, to drop the words 'mysticism' and 'mystic' as more hindersome than helpful, and to try to show whether the Pali books do not betray, when closely scanned, an evolution in the specific form of Indian Samādhi called Buddhist 'musing' (Jhāna).

I find myself in disagreement with much that has lately been written on Buddhist Jhāna. Whatever Dhyāna may now mean in Japan or elsewhere in the East, in the Pali books it does *not* mean 'meditation'.[2] Meditation requires, if it be worthy, the whole synergy of the thinking man. Early Buddhist Jhāna is a deliberate putting off (*pahāna*) of applying and sustaining thought. What is stated to be left

1 *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* 2 *E.R.E.*, art : Dhyāna.

is *sati* (with indifference emotionally). And *sati* in those books is just lucid awareness, the state needed by the listener who is purged of preconceptions and *waiting to learn.*

This final state in what is known as Fourth Jhāna is not kept in view by writers on Dhyāna or musing. Is it because such a state is so little worthed by modern writers, both of East and West ?

I agree that Buddhist Jhāna and Yoga Dhyāna may have a common root in India's remote past. But when it comes to calling the former the latter, I would say, they have naught in common save the fact of the solitary muser and the unseen. The values placed in the muser and imputed to the musing are in each cult very different. So different, that between the formularized Jhāna and the Yoga aphorisms some historic link is needed, a link which may not show the one as derived from the other, but which may show them as at one time less widely divergent.

Once more, the object in Buddhist Jhāna is not to me so clear as some writers make out. Dr. Heiler, like other German writers, sees in the object, both of Buddhism and of Jhāna, the very general Indian ideal of 'deliverance' or release (*Erlösug, mokṣa,, vimutti*). This is not a Vedic doctrine, and it is not very clear whether its first appearance in Indian literature is pre-Buddhistic. It became a familiar word in the Buddhist tradition, but for me it is not in the mandate of Buddhism,[1] and it is with the early mandate that I am trying to deal. Nor is it by any means given as the constant object of Jhāna. What I find in the Piṭakas (I purposely exclude mediæval literature) is a double set of formulas, wording no 'release' but only a 'practice', and inserted in very different contexts. Taken in themselves, they suggest a ladder placed against a wall, but not reaching to the top.

Dr. Heiler admits that in Buddhism, Jhāna is but a

1 It is only imputed to Gotama in one of the records of the 'Enlightenment'. But it is made the *diploma* of the first missioners.

preliminary, a preparing, not an end in itself. But he calls the culminating step in the fourfold formula the immediate threshold (*Vorstufe*) of full deliverance, *i.e.* of 'visible Nirvāṇa' *parama-diṭṭhadhamma-nibbāna*, which is "in essence one and the same saving good and deliverance-ideal" as "Nirvāṇa of the other side". But this is by no means the position clearly and unvaryingly assigned to Fourth Jhāna in the canonical books. In the highly authoritative Brahmajāla Suttanta[1] the four Jhānas are classed in the same category as the healthy enjoyment of sense (which was also a form of Nirvāṇa, as the Māgandiya Sutta testifies[2]), and are stated to be outclassed by many other higher and better things felt and known by the 'tathāgata'. It is true that these 'things' may refer to Nirvāṇa-experience, the error being to see in Jhāna the *patti* or attainment itself. But it is very improbable that had Fourth Jhāna been held as the very 'threshold' of the highest, it would have been so *classed* as it is there. It is true that we find a baser kind of Jhāna contrasted with that of the formulas, when a man brooding over one of the 'hindrances' to right Jhāna 'muses and bemuses, unmuses and de-bemuses.'[3] But it is not this but the Jhāna of the formulas which is here classified. The Dhammapada declares that it is the combination of Jhāna and wisdom (*paññā*) that makes a man "near to Nirvāṇa".[4] But the less poetical, academic procedure in Abhidhamma sees in Fourth Jhāna, not only a stage in 'transmundane' (*lokuttara*) study, but a stage no less in access to the conditions called Rūpa, or Rūpaloka, the world, or conditions of Brahmā-devas. Now these were not for Buddhists coincident with Nirvāṇa ; they are even referred to on one occasion as "hīna", inferior.[5] *Yasmiṃ samaye*

1 *Dīgha-Nikāya*, i, 1 ; cf. *Majjhima-Nikāya*, ii, 228.
2 *Majjhima-Nikāya*, no. 75.
3 *Ibid.*, no. 108. Lord Chalmers' transl. Ānanda is the speaker.
4 Verse 372.
5 *Majjhima*, no. 97. I find one case of a monk making Jhāna

rūpūpapatttiyā maggaṃ bhāveti "at what time...he makes a way to become for access to (or rebirth in) the Rūpa (-world)" :—such is the unvarying formula in Jhāna when undertaken *with this object.*[1] In 'supramundane' Jhāna, where we might have expected to find not less a clearly stated object, and that object Nirvāṇa, or anyway arahantship, none is given. We are only told that this Jhāna is a 'going-away-from' (*niyyānikaṃ*), and 'not-making-for-upheaping' (*apacaya-gāminaṃ*),[2] and we are left with these negatives. And so little is Jhāna here the one threshold, that nineteen other forms of 'making-to-become' are added, beginning with 'the Way,' as equally important with Jhāna. I may add in passing, that the Jhāna placed between these two, that of 'Arūpa', is, like Rūpa-jhāna, said to have the definite object of 'access' to the hypothetical immaterial world.

Let it not however be supposed, that this relatively tidy treatment on Jhāna appears throughout the Abhidhamma-Piṭaka. If we pass from the first book just cited, the *Dhamma-saṅgaṇi*, to the second, the *Vibhaṅga*, we seem to light on curious confusions. The Jhāna formulas never vary. Here too the aspirant is said to eliminate all desires of sense and of things evil, then all active work of intellect, then all commotion of emotion, remaining in a state of utterly cleansed indifference and mindfulness (or memory). But we read in what immediately follows, that 'at that time' the contents of the aspirant's thought (*citta*) include many factors of intellect and emotion, even after attainment of Fourth Jhāna, prior to which all such have been eliminated. It is not easy, for instance, to understand how a man in Fourth Jhāna, with both thought and emotion eliminated, can be developing the 'emancipating thought' of pity, or of a fellow-feeling with another's joy (*muditā*), or be understanding the causes of

his 'base' (*pādaka*), on which he won arahantship, but he was an *exceptional* jhāyin : Kaṅkhā-Revata. *Commentary on Aṅguttara.*

1 *Dhammasaṅgaṇi ; Vibhaṅga.* 2 *Dhammasaṅgaṇi.*

ill. Emergence from Jhāna (*vuṭṭhāna*) may have first been necessary, but there is no recorded indication of it.[1] And Mettājhāna, 'amity-musing', such as Subhūti and Nandā were noted for, contravenes that.[2]

Any way, it may be said, the *object* of Jhāna (*Rūpûpapatti Arūpûpapatti*) is here clear enough. That is true. The commentary concedes, from the Suttas, that there are higher things to be got by *samādhi*, or *jhāna*, but that, for this access, the fourfold Jhāna is the only way.[3] And I am not yet aware of any teaching in the Suttas urging a man to practise Jhāna for rebirth's sake. Rebirth was 'becoming', and that led rather to Ill than to the end of Ill.

Is there then more consistency of treatment in the subject of Jhāna in the other two Piṭakas? What do we learn in them about the purpose, end, or object of Jhāna?

The Vinaya almost entirely ignores Jhāna. This is not a little remarkable, seeing how much it was commended in the Suttas, how much it was said to enter into the life of the earnest monk. Yet there appear to be only four distinct references in this bulky work to the Jhānas as a formulated system, and the same number of references to monks as Jhāyins, needing as such the quiet of the cave (*leṇa*) or other separate lodging.[4] It may of course be replied, that the Vinaya rules deal mainly with the bad monk, who would not be Jhāyin. The reply does not satisfy. The more worthy protesting monk, who brings about the making of new rules, is a prominent feature. If we had a corresponding encyclopædia of Christian discipline, we should never read far without reference to prayer or prayers, a factor to which some writers refer as the equivalent to Jhāna. For me there is no doubt that had the Saṅgha, during the centuries when the

1 The far later *Visuddhi Magga* has such 'emergences'.

2 Commentary on *Theragāthā*, 1st verse; commentary on *Aṅguttara* (Etad-agga).

3 Commentary on *Dhammasaṅgaṇi*. 4 *Cullavagga*, iv, 4.

Vinaya was growing by accretions, held Jhāna in its original worth, it would have produced a disciplinary chronicle glowing with Jhāna atmosphere throughout. It is true that, in the over-elaborated set off, given at the beginning of the Pāti-mokkha-commentary in the Vinaya, the Founder declares himself to have been a muser, but it is a mere passing allusion in stereotyped sequence, and there is no recurrence in the work even of this in connexion with any other saint. So low could the Saṅgha at one time and place fall in piety, both in general and with reference to Jhāna, that during a scarcity at the important town of Vesālī, the monks decided by a majority not to lend a hand and work with their distressed lay-fellowmen, but to advertise each other as holy Jhāna-experts, so as the better to wheedle alms. Public rebuke, ascribed as usual to the Founder himself, albeit probably after his day, was duly given and an older rule enforced, but the occurrence is suggestive.[1]

In the Sutta-Piṭaka on the other hand there is never a long silence about Jhāna. In the four principal Nikāyas alone I have noted some 240 references at least, the *average* distribution being as follows :—

Dīgha-Nikāya : once in 39 pages
Majjhima-Nikāya: „ 26 „
Saṃyutta-Nikāya „ 19 „
Anguttara-Nikāya „ 20 „

The formulas never vary, but the context does considerably, giving thereby more or less of living actuality to the congealed ritual of the fixed wording. Certain results are said to be obtained consequent upon attainment of Jhāna, albeit uttermost consummation is nowhere, I believe, given as one. In the fifth Nikāya, excluding the Jātaka, as consisting mainly of much later commentary, and three other later works, I have the following rough, approximate quantities :

1 *Vinaya*, Pācittiya, viii.

In the Dhammapada 12 references
„ Sutta-Nipāta, 19 „
„ Khuddaka-Pāṭha, no reference
„ Udāna 1 reference
„ Iti-vuttaka 4 references
„ Peta-vatthu 1 reference
„ Vimāna-vatthu 1 „
„ Theragāthā 5 references
„ Therīgāthā 3 „
„ Niddesa (Mahā) 5 references
„ Apadāna 30 „
„ Buddhavaṃsa 2 „
„ Cariyā-Piṭaka, no reference
} not included in estimate[1]
„ Paṭisambhidāmagga 33 references

This is a very rough estimate,[2] but is sufficiently informative to show an average frequency of reference which is about the same taken together, as that in the other four Nikāyas. And the average frequency is sufficient to show Jhāna as a very prominent feature in the doctrinal part of the Canon. The frequency would loom even greater had I included all references to the contexts where 'samādhi' occurs. This is sometimes equated with Jhāna, but it is the genus of which Jhāna is a species, and hence the inclusion would not be justifiable. For instance in the *Udāna*, when Sāriputta is said to be rapt in a certain samādhi, the commentary claims that this was the fourth Brahmavihāra of indifference or equanimity. And the calling these states a kind of Jhāna, as in the case of Subhūti of the Theragāthā, is a commentarial, not a Piṭaka usage.

Taking then *Jhāna* and *jhāyin* only, I ask my readers to consider what conclusion can we infer from their frequent occurrence? For it may be a different conclusion from that which might safely be drawn (1) were the Sutta-

1 Poems in later diction, probably written when competed.

2 Based *mainly* on Index references to *Jhāna* and *jhāyin*, and therefore erring on the side of omission.

Piṭaka the whole of the Canon, and (2) were it the work of a group of men compiling and completing the group of sayings at the same time and in the same place. We know that Jhāna and jhāyin anticipated the beginnings of Buddhism, just as we know also that even in the Buddhism of today we find their resultants, to mention only the Zen school of Japan and the Diyan centres of Tibet.[1] We are then, in this matter of Jhāna, up against what would seem to be a chronic need of the Buddhist religious mind, and not only of that, but of the Indian religious mind when Buddhism arose. This is by no means to agree with the opinion of a writer, that 'Buddhism is through and through nothing but Yoga'.[2]) Buddhist Jhāna may represent what current Yoga became in Buddhism. But Jhāna is not the whole of Buddhism, save by a gross misrepresentation. What men value much, they word often. But we find the first Piṭaka almost silent on Jhāna, and the third Piṭaka dropping the subject more and more after the first two books, a portion of which treats of it. We come back to the proportion in reference to it in the second Piṭaka, and to the question: what did this frequency of wording mean in terms of value? What did the recorders and editors of the sayings in prose and verse hold there was of welfare and of interest in Jhāna to warrant the preserving of these references, amounting to a mention in about one out of every twenty of our pages here, or perhaps rather more, in the middle collection of their scriptures?

Our answer is made the less easy by our having to say no! to the second point above. We are coming to admit that the Sutta Piṭaka, as well as the other two, was not the work of one inner group at the same time and place.

1 See 'Dhyāna and Samādhi im Mongolischen Lamaismus,' A. M. Pozdnejev, *Zeitsch. f. Buddhismus*, 1926, 3/4.

2 H. Beckh, *Buddhismus*, II 11; quoted and criticized by Dr. Heiler.

And when this is conceded, other complications arise. Was it always one and the same good that was valued and sought in Jhāna? It is true, there was a fixed wording, in some detail, to serve—I borrow the Vinaya simile[1] on a more general case—as a string (*sutta*) to bind the bunch of flowers together. But as to that, we have no sound evidence to feel sure, that the formulas now in the books were either the original fixed wordings, or whatever even those, if there were any, truly expressed what Jhāna really meant for Gotama and his first fellow-workers, men and women. If Buddhism were indeed imported Yoga, that is, the very spirit of Indian Yoga, we are almost forced to postulate some earlier formulas, showing less sharp severance between the two,—which would show us at least the more gradual, the more usual method of pouring an old wine into new bottles.

Some likeness there is between Jhāna formulas and the Brahmanized Yoga (nothing earlier being, I find, available), but it is in detail only. The antithesis to Sāṅkhya is in both literatures, albeit almost hidden in Buddhism. The Mahābhārata sets it out more than once and clearly; in Buddhism we trace it in such outline as "There are these two strengths: reasoned calculation and making-to-become (*paṭisaṅkhāna-balaṃ, bhāvanā-balaṃ*)[2]" where the latter is explained by the fourfold Jhāna-formula. And there is, in both Yoga and Buddhist procedure, elimination of sense-impressions and mind-work on them. But in the latter, that which in Yoga is the heart, the very object, the very justification, is lacking. "How" asks the Yoga inquirer can a man find deliverance without a God (*īśvara*)?..."Let the Yogin bearing Me within, sit solely devoted to Me."[3] The Buddhist formula not only sees no perfection of concentration resulting from devotion to God", not only sees no "beholding of the Self in the Yogin's self"[4] in Jhāna, but even bars out all reference to the jhāyin as such.

1 *Vin.*, III, 9. 2 *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, i, pp. 52,94.
3 Mokṣadharma, Adh. 302. 4 *Ibid.*

Gotama, it is true, is shown investing it with emphatic personal touch in his own case :—*So kho ahaṃ...jhānaṃ upasampajja vihāsiṃ.* 'I indeed abode in the attainment etc.'[1], or in the case of others,[2] but no person finds mention in the bare formula, save as understood in the verb, and the pronoun *so*. Even where the Jhāna is connected with a definite personal object,—access to Rūpa or Arūpa—the aspirant is wholly merged in the verb.

This may seem a modern Western captiousness, but no, the Commentator himself takes note of it. "Why", he says, "should the foregoing analysis of mind presuppose things only, and this teaching presuppose a person (*puggala*) ? Because we have here a way (or course, *paṭipadā*), which he makes-to-become...And a way has to be accomplished, and this must be accomplished by somebody."[3] O wise little Buddhaghosa, why were you not elsewhere, as here, a 'man who sees' ? Let no man call you here pernickety. You are here giving away the whole of that 'anatta' dogma which you for the most part so doughtily defend ! You were not afraid to write, that a way required a wayfarer, a *paṭipadā* needed a *paṭipannaka*. But had you lived six centuries earlier, when even the Master's use of the word *puggala* had to be in a sense explained away, as in the Kathāvatthu, you might not have trotted out 'the man' so airily. You were writing in Ceylon, far away from renascent Brahmanism, and you did not fear to have to eat your words when you thus brought in the *ātman* and the *puruṣa*.

Both in Buddhist Jhāna and in Yoga the process of concentration sets out with the individual, the man, the solitary aspirant. But as soon as we touch on attainment, the values alter. In Buddhist Jhāna the man vanishes ; we are left with his mind only, refined down to a state of 'purity, indiffer-

1 *Vin.*, III, 4 ; *Majjhima*, i. 21, etc. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 40 *etc.*

3 *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* commentary, p. 163. He is referring to the analysis of *citta's* preceding the Jhāna chapters.

ence and mindfulness'. This last word is *sati* (*smṛti*), a term not used in Pali for memory, but for mental clearness. And we hear nothing of any object partly or wholly won beyond the mental state itself. I have in mind here the four-fold Rūpajhāna, but even where, as is often the case, the jhāyin is made to pass on to Arūpajhāna, the serial attainment reached cannot, even from the Buddhist point of view, be called truly a religious or spiritual Better. A certain vantage-point in gripping an abstraction is the utmost that can be claimed, unless this Jhāna was ever seriously held to promote a man's prospects of rebirth in a world believed to be arūpa, or immaterial. But in Yoga the *Yogin*, the *man*, is in full view from first to last, and there is *no doubt* about what is sought. It is the man and not his mind only that is before us, the man breaking his bars and bonds, waxing in strength and fearlessness, winning to absorption in, to vision of, the Ātman in him, who also is that Ātman.

And with the man thus prominent, the Yoga literature leaves us with no shadow of doubt as to the good, the 'well', the *artha*, which comes to him through attainment. It is the vision or conception, as 'within his heart', of Man transcendent, akin to the man himself, but above and beyond the best, the finest he has ever realized. This is declared to bring him release, that is from *prakṛti*, or in brief from body and mind. Nearer perhaps to Western religion is the expression of the good in the associated description of Sāṅkhya-attainment, albeit it fits even better with Yoga-attainment :—"This (Ātman) here is my true Kinsman ; I can no other than be with Him ; won to evenness and unity with Him, then only become I really he who I am" (Mokṣa : Adh. 309).

What is there in the way of a worded welfare-in-purpose to set over against this when we contemplate Buddhist Jhāna ? It may be said that, when such ideas are held to be error and delusion, it is also 'release' to attain to and rest in a state where they are not. To this we might reply, in the first place :—It is true that Buddhist saints are shown, in

their own works, as actually deriving an amount of peace and even rapture from a negative form of 'release' coupled with a purely backward view, such as can scarcely be found in any other cult. But man's nature is such, that this attitude cannot very long be maintained in fervour and purity; it will degenerate as such into a complacency which we word sometimes as 'that blessed word Mesopotamia!' In the second place, whereas it is true that the 'Ātmanism' in the last quotation is closely allied to the (possibly older) Brahman-Ātmanism which is attacked in the Buddhist Suttas, it is not correct to hold, that there was nothing of 'divine immanence' in the mandate given by the founder of Buddhism. For the message of the Way words the wayfarer, by implication, as 'self-resorting' (*attasaraṇa*), naturally choosing the way he thinks right, that is, willing the better. But I find in Buddhist Jhāna, as such, no clear connection made out, as is made out, however all too briefly, in the Way-mandate, a connection between practice and object, as we find in Yoga.

I used to puzzle over this and wonder whether, in what was so evidently a fourfold series in *preparation only*, the benefit (discounting rebirth-prospects) was held to lie in the preparation itself? Coming into Buddhism by way of Abhidhamma, I missed at first the varied contexts of the Sutta-Piṭaka. I was inclined to see in the detached mental lucidity of Fourth Jhāna a possible starting-point for concentrated work on concepts, such as the otherwise aimless insertion of Jhāña formula in parts of the Vibhaṅga seemed to suggest.[1] For I found also a shrunken and specialised meaning of the thinking :—*vitakka, vicāra*—which is suppressed after First Jhāna, and not the more inclusive, unspecialized meaning of these two words used in older Suttas. The object was not trance; save in an occasional appendix to the Arūpa-jhānas, that was quite clear. Then was it perhaps keener,

1 Chapters on Paccayākāra, Iddhipādā, Magga, Appamañña.

sublimated work of intellection? Modern training in the building up of inductions and the applying of deductions tells me, that no good beginning to such work could come in the unworthing of mental application and discursive thinking. Was it that by concentrating without these, fresh insight might come as in a flash, a thrill of new knowledge, new worded thought, not got by conscious reasoning? There is talk now about this that we call intuition, not using the word quite as Bergson does, and it is well that there should be. But is intuition really a beholding from within? The great musician or artist would not always grant that. Why should any other muser be so confident about it? Aristotle was not. *Thurathen*, 'from without', is his conclusion as to our constructive thinking.[1] And is our 'inspiration' a mere fancy? Or did the mental exercise in Jhāna, whatever other advantage it offered, serve as a respite and withdrawal, otiose yet strenuous, from the preoccupations of daily life, much as books now afford us? It is not easy for us here and now to fill out the mental day of the studious meditative man in a bookless world, nay, a manuscriptless world, who had turned away from the life of his fellowmen, nor saw any good in the study of the world of nature.

Then I came to learn a little of the Zen (Jhāna) sect of Buddhism in Japan, mainly through Professor Takakusu's essay (Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1906-7). In that interesting article there are some sayings of Zen adherents that are quaint and even foolish, but this essential point was clear:—in a world where imported Buddhism had found, not a bookless world, but a world of books, the jhāyin flouted books, and professed to find the good sought in musing in the seeker himself. If he would, through his musing, divest himself of everything he considered morally lowering and intellectually hindering, and seek to win to the best self he could conceive, enlightenment would come from within. Jhāna is

1 *Peri Neotétos.*

pictured here as a sort of cure or tonic, purging, restful, stimulating. And the writer considers, that 'this special discipline came to be emphasized···as a saving power, when the Buddhist faith began to wither under the baneful influence of scholasticism'.

It is always interesting to see an idea, or course of action, or attitude, when transplanted to new soil, flourishing there with a new and fresh energy. In Zen, Jhāna regains that central well-spring of 'the man', his nature, his objective, which was in Yoga, but which became blurred and lost in Buddhism. And yet it is not exactly a replica of Yoga. It is more positive, more self-concentrated, less religious, less super-personal than Yoga. It is still Buddhist, in that it seeks the divine in man rather than to develop man into, or raise man to the divine. It bids man look within, not beyond himself.

In Indian Buddhism we see both emphases in ātman—manself and divine self—blurred and lost. What do we find in Jhāna replacing them? The emphasis, I would say, is on, not man, but *mind*. It is from first to last the mental process in which we are kept informed:—first the deadening of sensations by way of the self-hypnosis of the 'kasiṇa', or artifice of concentration on a special object of sense; then the deadening of active work of mind, and so on, in a curious and psychologically interesting procedure. Those who approach Buddhism through the 'legend' or story of its founder, and its early church and rule (Vinaya), do not always realize the absorbing interest that is betrayed in its scriptures in mental phenomena, in the mind. But this interest colours very markedly its Sutta literature, and points, I venture to think, to a very notable feature in the spirit of the time when Gotama was teaching. I have said it already and I say it again,—there seems to be herein, if in nothing else, something akin between that time-spirit and our own; the interest in, not the very man—*we* call him self, soul, spirit—but in his complex of body and mind, the interest in mind-procedure, and with this the blurred, lost vision of 'the man'.

But when Gotama's mission began, the 'man' was not yet dimmed; the dimness was, I believe, nascent only. It was rather to the greater appreciation of the 'man', that the academic lay-(that is, extra-Brahman) movement, founded by Kapila, had been analyzing in a way of new thoroughness all that was of man, yet was not the 'man' (*puruṣa*). We owe much to the scholars, Drs. Jacobi and Garbe, for pointing out how this Sāṅkhyan influence affected Buddhism. They may go too far, in the way prevailing still (as we have just seen) in 'deriving' Buddhism (or at least what is called its philosophy) from Sāṅkhya, when what we see appears more like an infiltration into a religious mandate of ideas in vogue at its birth. But the Sāṅkhyan analysis of 'the man' as a wondrous being, working upon matter through a very interesting, complicated procedure (mind), which could be resolved into several factors (*aṅgas*), was, we may assume, known to the thoughtful and earnest little group around the founder of Buddhism, including the founder himself. So that in the Buddhist books we may see how preoccupying, how absorbing was this mind—*citta*, *mano*, *viññāṇa*—how it was fed, how it reacted,[1] how it kept changing, whether it survived death, and how it might be wholly or in part suppressed. That this suppressing, this governance implied a suppressor, a governor—here it was that Buddhist thought, albeit not in its founder, not in some Dhammapada verses, slipped up. Gotama is shown as saying: "what if I (the explicit, emphasized 'ahaṃ') were to repress thought by mind?"[2] And the way of the Dhammapada, e.g.

Attanā coday' attānaṃ, paṭimāse attam attanā,

(let him censure self by self, let him restrain self by self),[3] compiled in a land where *attan* meant 'the man', the spirit, both divine and human,—not to mention many other verses,—shows the 'governor' not yet blotted out. But blotted out he

1 'Struck back', *paṭihaññati. Dhs.*

2 *Majjhima*, i. 242 etc.

3 Verse 379.

was, and that, it may be, at an early date. It is Ānanda himself, who, as an exponent of authority, is shown teaching Jhāna as pure and simple mind-practice (*cittaparisuddhiyaṅga*), to be perfected and kept up, as one of four such factors, conducing to an end of highest worth, definitely worded.[1]

But so markedly, in the self-willing process of Jhāna, has the blotting out of the self taken place, and the mental process itself become solely of interest, that we come—if we are thoughtful—to a halt, and ask ourselves: If Buddhism was indeed a daughter of Yoga, how did she come to value Yoga-samādhi and to word it in a way so different, that it is as if we were to reckon mechanical power with no machine, or to value the music of an instrument leaving out the player? Can a period of transition be shown? Can we show it from the Pāli books, late in date as, in their present form, they are? Can we draw out of them (1) that Gotama was an ardent *jhāyin*, and with him many of his early fellow-workers, (2) that for Gotama, and for these, Jhāna was valued, not for just what the Yogin (of any age) valued it, still less as mere mind-practice, but for something else—for an 'access' felt to be, in their work and their 'wayfaring' through the worlds, as a help and an enlightening?

1 That Gotama was an habitual muser has hardly perhaps till now received the attention it merits. And yet, apart from the frequency of mention in the discourses fathered on him, we find him called muser more than once:—

Muniṃ vanasmiṃ jhāyantaṃ ehi passāma Gotamaṃ

(Come, see we Gotama the seer, the muser, in the wood).[2]

Jhāyiṃ virajam āsīnaṃ[3].....

to the pure the seated the muser (am I come).

1 Aṅguttara, ii. 195. Much play is now made with the sophisticated distinction between philosophic and popular meaning (*paramattha, sammuti*). This is *first* mentioned in the late *Questions of King Milinda*.

2 *Sutta-Nipāta*, 165. 3 *Ibid.*, 1105.

The tempter rallies him :—

Sokāvatiṇṇo nu vanasmiṃ jhāyasi[1]

Art thou sunk in grief that in the wood thou musest ?

The muser's posture is said to be peculiarly his,[2] and Ānanda's memory of him declared him as "having both practised and engaged in Jhāna, and advocated it."[3] Of his fellow-workers we note musing associated with Sāriputta,[4] Anuruddha, Kaṅkhā-Revata,[5] and Moggallāna[6], Nandā the nun,[7] and Uttarā Nandamātā the lay woman.[8]

Now this man and these persons and others were at the well-spring of the movement, and to them the work of spreading and making acceptable among the many a gospel of a self-directed living, such as would bring 'well', welfare, to man here and in the worlds to come, was the all-absorbing thing. Can we believe that they would have often gone aside to cultivate a stereotyped way of musing which was nothing more than a sort of glorified practice in mental, mind-worsening scale-playing ? Would they not be far more occupied with the question of man's salvation, witness Sāriputta's inquiry about it (*amata*),[9] than about a practice expounded as an elimination of mental phases. So near are we today to analysis of these phases, so far are we from the conditions attending the birth of a world-gospel, that we need a more quickened imagination than such as our psychology is usually content to graze upon. What we actually find Gotama first bidding men seek was *not the mind, but the self* : "Were it not better that you sought the *attan*, the *ātman* ?"[10]

1 *Saṃyutta*, i, 123. 2 *Aṅguttara*, ii, 245. 3 *Majjhima*, iii, 108.

4 *Apadāna*, Sāriputta's poem refers 5 times to Jhāna. Cf. *Buddhavaṃsa*. I : *Sāriputto samādhijhānakovido.*

5 *Aṅguttara*, i, 24. 6 *Saṃyutta*, ii, 213 ; iv, 262f.

7 *Aṅguttara*, i, 25.

8 *Ibid.*, 26 ; also iv, 63 where she is shown (in a curiously edited record) to be clairaudient.

9 *Vinaya*, I, 39. 10 *Ibid.*, 23.

2 Did he then bid men seek, in musing, the world-ātman—Brahman—an Īśvara? He did not. Much had come to this man that lay between the Highest and the new pre-occupation with man's mind as such, and, as I think we might add, the rising pre-occupation with man's life in this world. He had, at some time in his life, come to acquire clairaudience and clairvoyance. It was owing to this psychic development that he was able to be willed and induced to become a teacher, for he must have *himself* told of his lonely hesitation, and of the entreaty of a man of another world, whom the books came to call Brahmā Sahampati.[1] And he admitted more than once, that something he knew was due to information from a *deva*, a *devatā*, a man of another world.[2] (It is true that he is made to add, 'I also knew it of myself'; but whereas the worshipping recorders of a teacher, ranked later on as omniscient, would not have invented the informing *deva*, the case is different as to the clause vindicating that omniscience.) Again, there are frequent talks recorded between him and *devas*, notably the governor of the next world, entitled Sakka, and others called *devaputtas*; in that, says the Commentary, their names were known. Among these were sometimes men whom the clairvoyant Gotama recognized as still resembling, in their new bodies, men he had known on earth, notably his wealthy friend Anāthapiṇḍika, his first patron, king Bimbisāra and a Licchavi officer, Ajita. His gifts as a psychic medium were well-known, for we read that he was consulted in all the countries where he taught as to what had befallen this person and that whom death had removed.[3] And that he should have been thus consulted points as much to a widespread need for light as to interest in his person and powers.

Now is it unreasonable to hold, that Gotama used Jhāna as the best way of obtaining, or at least of facilitating access to, and converse with, worthy men who had been reborn in

1 *Ibid.*, 5. 2 *Dīgha*, ii, 10. Cf. 39f.; 241; iii, 17.
3 *Dīgha*, ii, 200 ff., cf. 91f.; 206; iii, 15; *Saṃyutta*, *i*, 46, 55; cf. *Therag.*, 1263f.

other worlds ? If the word 'reborn' be too Eastern, let us say, 'had survived the death of their earth-body'. Do the books help us further ?

We read that, on leaving home to find help for men subject, without light and leading, to old age and death, he resorted to one after another noted teacher of Jhāna ; it may be, in order to develop himself psychically. Further we may note a recurrent appreciation of the practice of Jhāna shown by *devas* in the chapters on them in the Saṃyutta. "The monk should be a *jhāyin*," says one, Kassapa. "The man awake (*buddho*) who has understood Jhāna," says another, Pañcālacanda. Another, Candimāsa, commends Jhāna ; two others do no less. Further, the Jhānas (the Four) are in many places made to serve as a preparation to certain 'higher knowledges' (*abhiññā*) which are all, with the exception of the last, forms of psychic or 'super-normal' development. These abhiññās are given in two series. The one we usually find is only three of the six: memory of former lives, clairvoyance and awareness of 'cankers' as destroyed, called together '*te-vijjā*'. The other, which gives the six abhiññās, and adds two others, gives, as no. 4, clairaudience and as no. 6, clairvoyance. By a misconception of the word 'dibba,' these have been rendered in translations 'heavenly' or 'celestial' ear and eye. But *dibba* is for Buddhism just 'belonging to *devas*', that is, men happily reborn. A man gifted with nos. 4 and 6 can both see such persons when they are near him, and can hear what they tell him, tell, for instance, of the fate of X, Y, and Z, who have passed over and have undergone the verdict of Yama, or tell concerning matters in which he may seek guidance. Thus a man in Fourth Jhāna was held to be in the most favourable conditions to profit by such seeing and hearing, if they were either inborn gifts, or had been acquired.

But I have not yet found any writer commenting on why clairvoyance and clairaudience take such an important place

1 *Saṃyutta*, *i*, pp. 46-52.

in venerable Suttas, not as ultimate objects of Jhāna but as abnormal states to which Jhāna often appears as a preparation. If Jhāna was a condition of deva-converse, then those two states fall, as also essential conditions, into their natural places. If early Buddhism, on the other hand, did not in some at least of its apostles cultivate deva-converse, I fail to account for these two abhiññās. Disuse in the Saṅgha gives them the appearance of ruins, but was there not a time when they were 'live wires'? Writers, however, call them just 'mystic', or 'hallucinations' and pass them by. Or they do not even stay to call them that.

Modern writers have their own way—a way of today which may ere long be that of yesterday—of dealing with this very prominent feature in Buddhism. They either push it into a corner as ancient super-naturalism, or they speak of it as so much hallucination which is true subjectively. Both views hinder the earth from getting at much in Buddhism that is historically, and objectively true. Take these two passages—"How does a monk become one who has reached the *devas*?" The answer is the Jhāna-formula.[1] And this is ascribed to Gotama when—a very precious context—he is commending the use of Jhāna[2]: He is asked, during a conversation, "when is a purely happy world made present?" He replies: "As long as a man in Fourth Jhāna has attained to converse with those *devas* who are living in a purely happy world, is present (*santiṭṭhati*) with them, talks with them." Do not these show that, at least at one period in the history of Buddhism, Jhāna was not a mere discipline of sense or of mind, any more than it was a straight short-cut to Nirvāṇa, but was something that lay between the two? That it was *then* not merely a training of the earth-body-and-mind, with the Inner-goer, the *antarayāmin*, left out, nor an effort to precipitate a mysterious, inconceivable state of 'going out,' but a seeking to enlarge and enrich earth-welfare,

1 *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, ii, 184. 2 *Majjhima Nikāya*, ii, 37.

so bedimmed with sorrow and evil, by converse of man to man with those who, not yet by a long way knowing the highest things, *knew more* than the man of the earth.

How does it not enrich and enlarge our little knowledge of Gotama the man, if we picture him, the Muser, musing in this way! Too cramped and prejudiced is our view of him, for either it is of a monk among monks, preaching a forced growth or 'making-to-become' (*bhāvanā*) in this life, which shall do away with all becoming (*bhava*) hereafter, or it is of a teacher of just earthly ethics, or it is of a superman who knew everything. Why do we not take the truer view of him, which we may also find in the books if we look a little more closely and historically the view of the noble man who (*sānukampī anuddayā*)[1] 'moved by compassion and by kindness' for men, sought to help them and himself by 'making present' to himself more worlds than one, and by converse with their inmates learning how this might best be done? Of him it was said:

> And rolling back the (murky) veil,
> And pain gone by and weariness,
> He sees both this world and the next.[2]

By him we are told, it was said, repeatedly, that the man-who could-see, standing between, saw 'the two houses' clairvoyantly with separate doors and men faring from the one to the other.[3]

He is recorded as not overrating the value of psychic gifts in religious ends, but as clearly affirming their reality. "Yes, Mahāli, such deva-sounds (or words or speech) *are*, they are not things of nought. If he (Sunakkhatta) is clairaudient only, not clairvoyant, it is only because he has not concentrated on both, as may be done. But in the matter of joining the religious life, there are higher considerations than these."[4] (I have condensed in translating.) His

1 *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, i, 206.
2 *Dīgha*, iii, 178.
3 *Majjhima*, i, 279; ii, 21; iii, 178.
4 *Dīgha*, i, 152.

experiences while exercising these gifts figure in a great number of records, over which modern writers quickly slide. He is listener ; he is interlocutor ; often he is recorded as relating the experience ; often we are left to infer it. One series of such he decided not to tell, for men would not have believed him, and that would have hurt them.[1]

I see this helper of men as neither the atheist concerning the world-ātman, nor the denier of man the ātman as some make him out, nor as one who spoke of himself as a little god on earth, nor as just an ascetic, monastic mystic. I see him as a man with an inspired mandate to the 'man'. There was in his day no worthy conception of the Highest ; there *was* a dawning sense that religion was mainly a matter of *living*, and there *was* a very general belief, that living was no mere matter of a brief three score years and ten. His mandate was to show the great significance of life in a figure, and that figure was the Way, the Way in and for each man, the Way which 'went to Nirvāṇa, yet 'went on with it, flowed with it, as Gaṅgā and Yamunā flowed in and with each other'.[2] "He made a Way where Way was none ; he traced out a Way till then unrevealed ; he knew and saw the Way ; master of the Way was he. To-day his disciples follow him in the way which has come down to them from him."[3] His age called him *Sārathī*, 'chariot-driver', Satthavāha, 'leader of the caravan.'[4] And like a good leader, his immediate aim was not to dwell only on the ultimate goal, but like England's most famous general, to try to judge what lay on the other side of the hill, round the bend of the way ;[5] the next step, and the next after that. That was enough for the worthiest, more than enough for most.

And in his habit of 'musing in the wood' he will have found

1 *Saṃyutta*, ii, 255. 2 *Dīgha*, ii, 223.

3 *Majjhima*, iii, 15. The Speaker is Ānanda, but the last clause reveals a later hand.

4 *Dīgha*, ii, 39 ; *Theragāthā*, 1236 ; cf. *Apadāna*, p. 80.

5 Gleig's *Life of Wellington*.

that quiet and concentration which he judged necessary, and for which he is often made to show his preference. He found too the *'jhāna-sukha'*[1]—that fine delicate sense of added well-being known to those who claim to have been in converse with the very worthy of the other side. Some of his disciples knew of it; we note it in the verses of both women and men; we can hardly wonder that they call themselves 'lovers of musing' (*jhānaratā*). And the tradition at least of it yet lingers in Burma.[2]

But that the traditional memory of him was closely associated with the Jhāna habit is betrayed by the curious insertion of the Jhāna formulas into the account of the moment of his passing.[3] The Buddhist would say, that the back and forth narrative of the process (knowable by none save a thought-reader) indicates the deliberateness with which the great man put off mental and bodily life. The critic of my theory will say, that at any rate the absence of any allusion to deva-visitants during that Jhāna disproves its soundness. To both, I would say, that whatever induced the insertion here of the formulas, silence as to presences at the end, when at the beginning at the first 'sermon', there is not silence, may only mean that, when the man passed, Jhāna *for the men about him* no longer meant musing for access to the unseen. Only Ānanda and Anuruddha were left, the latter, though a jhāyin, a very timid aged recluse, the former recorded as willing to 'make inferences' when his cousin Gotama told of his psychic experiences.[4] The newer cult of the positive, the earthly, the things seen, as alone important was prevailing; psychic gifts were held as possible only for the very few; the man of the two houses was suffered to depart with no one listening, let alone seeing, whether in Jhāna or not.

1 *Dīgha*, iii, 78. 2 *Compendium of Phliosophy*, p, 57.

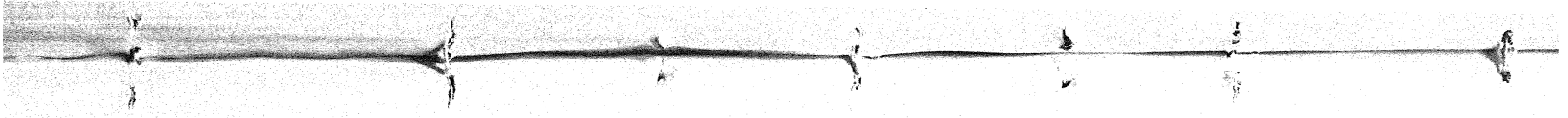
3 *Dīgha*, ii, 157.

4 *Saṃyutta*, i, 55 'as far as it is to be got by inference, you have got it.'

Here then was what I conceive may have been for the co-founders of the Sākkaputta movement, later called Buddhism, the more especial advantage which they sought in musing. In their days there would seem to have been the contrasted cultures of Sāṅkhya (*paṭisankhā*) and Yoga (the *bhāvanā* of *samādhi* or *jhāna*). Never do they appear to *call* the latter 'Yoga'. But for them too it meant not a merely negative eliminating of things seen ; for them it was a coming to see or at least to hear the unseen, and therein not only to taste a joy, but also to come to have the veil shrouding the long way rolled back for a little (*vivaṭṭachadda*).

Faith in the old Great Devas was in the melting-pot, but devas, devatās, the men who had passsed on, had come with a new significance to man's help ; they were seen as intermediaries along the whole upward way to Amata, aiding their fellow earth-wayfarers with such knowledge as he was yet able to bear. Modern books, as is natural, estimate them and their wording variously. But *on the whole* devas appear as worthy and kindly warders of the man they have left behind, who (discounting a Sabbaññu) must, as behind the veil, have known more than those they warded. They held Gotama in high worth, but not the monk as monk ; they believed in 'the man' as real ; they believed in the good life ; they believed in man as willing to seek the Better. We may with most writers on Buddhism minimise all that this converse meant for the founders of the movement ; we may with immature pen write it down as rubbish ; or as not 'of the essence' of the matter. But we shall only do so by shutting our eyes to very much in the records that we do not wish to see.

But Buddhism blotted out the 'man' from its creed, and that, it may be, little by little, during the Founder's day. Not heeding his warnings, "not body, not mind", men came to see in man just body and mind. Then they came to see in Jhāna an interesting procedure in bodily and mental





Inscription on a Mosque at Udayapur in Gwalior State. A.H. 1041 = A.C. 1632

I. H. Q., December, 1927

training. And then the kindly deva-warders are less and less heard of. Rūpajhāna and Arūpajhāna became associated with after-death prospects only, and to-day not even with that. As worded in the Abhidhamma they would seem to be now dead words in a stereotyped routine.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

Persian Inscriptions in the Gwalior State

2

I

This epigraph comes from Udayapura[1] (23° 54″N and 78° 6″E) in the Bhilsa district of the Gwalior State, and is four miles from Bareth Railway Station on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway. Though reduced to a mere village at present, traditionally it is supposed to have been founded by Udayāditya (A. C. 1059-81), the Parmara ruler of Malwa, and the builder of the great fane of Udayeśvara. This exquisitely fine massive structure which is profusely adorned with sculptures and covered with numerous important mural records is one of the many interesting traces of importance of the Hindu times, which are found scattered round the town. The earliest Muhammudan influence dates from the 14th century, but little of consequence has survived.

The town has been visited by Sir A. Cunningham[2] and his assistant, but the mosque with this record on it has escaped their notice. Thus the inscription under reference does not appear to have been edited so far.

II

The epigraph is cut in raised letters in a slab, fixed over an arched window in the outer part of the northern wall of a fine

1 I.A., vol. LV., p. 4. 2 CASR., VII, pp. 81-88; X, pp. 686-9.

big mosque, and is conspicuous by its having been located in quite an uncommon place. The stone used is local soft white sandstone, which has peeled off in places and measures 4′−1″×1′−0.″ The inscription is written throughout in Nastaliq characters and is Persian in language except the quotations from holy texts.

It begins with the usual invocation which forms the topmost line of the oblong enclosing the Kalima and, having for its bottom side, the names of the four Caliphs and that of Imam Hussain for its right and left. This is followed by quotations and a line of Persian verse in eulogy of God. The record proper goes to tell that one Qazi Aulia commenced this mosque at Udayapura during the reign of Jahangir. Unfortunately both Jahangir and the Qazi died almost simultaneously when the building was only half built. The Qazi seems to have died away from Udayapura as his death came to be known after a year. After one more attempt towards completion by Sayyid Anbia who too met his predecessor's fate, the sons of the deceased Qazi brought it to completion at the time of the accession of Shah Jahan in A.H. 1041. (A.C. 1632). It closes with a request that whosoever happens to pray in this mosque should pray for the glory of king Jahangir, the Qazi, and for the reigning king.

Of the persons named Jahangir and Shah Jahan are simply too well-known, while Qazi Aulia seems to be the then Qazi of the town. Of the places mentioned, Udayapura is just the town in which this mosque stands and Chanderi[1] is the very town situate 60 miles north of Udayapura, still known for its surviving industry of fine muslin and gold brocade work, while Gondwana[2] was the name given to a portion of the country now included in the Central Provinces.

I read the inscription as given below :—

1 I. H. Q., vol. I, pp. 653-655.
2 I. Gaz. of India (C. I.), pp. 115-116.

حضرت امام حسین

حضرت امام حسین

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

حضرت ابا بکر حضرت عمر حضرت عثمان حضرت علے

قال النبی صلی الله علیه و سلم من بنا مسجد فی الدنیا بنا الله تعالی قصر فی الجنت - و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا

ای سر تو در سینهٔ ه. صاحب راز * پیوسته [در] رحمت تو بر همه باز
هر کس بدرگاه تو [یا] فت پناه * محروم ز درگاه تو کے گردد باز

بنا این مسجد در قصبه اردیپور سرکار چندیری صوبه

مالوه سر حد گوند (ر) انه قاضی اولیا ابن سید عبدالصمد در عهد بندگان حضرت ابوالمظفر نورالدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه بوده بود هنوز عمارت مسجد نیم [بود] که بادشاه و قاضی مشار الله بدار [ا] لبقا [ر] حلت فرمودند

بعد یکسال سید انبیا تلاش نموده که ایشان هم غریق رحمت شدند اخرالامر این مسجد را سید حامد و سید داؤد ایران سید اولیا بنعایت الله تعالی انصرام رسانید در یمین جلوس بندگان خلافت پناه [ظل] الهی حضرت شهاب الدین محمد

صاحب قران ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی - هر که د [ر] بن مسجد جامع نماز ادا کند برای حضرت فردوس مکانی و قاضی مرحوم بفاتحه یاد کند و بدوام دولت بادشاه عصر دعاء خیر نماید سنه الف واحد [و ا] بعبر





Translation

Lines 1 and 2

In the name of God, the most merciful and compassionate. There is no God, but God, and Muhammad is the apostle of God. Hazrat Abū Bakr, Hazrat Umar, Hazrat Uthman, Hazrat Alī, Hazrat Imam Husain.

The Prophet hath said (may God's peace and blessings rest upon him), "He who builds a mosque in the world, God Almighty builds (for him) a palace in paradise".[1] Verily the mosques are for God, therefore invoke not any one along with God.[2]

Oh (Thou)! Whose mystery (is cherished) in every heart devoted to (in tracing out) Thine mystery, and the door of whose munificence is always open to all. Whosoever sought protection in thy court, wherefore can he return unsuccessful from Thy threshold.

The foundation of this mosque (was) laid at the town of Udayapura, (situate) in Chanderi *Sarkar* (Dist.) of *subha* (province).

Line 3

Malwa, on the borders of Gondwana; by Qazi Auliya, son of Syyid Ab-ul-Samad in the reign of king, His Majesty Abul Muzaffar (the son of victory) Nurul-din (the light of religion) Mahammud Jahāngīr. And the building up of the mosque was yet half (done) when the king and the Quazi above mentioned departed for the eternal world.

Line 4

After a year Sayyid Anbia discovered (the fact of Quazi's death), but he (Sayid Aulyia) himself was drowned in the same divine benignity (died before he could do anything for the mosque). Finally Sayyid Hamid and Sayyid Dasaood, sons of (the deceased) Sayyid Aulyia through the favour of God

1 *Mishkat sharif.* 2 Qur'ān, chap. LXXII, 18.

Almighty brought (the mosque) to completion, at the accession of servant of Khilafat, shadow of God, His Majesty *Shahabuddin* Muhammad.

Line 5

The second Lord of the (auspicious) junction (of stars), emperor Shahjah Ghāzī (the victorious): Whosoever (happens to) say his prayer in this big mosque should (also) recite *Fatha* (exhordiem) for (the souls of) His Majesty, the dweller of Elysium (Jahāngīr), and the deceased Quazi (Sayyid Aulia) and should pray for the perpetuity of the rule of the king of the time (in the) year one thousand and one and fourty date tenth *Zi,ul-hijja* (A. H.) 1041 (=circa June 1632 A.C.)

III

The inscription furnishes an interesting link in the political geography of those days by pointing out one of the border prints of Gondwana, which touched the boundaries of Malwa. It also lends support to the fact that Chanderi being situated at the gates of Malwa—as often noticed by historians—has always been the head-quarters of a governor under the Malwa Sultans as well as under the Mughals. There is some unauthentic record also in the inscription. It puts the completion of the mosque, at the time of the accession of Shahjahan and gives the date as A.H. 1041—but the accession took place in A. H. 1038.[1] Thus the difference may either be assigned to the defective system of communication of those days causing considerable delay in spread of news or to the words *a'n jalus* which may be taken to mean "during the reign of" instead of, "at the time of the accession of."

RAMSINGH SAKSENA

1. The Chronology of Modern India (J. Burgess), p. 83.

Discovery of a New Historical Stone Horse

In the south-east corner of the sacred city of Benares, there lies a village named Nagawa, which is mentioned in the Naiṣadhīyacarita of Śrīharṣa as Nalagrāma. It contains a tolerably big grove, designated as *Tulsīdās kā Bāgīcā*, after the saint Gosvāmī Śrī Tulasīdāsa, the renowned author of the Hindī Rāmāyaṇa (Rāma-carita-mānasa), who installed therein an image of Śrī Hanumān naming it Śrī Saṅkaṭa-mocana.

In my boyhood, the image stood in rather a small room, built for the purpose. But the room has since, from time to time, been largely rebuilt, altered and extended, through the bounty of the devotees of Śrī Hanumān and admirers of Tulasīdāsa, and at present it stands quite a respectable looking building. A big temple of Śrī Rāmacandra has also been erected in front of the temple of Śrī Hanumān by some generous votary, and of late, several rooms and verandas have been added as a separate block for the convenience of visitors. The water of the well, situated between the two temples, has long been noted for its digestive and other beneficial properties, and hundreds of the residents of the city daily frequent the grove to drink the water and do homage to Śrī Saṅkaṭa-mocana, while on Tuesdays and Fridays there is a regular *Melā* in the holy place. I also sometimes visit the temple while staying at Benares.

For the last twenty or twentyfive years, there has been lying a stone horse between the two temples, a little to the south of the famous well. Though I marked the horse often while visiting the temple, yet I would never take any special notice of it. One day, however, it struck me that the horse resembled the one preserved in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow believed to commemorate the Horse-sacrifice.

performed by Samudragupta,[1] in the middle of the 4th century A.D., and I thought it might bear some inscription on it. Consequently I looked at it a little carefully, and was glad to find that it actually did show on its right side near the flank a few ancient characters, and on the left side, two special marks; one of the shape of a *ḍamaru* on the left side of the belly, and the other resembling a rough map of India on the left side of the neck.

A few days later, I proceeded again to the place with requisite materials and obtained rubbings of the inscription and the marks, and afterwards, arranged to get the horse itself photographed by an expert. Plates of the photo and the rubbings of the inscription, the *ḍamaru*-mark and the map-mark are appended to this article, marked respectively I, II, III and IV, for consideration by experts in old inscriptions, archæological investigators and scholars of ancient history.

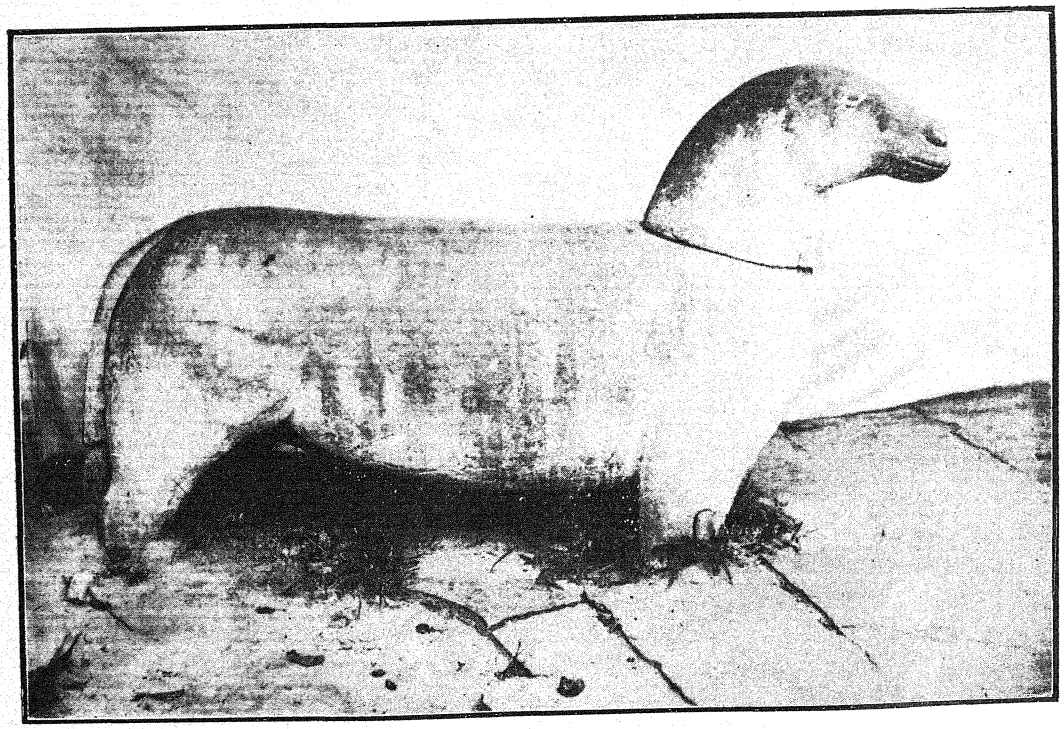
PLATE NO. I

Plate no. I represents the figure of the horse in question. It is made of the common but a hard variety of Chunar

1 Vincent A. Smith, in his 'Early History of India' (3rd Ed., p. 288) says "Another memorial of the event seems to exist in the rudely carved stone figure of a horse which was found in Northern Oudh, and now stands in the Lucknow Museum with traces of a brief dedicatory inscription incised upon it, apparently referring to Samudragupta." Then he adds in the footnote ; "The fact that them utilated inscription—dda guttasa deyadhaṃma—is in Prâkṛt suggests a shade of doubt. All other Gupta inscriptions are in Sanskrit (JRAS., 1893, p. 98 with plate). See fig. 11 in plate of coins. The horse having been exposed to the weather outside the Lucknow Museum for years, the inscription has disappeared. The image is now inside the building. The inscription was legible when the first edition of this book was published."

To my mind it is very curious indeed that an inscription, that could maintain its legibility under all the inclemencies of weather, for about 1600 years, should totally disappear only in ten to fifteen years.

PLATE I



The Stone Horse

sandstone, and its workmanship is quite ordinary, rather clumsy. The neck and head are made from a separate block of stone and joined to the body. They differ perceptibly in shape and posture from those of the Lucknow horse. All the four legs are broken from beneath the fore-arms and gaskins. It is, however, evident from what remains of them that the two fore-legs were not separated from each other, i.e., the stone was not chiselled away from between them. This is exactly the case with the two hind legs also. The tail too is joined to the stone intervening between the two hind legs. In these respects it resembles the Lucknow horse. The legs being broken beneath the thighs, a portion of the lower part of the tail has also been destroyed. The lower portion of its left ear is still visible, from which it may be inferred that it once had that ear complete, though now broken. But there is no trace of its ever having had the right ear. The spot, where it should have stood, is quite smooth and plain and bears no mark of its having had ever anything standing thereon. It appears that the horse had been made only with one ear. The fact is rather significant and will be discussed later on. The length of the figure, from the mouth to the root of the tail, is 4′ 11″, its height, from the thigh to the back, 2′ and the circumference round the belly 5′. Thus, it is smaller than the Lucknow horse, which is 6′ 11″ × 5′ 2″.

It bears the inscription given in plate no. II on its right side near the flank; the *ḍamaru*-mark shown in plate no. III in the middle of its left side and the map-mark given in plate no. IV on the left side of its neck. There are also a few characters discernible on its right hip. But they are so worn out and indistinct, that I could not take an impression from them. From the shapes of the first two characters which are a little less indistinct and resemble the Devanāgrī ग्या or ष्य and ष, I can however infer that they are not of very old type.

PLATE NO. II.

Plate no. II represents the inscription on the right side of the horse. It seems to consist of five letters, the first of which is so very indistinct that I am unable to guess it from its shape, with any degree of probability. The second letter somewhat resembles the च of the second and third century A.D. The crest on it particularly inclines me to read it as such. The third letter I read as द्र, with an *Anusvāra*-mark (ं)on its head. The *Repha* (◌्र) joined beneath द appears certainly to be a little extended and rounded, so as to assume a noose-like shape. But this was not quite uncommon in the calligraphy of the period to which the inscription apparently belongs (see "The Palœography of India," plate xii). The fourth letter I take to be ग , with the vowel-mark (◌ु) attached to it; about the noose-like shape of it, the same remarks may be made, as in respect of the Repha of द्र. The fourth letter is quite worn out and illegible.

Now, if my deciphering be correct, then the inscription reads as— चद्रंगु—(—cadraṃgu—). But this reading, as it stands, makes no word. So, if we assume that the Anusvara-sign (the dot), by an inadvertence of the engraver, has been transferred from च to द्र, then we can read the inscription as—चंद्रगु —(Caṃdragu—). If our surmise as to the transference of the dot be correct, then the fifth letter can very well be assumed to have been प, and thus we decipher the inscription as—चंद्रगुप्त(—Caṃdragupta).

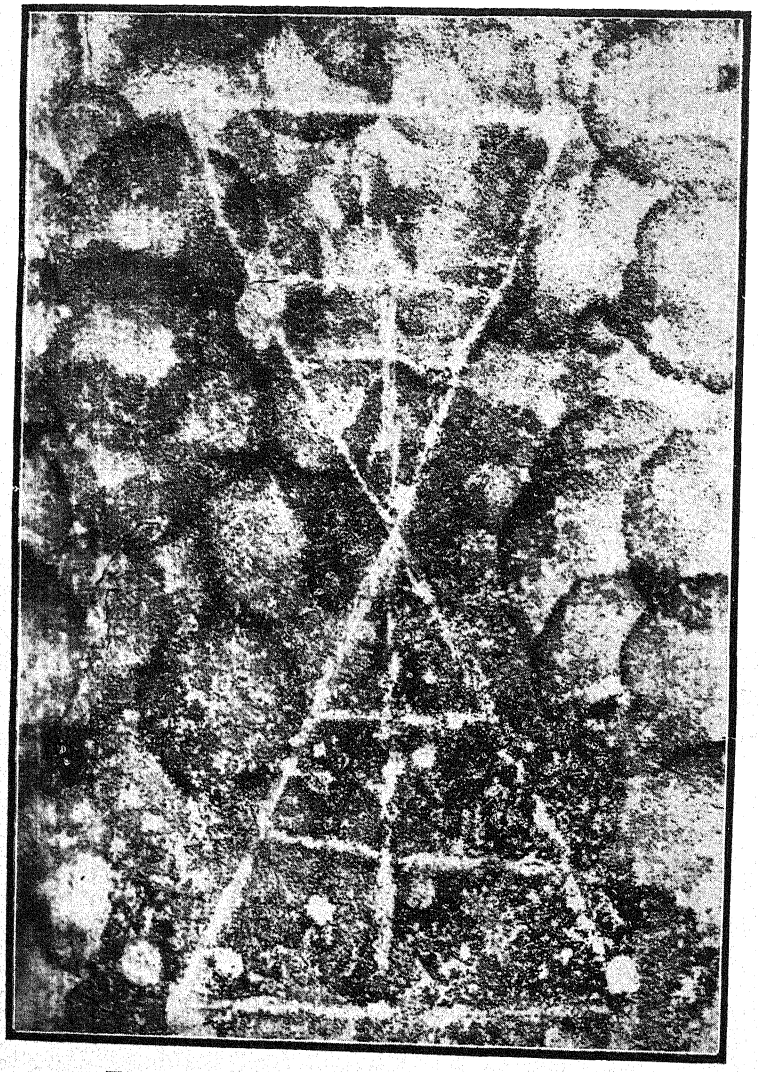
Now, as regards the first letter. If our deciphering is so far correct, and the word is really —चंद्रगुप्त, then the first letter must necessarily, by itself, form one complete word, and such a word as is prefixed to a great name as an auspicious honorific In Sanskrit we find that such a word is श्री (Śrī), and we also know that this word was, and is, very often prefixed to the names of kings, saints and other

PLATE II



Inscription on the Horse

PLATE III



The Damaru-mark on the Horse

great men. So, I would read the whole inscription as श्रीचंद्रगुप्त (Śrī Candragupta).

PLATE NO. III

Plate no. III is a copy of the *ḍamaru*-mark, found on the left side of the bowel of the horse. It resembles the *Āṭhāragoṭiā* playing board so closely that some persons are disposed to think that it was actually engraved to play the game. But it must be observed that in the present position of the horse, it is simply impossible to place the playing pieces on it. It may however be urged that the horse might have been lying at some time on its right side, when the diagram might have been engraved on it. But we should remember that the Āṭhāragoṭiā game is commonly played by the vulgar and rustic people, who were not likely to run home and bring a chisel for engraving the plan, and the mark does not appear to have been drawn merely with a piece of pointed iron nail, without the help of a chisel. I would regard it as representing a sectarian sign, a ḍamaru (drum) of Śiva, or some Tāntric mark. It may also be meant to represent a royal ensign or the altar on which a sacrifice is made. If, however, the stone horse be regarded as having some connection with an Aśvamedha, then the last conjecture should be the most plausible.

PLATE NO. IV

Plate no. IV gives a map-like mark seen on the left side of the neck. It may also be regarded as the representation of a *Caitya*, as found on some of the old coins. But, to my eyes, it looks more like a rough sketch of the map of India, or the bulk of it, than a Caitya. In a Caitya the curved lines, representing the pilings, are regular and symmetrical, while the lines in this mark are quite irregular, and more like the rivers and boundary lines of a country than the pilings of a Caitya. There are

also a few lines projecting from the main plan, which are not to be met with in the figure of a Caitya found on old coins.

Having briefly described the horse and the inscription and marks on it, I now proceed to say something as to who this Candragupta, whose name appears to be inscribed on the horse, might have been, and what the map-mark signifies. As regards the ḍamaru-mark, I have nothing to add to what I have already said.

We know that there were three Candraguptas renowned in the ancient history of India :—

(1) Candragupta the Maurya (B.C. 322 to 298).

(2) Candragupta I, the father of Samudragupta, (A.D. 320 to 335).

(3) Candragupta II, son of Samudragupta, known as Vikramāditya (A.D. 375 to 413).

Now, if it is to be assumed that the stone horse is necessarily connected with an Aśvamedha, and the inscribed name is that of the performer of the ceremony, then the inscription cannot be taken to refer to Candragupta the Maurya, as there is no evidence of his having performed a horse sacrifice. The evidence of the Purāṇas rather goes against his performing an Aśvamedha, as it is expressly stated in some of them that the custom of the Aśvamedha would be discontinued after Janamejaya, till its revival by Puṣyamitra, while Candragupta flourished more than a hundred years before Puṣyamitra.

Again it cannot be said to refer to Candragupta I, the father of Samudragupta, for though he extended his dominion up to Allahabad and Ayodhyā, yet he was not in a position to be regarded as the lord paramount in India, and could not, consequently, very well indulge in the performance of an Aśvamedha.

Candragupta Vikramāditya, the son of Samudragupta, was certainly the paramount sovereign in India of his time. He extended the dominion of his father, Samudragupta,

PLATE IV



The Map on the Horse



who had already performed an Aśvamedha, towards south-west to the Arabian sea, and was practically the sovereign of the whole of India, and emphatically in a position to perform the ceremony with full propriety. But we are unable to find any record of such a performance by him in any ancient history or inscription discovered ere now.

Consequently till a convincing proof of some other Candragupta having performed an Aśvamedha is forthcoming from archæological researches, we have to remain satisfied with one of the two following alternative assumptions :

(1) That an Aśvamedha was performed by Candragupta Vikramāditya also, like his father Samudragupta, and this stone horse is the first record of it found up to this time, or

(2) That Samudragupta, who performed an Aśvamedha, or his grandson, Kumāragupta, who also performed the ceremony, out of love and reverence for his father, inscribed the name of his sire on the horse, instead of his own.

I would rather prefer the first alternative, as the other one will necessitate another assumption also, viz. that the performer of a horse sacrifice might inscribe the stone horse, connected with it, with his father's name, instead of his own name.

If, however, the horse be not regarded as connected with an Aśvamedha, but simply as a commemorative dedication to some temple, or a boundary mark of some dominion, then, in the first case, I would connect it with Candragupta Vikramāditya, and in the second, with Candragupta I, the father of Samudragupta, who extended his dominion westward to Ayodhyā and Allahabad. I may note here that another stone horse has recently been discovered near Allahabad, and brought to the Lucknow Museum. Its head and all the four legs are broken. In size it is nearly equal to the Benares horse. I could see only one side of it. It has some marks on it, out of which one or two appear to be old characters. There are a few Devanāgarī characters also on it, which are quite legible.

As to the mark on the neck, I have already said that to me it looks more like a rough sketch of the map of India than a representation of a Caitya. The map might very appropriately have been engraved to signify that the Aśva-medha was performed after subjugating all the countries shown therein, i.e., the whole of India. We learn from Smith's Early History of India that Samudragupta had carried his victorious army to the extreme south of India, leaving, however, the western part of the Deccan unconquered, which was subsequently subjugated by his worthy son, Candragupta Vikramāditya. Vikramāditya as the pramount lord of the whole of the Indian Empire could therefore well perform the sacrifice.

It may, however, be asked in opposition to my theory: "was India in the time of Vikramāditya known in the shape, which is given in the plan ?" I may say in reply that the present map of India roughly corresponds to the rude sketch given in the plan, and the shape of the peninsula must have been very nearly the same in the 4th century as it is at the present day. Then, considering the progress which art had made in that century, was it so very improbable for a sovereign and his followers who made a successful march throughout the length and breadth of the country to know its shape even roughly. Cunningham's opening sentence in the Ancient Geography of India is—"From the accounts of the Greeks, it would appear that the ancient Indians had a very accurate knowledge of the true shape and size of their country." In the body of the said book, he cites passages from several old writers which support the said view. It is, therefore, not to be wondered that a rough sketch of India and its main divisions should have been known to Candragupta Vikramāditya.

Now, I may also say something as to the absence of one ear of the horse. If my impression as to the horse having been originally carved with one ear only be correct, the fact is curious and significant enough to engage the

attention of the archæologists and scholars of ancient history for its explanation. My own views on the question are briefly given below :

It is a well-known fact that the Gupta sovereigns, though officially and outwardly professing the Brāhmaṇical religion, were in fact Buddhistic at heart, and favoured the chief doctrines of that religion. Vincent A. Smith says in his Early History of India (3rd edition, p. 308) : "The first Chandragupta, who had been a follower of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, afterwards listened with conviction to the arguments of Vasubandhu, the Buddhist sage, to whose instructions he commended his son and heir, Samudragupta. At a later time Nargupta Bāläditya, who erected handsome buildings at Nālandā, the ecclesiastical capital of the church was regarded by Hiuen Tsang as having been a fervent Buddhist." Now, having regard to the partiality of the Gupta kings to Buddhism, it seems very probable that though they, in order to satisfy their ambition and to proclaim and record their brilliant and wonderfully long and successful campaigns and paramount power, were eager to perform the Aśvamedha with all its pompous ceremonies, yet they were averse to actually killing the horse, and contented themselves with cutting off one of its ears only, and propitiating the fire-god with the blood and flesh thus made available, and let the horse off otherwise unmolested. This conjecture is favoured by a practice still existing among some sections of the strictly vegetarian Hindus. Such Hindus, when they have an occasion to offer a *Bali* (sacrifice) of a goat to a god or goddess, generally satisfy themselves with cutting off the right ear of the goat to be sacrificed, and offer the blood and flesh thus obtained at the altar, leaving the one-eared goat to roam free about the temple. If my surmise be thought to have any degree of possibility, it may reasonably be said that the stone horse was made after the one-eared sacrificial horse.

The idea of the map of India and the explanation of

the one-earedness of the horse are only 'intelligent guesses', offered for consideration by scholars of archæology and history. It is for them either to confirm and substantiate them by additional considerations and new evidences, or to refute and replace them by more judicious and tenable explanations.

JAGANNATH DAS RATNAKAR

Rāḍha or the Ancient Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra

The word *Rāḍha* (pronounced *Rāḍh*) is a corruption of the Pāli word *Raṭṭha* or Sanskrit *Rāṣṭra*, an abbreviation of which is found in some geographical names such as Guj-rāṭ for Gurjjara-rāṣṭra, Mi-rāṭ for Maya-rāṣṭra, Su-rāṭ for Su-rāṣṭra. Hence *Rāḍha* is a corruption of *Rāṣṭra* meaning a country. The country therefore to which the general name of Rāḍha was applied and which was at once understood by this name must have had originally a specific name to which the word Rāḍha was attached, and we can very well conceive that the specific name was dropped for some very cogent reason, either on account of its extensive power or wide celebrity, simply to be understood by the general name of *Rāḍha*. The question is what was the real name of that country? All authorities[1] agree that *Rāḍha* was, and still is, situated on the western side of the Ganges. Here we have some basis to proceed upon, and the clue to the name is supplied by the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, which was written in the 1st century of the Christian era. The passage in which the name of the country occurs has thus been rendered by Mr. Wilfrid H. Schoff: "After these, the course turns toward the east again, and sailing with the ocean to the right and the shore

Rāḍha is the ancient Gaṅgārāṣṭra

1 *Śabdakalpadruma*, s. v. *Rāḍha*; Ānanda Bhāṭṭa's *Ballāla-carita*, pt. II, ch. I.

remaining beyond to the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land toward the east, Chryse. There is a river near it called the Ganges, and it rises and falls in the same way as the Nile. On its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river Ganges."[1] Commenting on this passage Mr. Schoff says "Ganges.—The name is applied in the same paragraph to district, river and town. By the district is meant Bengal."[2] Thus we find that in the 1st century of the Christian era there existed a country which was known by the name of "Ganges," a corruption of the word *Gaṅgā*, which extended to the Bay of Bengal; a river in it of the same name; and a town within it and upon the river, which was also called by the name of *Gaṅgā*. Ptolemy, who flourished in the 2nd century A.C. in the reign of Antoninus Pius, also speaks of a very powerful people called *Gangaridai* "who occupied all the country about the mouths of the Ganges," and he says that their capital was called *Gangé*.[3] Of course the country of the Gangaridai was called *Gaṅgārāḍha*, as the people generally derived their name from the country in which they lived. So here we have a distinct confirmation of the statement in the *Periplus* that there was a country on the bank of the Ganges (*Gaṅgā*) which was known by the name of *Gaṅgā-rāḍha*, or, properly speaking, *Gaṅgārāṣṭra* (the country of *Gaṅgā*), the capital of which was called *Gangé* or *Gaṅgā*. Megasthenes, who resided as an ambassador in the court of Candragupta in the 4th century before the Christian era, also says that the Gangarides were a powerful people, and that the final course of the Ganges passed through their country.[4] There can be no doubt

1 *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, p. 47, translated by Mr. Wilfrid H. Schoff. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 255.

3 McCrindle's *Ptolemy*, Bk. vii, ch. I, 81: *Indian Antiquary*, 1884, p. 365.

4 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 135.

therefore that there was a country on the western side of the river Ganges or Gaṅgā, which was called Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra. We can now un derstand that the specific name of *Gaṅgā*, as applied to the *country*, was originally dropped to avoid confusion, as that was also the name of the *river* which flowed through it, and likewise of the *market-town* which afterwards became its capital. Hence the word *Rāṣṭra*, or its popular form Rāḍha, came into vogue to indicate the name of the *country*, and in course of time when Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra became a powerful kingdom, the name of *Rāḍha* (or *Rāḍa*) as the name of the kingdom became stereotyped, and other countries also understood it by that name. The country of the Gangaridai, however, should not be confounded with that of the Prasii, the corrupted form of *Prācya* or Eastern, as the Magadha kingdom was called, though these two people were mentioned together by some of Alexander's historians[1] and though both these kindoms were situated on the western side of the Ganges. They were two separate and distinct kingdoms, the capital of the former, according to Megasthenes, being Parthalis, and that of the latter, Palibothra or Pāṭaliputra which was situated on the upper Ganges. The southern boundary of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.C. was the Bay of Bengal.

Though the early history of ancient Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra is lost in the mists of time and we have no sufficient materials for its reconstruction, yet from the stray facts which may be gleaned from the writings of ancient authors, Hindu and Greek, we can very well form an opinion regarding its extent, its influence and the power that it wielded: it maintained its supremacy and independence for several centuries before it was subjected to the Maurya empire. That the Gangarides or Gaṅgā-rāḍhIs were a powerful race has been attested by all

Suhma, a division of Rāḍha

1 McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 221, 281, 310, 364.

Greek writers: their name has not only been associated with that of the Prasii, the brave men of the Magadha kingdom, but Megasthenes distinctly says that they always maintained a body of 60,000 foot-soldiers, 1,000 bowmen and 700 elephants. But the earliest mention of Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra that we have is in the writings of Jaina and Buddhist authors. The *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*[1] says "He [i.e. Mahāvīra] travelled in the pathless country of the Lāḍhas in Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi: he used there miserable beds and miserable seats." According to the commentators, Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi were the two divisions of Lāḍha, which, according to Professor Jacobi, "may be identified with the classical Rāḍha or western Bengal and Lāṭa of the Buddhists, the native country of Vijaya, the legendary conqueror of Ceylon. Subbhabhūmi is probably the country of the Suhmas, who are also indentical with the Rāḍhas."[2] There can be no doubt that Subbhabhūmi is the ancient Suhma. Thus we see that, at the time of Mahāvīra, the reputed founder of the Jaina religion, who lived in the 6th century B.C., Gangā-rāṣṭra had already come to be called by the name of Lāḍha or Rāḍha, or the modern Rāḍh, and that it had already conquered the ancient country of Suhma. It should be stated here that Suhma and Tāmraliptā were two inependent countries at the time of the Mahābhārata.[3] It appears that while Buddha was performing asceticism at Buddha-Gayā before he attained the Buddha-hood, two merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika, who gave honey and articles of food to Buddha, came from Ukala or Utkala and arrived at a part called Suram where they hired five hundred carts to carry their merchandise. This part has been identified with a part of Tāmraliptа or modern Tamluk.[4] *Suram* is evidently

1 *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xxii, p. 84. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 84 note.

3 *Mahābhārata* (P. C. Roy's edition), Ādi p., ch. 113; Sabhā p., ch. 30; Bhīṣma p., ch. 9: see also *Brahma Purāṇa*.

4 Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 22; Dr. Satīs Ch. Vidyābhūṣaṇa's *Buddha-deva*, p. 143 note.

a corruption of *Suhma*. In the *Daśakumāracarita* Dāmalipta or Tāmralipta is also mentioned as being situated in Suhma.[1] It appears therefore that at the time of Buddha, Suhma had already conquered Tāmralipta so as to confer its name upon that maritime port. So we find that in the 6th century B.C., Gaṅgā-rāṣṭra or Rāḍha had already conquered Suhma and by its conquest acquired dominion in the ancient kingdom of Tāmralipta. There is nothing strange in the corruption of the name of Suhma into Subbha and Suram, for we find Suhma called Sumbha in the *Mahābhārata*[2] and in the *Telapatta Jātaka*.[3] But it is curious that the Purāṇas, excepting the *Devī Purāṇa*[4] which is an Upa-Purāṇa, do not mention the name of Gaṅgārāṣṭra or Rāḍha, nor do we find the name of Rāḍha mentioned in the classical works before the 10th century A.C. The aforesaid works, evidently in their anxiety to preserve the ancient names of Suhma and Tāmralipta mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, had studiously avoided mentioning the name of Rāḍha and in its stead had used one of the aforesaid two names. Nīlakaṇṭha, the celebrated commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, says "*Suhmāḥ Rāḍhāḥ*"[5], that is, Suhma is the same as Rāḍha. Rājaśekhara, who flourished in the 10th century A.C., was perhaps the first to use the name of Rāḍha in his *Karpūra-mañjarī*.[6] The *Prabodha-candro-daya Nāṭaka*,[7] which was written in the 11th century A. C., gives some account of Rāḍhāḥ. Buddha is also said to have visited Suhma and explained the *Janapada-Kalyāni Sutta*, while he was dwelling in a forest near the town of Desaka.[8]

(To be continued) NUNDO LAL DEY

1 *Daśakumāracarita*, ch, vi. 2 *Mbh.*, Sabhā p., ch. 30.
3 *Telapatta-Jātaka* (Cowell's ed.), vol. I, p. 232.
4 *Devī Purāṇa*, ch. 39.
5 Nilakaṇṭha's commentary on *v.* 25, ch. 30, Sabhā p. of the *Mahābhārata*. 6 *Karpūra-mañjarī*, Act I.
7 *Prabodha-candrodaya Nāṭaka*, act ii.
8 *Telapatta-Jātaka* in *Jātaka*, vol. i, p. 232.

Origin and Development of Vajrayāna

The Buddhist Tantras belong more properly to Mahāyāna and not Hīnayāna with its subdivisions of Śrāvakayāna and Pratyekayāna, though it is quite possible that their followers had also some sort of magical practices current amongst them.[1] The *Sādhanamālā* seems to lead us to infer that the Tantras were a development of the Yogācāra school which evolved out of the Śūnyavāda of the Mādhyamikas, but the form or the branch of the Māhāyāna that was directly responsible in the matter seems to be a third entity which is known as Vajrayāna, and about which very little is known to the students of Buddhism. The *Sādhanamālā* belongs to the Vajrayāna proper and throws immeasurable light on the aims, objects and practices of the people professing this peculiar religion ; we shall therefore attempt to give a connected account of Vajrayāna which we have been able to piece together from the *Sādhanamālā* and other Tantric texts discovered by us.

In the *Sādhanamālā*, the word Mahāyāna occurs twice[2] and from these references we can assume that the Tāntric religion was only an outcome of the Mahāyāna; and that the Vajrayāna acknowledged its suzerainty. The Mahāyāna, in the opinion of the Vajrayānists, is co-extensive with what they called Dharma[3] which they considered as eternal and to which was given a more important place in later Buddhism, than was assigned to Buddha himself. The word Śūnya occurs almost on every page in the present work, but so far as it can be ascertained this Śūnya does not represent the Śūnya as conceived by the Mādhyamika school and which was defined as :—

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1 In the *Mahāvagga* SBE, vi, 34, 1, we read of the magical powers of a whole family of a layman and special *Iddhis* obtained by the more advanced Buddhists by the practice of *Idhipādas* (v, 1, 57 ; vi, 15, 8). We read also of Bhikkhus carrying bowls made of human skulls and carrying odd bits, bones and dirty water (*Cullavagga*, v, 10, 2, 3). In the *Brahmajālasutta* there is a long list of superstitions and magical practices which must have then been in existence (pp. 9 ff.).

2 *Sādhanamālā*, p. 4—महायानात्र परिछौधते ; p. 225—धर्मं शरणं गच्छामि सत्यं महायानम् ।

3 *Ibid.*

अस्तिनास्तिदुभयानुभवचतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं शून्यरूपम्[1], or in other words

न सन्नासन्न सदसन्न चाप्यनुभवात्मकम् ।
चतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं शून्यं माध्यमिका विदुः ॥ [2]

To the Mādhyamikas both the subject and the object are Śūnya in essence, there is no reality either of the mind or of the external world. Obviously, this is a position which is not desirable for the Vajrayānists, because to them a positive aspect in the form of Vijñāna is absolutely necessary. Moreover, the Mādhyamika school is not referred to anywhere in the book except in one place where it is in the form of an epithet, of *Madhyamakaruceḥ*, to one of the authors of the Sādhanas, namely, *Dharmākaramati*. But if the Sādhana is analysed ample evidence will be found to prove that it belongs more to Yogācāra than to Mādhyamika. The word Yogācāra occurs in the *Sādhanamālā* twice only[3] but the Vijñānavāda as formulated in this school of thought is explained in many places in the book,[4] and this leads us to infer that the Vajrayāna is a direct development of the Yogācāra school and the Vijñānavāda it inculcated.

The word Vajrayāna occurs twice[5] in the *Sādhanamālā* and it is characterised as 'the path which leads to perfect enlightenment' or what they call in Sanskrit *Anuttarasamyaksambodhi*. Vajrayāna literally means the 'adamantine path' or vehicle, but its technical meaning is the "Śūnya Vehicle" wherein Śūnya is used in a special sense to represent Vajra. The reason why Śūnyatā is called Vajra is given in the undernoted couplet[6] :—

दृढं सारमसौशीर्यमच्छेद्याभेद्यलक्षणम् ।
अदाह्यविनाशि च शून्यता वज्रमुच्यते ॥

"Śūnyatā is designated as Vajra because it is firm, and sound, and cannot be changed, cannot be pierced, cannot be penetrated, cannot be burnt, and cannot be destroyed."

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1 *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, p. 23.

2 *Advayavajrasaṅgraha* (G. O. S. edition), p. 19. ll. 21, 22.

3 तस्य द्वारविधिं वक्ष्ये योगाचारानुसारतः ।—p. 210 ; मन्त्रतन्त्रादिसिद्धिश्री योगाचारक्रमः क्वचित् ।—p. 481.

4 For instance, p. 73—ग्राह्यग्राहकनिर्मुक्तं भावयेत् ज्ञानभावकम् ; pp. 93-4— ततो विश्वं चित्तमात्रं ग्राह्यग्राहकविवर्जितम् ; p. 146.—चित्तमित्रमात्रं च वैधातुकामकलक्ष्य etc.

5 एषोऽहमनुत्तरसम्यक्सम्बोधिमार्गं साध्यामि यदुत वज्रयानम् ।—p. 225 ; स प्राप्नोत्यचिराद्बोधिं वज्रयानप्रवर्त्तनम् ।—p. 421.

6 Quoted from *Yogaratnamālā* in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, p. 8 ; also from *Vajraśekhara* in *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, p. 23, ll. 23,24.

The Mahāyānists differ from the Hīnayānists in several important points, though for both of them the realization of Śūnyatā which leads to the cessation of sufferings is imperative. But the methods followed by the two branches of Buddhism are widely different, if not altogether antagonistic. The Hīnayānists are very keen on obtaining liberation for themselves by their own efforts, without looking into the conditions of the suffering humanity. They obtain Nirvāṇa, and freedom from sufferings and the consequential repetition of births and rebirths, and virtually an extinction of self altogether. But it must be remembered that even if they are able to gain Nirvāṇa, they cannot know the perfect truth or remove the veil which conceals the transcendental truth, nor can they impart the knowledge of salvation to others.

The Mahāyanists, on the other hand, do not care for their own salvation ; they are more solicitous about the deliverance of their fellow creatures who are in the grip of constant suffering than their own. They are not afraid of the *saṃsāra* or the cycle of birth and rebirth in the same sense as the Hīnayānists are, but they are always ready to undergo any trouble and sufferings if these lead to the spiritual uplift of all beings even in a small measure. Their compassion for the sufferings of humanity actuates them to renounce their merits or even their salvation, but they are able thereby to remove the veil covering the transcendental truth and become omniscient.[1] This ideal of a Mahāyānist finds expression in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* where the example of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva is set up, who refused to accept his Nirvaṇa though fully entitled to it until all creatures of the world were in possession of the Bodhi knowledge and obtained freedom from the worldly miseries.[2] They therefore keep their chain of Vijñāna ever active for the benefit of all. It is said that the Mahāyānist, or more properly a Bodhisattva obtains omniscience only after he had crossed the ten Bhūmis such as are described in the *Daśabhūmika Śāstra.*

This, then, may be considered the goal of every Bodhisattva and can

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1 B. Bhattacharyya, *Foreword to Tattvasaṃgraha* (G. O. S, No. XXX), pp. xlvii ff.

2 Sāmaśramin's Edition, p. 21—या(ता ?)वदवलोकितेश्वरस्य बोधिसत्त्वस्य दृढ़प्रतिज्ञा न परिपूरिता भवन्ति सर्वसत्त्वा सर्वदुःखेभ्यः परिमोचिताः यावदनुत्तरायाः(यां ?) सम्यक्सम्बोधौ न प्रतिष्ठापिता भवन्ति ।

be obtained either by following the tenets of the Śūnyavāda or the *Vijñānavīda*. The Mādhyamika theory of Nirvāṇa is Śūnya or a state about which neither existence, nor non-existence, not a combination of the two nor a negation of the two can be predicated. But in Yogācāra, which seems to be only a later development of the original Śūnyavāda, the element of Vijñāna or a positive element is present in addition to Śūnya or the Nairātmya or Non-Ego. The Bodhi mind is a chain of Vijñāna which is changing every moment, the Vijñāna of the previous moment giving rise to the Vijñāna of the next moment with the same memory, quality, conformations, etc. and this process goes on until the Vijñāna attains either omniscience or extinction or Nirvāṇa by eliminating all impurities.[1] But once omniscience has been attained the chain of consciousness will not strive further for Nirvāṇa (extinction), but will engage itself in the spiritual uplift of all beings; it can only get rest or extinction when the whole world is delivered.

Now this is the sort of Nirvāṇa where the Vijñānavādins will lead their followers. In this Nirvāṇa, as we have already pointed out, there are two elements: Vijñāna and Śūnya. The Vajrayāna which is the direct outcome of the Vijñānavādin school introduced a new element, or the element of Mahāsukha or 'eternal bliss' and happiness. It introduced further the theory of the five Dyāni-Buddhas each presiding over one of the five Skandhas or 'elements', and formulated the theory of *Kulas* or families of each of the Dhyāni-Buddhas emerging out of them in times of need. It introduced the worship of Śaktis in Buddhism for the first time, and a host of other things including a large number of gods and goddesses, their sādhanas, panegyrics, etc. Let us now try to trace the origin of this new type of religion by a reference to all available materials.

Tāranāth is probably right in saying that Tāntrikism existed from very early times and was transmitted in the most secret manner possible from the time of Asaṅga down to the time of Dharmakīrti[2] Asaṅga who was a brother of Vasubandhu (280-360) must have flourished in the first half of the 4th century and Dharmakīrti, who is not referred to by Hiuen Thsang but is referred to by I-Tsing, very

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1 *Tattvasaṃgraha* (G. O. S., No. xxx), p. 75—तस्याश्चाविद्याया योगाभ्यासादसमर्थतरतमत्वोत्पादक्रमेण व्यपगमात्परिशुद्धज्ञानसन्तानोदयादपवर्गप्राप्तिः।

2 Tāranātha's *Geschichte*, p. 201.

probably belonged to the period 600-650 A.D. So it can be seen that during a long period of nearly three hundred years Tāntrikism was handed down from Gurus to disciples in the most secret manner possible before the followers could swell in number so as to declare themselves as such; and it seems quite possible that Saraha Nāgārjuna, Luipāda, Padmavajra, Anaṅgavajra and finally Indrabhūti were the chief masters to boldly and publicly preach their doctrines and exhort people to follow their tenets and practices, though the names of some other Gurus also are heard in the period intermediate between Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti.

It is indeed very difficult to point our finger to the scripture from which Tāntrikism drew its inspiration ; but a perusal of Padmavajra's *Guhyasiddhi*, a grossly Tāntric work, leads us to infer that it was the *Guhyasamāja* which was regarded as the most authoritative work of the school. Padmavajra not only advocates the doctrines, tenets and theories embodied in the *Guhyasamāja* in all matters but also gives a succint digest of the work which he designates as *Śrīsamāja* also in his treatise.[1] Other writers also, for instance, Indrabhūti in his work entitled the *Jñānasiddhi* acknowledges the *Guhyasamāja* as a work of great authority and gives a summary of some of the chapters and topics dealt with in this work.[2] Thus it appears to us quite probable that this was the original work from which Tāntrikism drew its inspiration. It is believed to have been delivered in an Assembly of the Faithful by the Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcitta. The work which is written in the form of a Saṅgīti is considered as highly authoritative even now amongst Vajrayānists and is regarded as one of the Nine Dharmas of Nepal.[3] This is probably the first work of the Tantra school, and Asaṅga quite conceivably may have had something to do with it, as it is commonly believed that the

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1 तत्त्वहीना न सिध्यन्ति जीर्णैर्व तशतैरपि ।
सिध्यन्ति तत्त्वसंयुक्ता: सर्व्वत्रै व हि निर्मला: ॥
साधका भावनाश्रक्ता निर्मुक्ता: सर्व्वकल्मषै: ।
तच्च तत्त्वं स्थितं तन्त्रे श्रीसमाजे परिस्फुटम् ॥

Central Library Ms., 13124, fol. 4.

2 Here the Tantra is charactrised as *Śrīsamājottara* meaning probably the second part of the *Guhyasamāja*. The *Jñānasiddhi* is in the course of publication in G. O. S.

3 Bendall, *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Mss.*, p. 70.

Tantras were introduced by him, from the Tuṣita heaven where he was initiated in mysticism by Maitreya.[1] But of course, it cannot be said to be definite, or in any way based on sufficiently strong evidence, and it is very doubtful whether we will ever be in a position to trace the origin of the Tantra in the most precise manner possible.

It cannot be denied that in the very beginning in early Buddhism and even when Mahāyānism sprang up in later times, a very strict discipline was enjoined on the followers of the faith. On the Bhikṣus the rules were very strictly put into operation; for instance, they must not have anything to do with women, must not take any food that is forbidden. Wine, flesh, fish, appetisers and many similar objects of enjoyment were specially forbidden. The rules were good indeed and were very attractive in the time of Buddha, but were unnatural and as such its followers were expected to follow them only up to a certain time but not always nor for centuries afterwards. It is wholly absurd to expect obedience to such strict disciplinary measures from all members of Saṅgha even in Buddha's lifetime if not for centuries after his Mahāparinirvāṇa. And after all what will be the result? Freedom from births and rebirths is only a possibility, and the success at best is only questionable. The members of the Saṅgha must have revolted from time to time against these unnatural rules of discipline, and party quarrels on such points were already in evidence in the second great Council when the Mahāsaṅghikas were expelled from the Church by the Sthaviras because they disagreed to make any concessions on ten minor points of discipline. Rebellion against the rules on broader and more important matters of discipline must have been in existence amongst the monks,[2] but

1 See for instance, Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 128; Evidence of Hindu Tantras also favours the theory that the Tantras were imported from outside; see *Nepal Catalogue*, vol. II, Preface, p. xviii.

2 In the *Vinayapiṭaka* we hear of monks who used to send wreath of flowers to wives, daughters, young women and female slaves, to sit on one seat, lie on one bed, one mat, one coverlet with the wives and daughters and young women and famale slaves, to eat food any time, to drink strong drinks, to dance, to sing and play music and all these together in every combination. Buddha heard of this and sent some of his trusted disciples to carry Pabbājaniya-kamma against them (SBE.—*Cullavagga*, I, 13).

they could not create a party of their own which would be able sufficiently to cope with the orthodoxy which was sure to go against them and denounce them as heretics. These monks who saw salvation only in leading a natural life went on carrying out their object probably by writing what we call the original Tantras which were secretly handed down through their trusted disciples who could practise the rites only in secret. These Tantras are in the form of the *Saṅgītis* and are said to have been delivered by the Buddha in an Assembly of the Faithful. It is in this *Saṅgīti* form that all new ideas were introduced into Buddhism and the Saṅgītis we must remember were very powerful agencies in the introduction of innovations.

The orthodox followers of the faith are sure to challenge anything that has not been said by the Buddha and that seems to be the reason of the great popularity of the *Saṅgīti* literature. The original Tantras of Buddhism were also therefore in the Saṅgiti form wherein were inculcated doctrines which were diametrically opposed to the teachings of Buddha. Easy methods leading to happiness in this world were devised in this literature ; easy paths leading to salvations were shown ; great parade was made of the merits to be gained by the repetition of the Mantras, Dhāraṅīs and panegyrics, and worship of gods. But everywhere any casual reader can detect a desire on the part of the authors to thwart all unnatural rules and regulations imposed on the followers. These disciplinary regulations gradually slackened down one after another, and ultimately when the Vajrayānists gained in power and got an overwhelming majority a general revolution was declared against the Mahāyāna orthodoxy which in course of time dwindled to nothingness as they were powerless to fight against the growing disorder amongst the Tāntrikas.

The Vajrayānists were however conscious that they were doing something which was against religion and morality, and covert hints to justify their action are not altogether infrequent in their literature. Indulgence in five *Makāras* cannot be said to be conducive to the good of anybody in any religion ; to gain emancipation through the agencies of women such as was advocated in Vajrayāna did not also fail to create a baneful impression on the minds of their followers. Hence we find on their part a keen desire to justify their broad principles, and examples of this kind may prove interesting. The responsiblities of the Bodhisattva indeed are very heavy entailing untold sacrifices. They have to sacrifice everything for the good of the suffering humanity, they have to sacrifice their family, children, worldly enjoy-

ments for the benefit of all beings in order to lead them to the path of salvation. The Bodhisattvas cannot obtain their salvation even if they are entitled to it. But they must remain and must strive for the uplift of all. If these Bodhisattvas commit little mistakes such as in the form of taking wine, and being in the company of women, and indulge in good food, fish, meat etc. certainly that should not be taken into account in view of the colossal sacrifices the Bodhisattvas are daily making for the good of others.[1]

Later on this idea changed and the Vajrayānist gave a blank charter by boldly declaring that there is nothing in the world that cannot be done by the Bodhisattva who has taken a vow to emancipate the world. It is of course very interesting to note in this connection that ultimately in the Tāntric literature vow to emancipate the world was reduced to a mere convention, and though every Vajrayānist had to express this pious wish, indulgence in all actions by which common men are ordinarily doomed to hell were the only things practised by them to attain Siddhi. Indrabhūti who was one of the greatest diffusers of Tāntrikism says in his *Jñānasiddhi* that by those identical actions which make ordinary men rot in hell for hundred of crores of cycles, the Yogins obtain emancipation[2]. They went a degree still further and in an authoritative Tāntric work we find the following still bolder declaration :—

सम्भोगार्थमिदं सर्वं वै धातुकमशेषतः ।
निर्मितं वज्रनाथेन साधकानां हिताय च ॥[3]

"These Three Worlds as a whole have been created by Vajranātha for the enjoyment and the good of the worshippers." But the Sādhaka has to see that his mind is not troubled or that he is not attached to anything, i.e. to any paricular food or woman. If the mind is troubled once emancipation will be difficult to obtain.[4] The

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1 Compare *Cittasodhanaprakaraṇa* in JASB., LXVII, p. 178 :

बोधिचित्तं समुत्पाद्य सम्बोधौ कृतचेतसा ।
तन्नास्ति यन्न कर्त्तव्यं जगदुद्धरणाशयैः ॥

2 *Jñānasiddhi*, p. 32, sl. 15—

कर्मणा येन वै सत्त्वाः कल्पकोटिशतान्यपि ।
पच्यन्ते नरके घोरे तेन योगी विमुच्यते ॥

3 *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi*, p. 23, śl. 31.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 24, śl. 40—

तथा तथा प्रवर्त्तेत यथा न क्षुभ्यते मनः ।
संक्षुब्धे चित्तरत्ने तु सिद्धिर्नैव कदाचन ॥

crowning remarks were given by Anaṅgavajra where a sanction for hideous immorality is given in apparently very harmless wording; he says that without Prajñāpāramitā emancipation is not possible, and Prajñāpāramitā resides in every woman. Emancipation can be easily obtained by mystic *sādhana* with any woman whether of a low origin or high, or whether mother, sister or other near relatives.[1] Vajrayānists went beyond limits in their spite for the strict rules of morality, and they violated all of them and plunged headlong into worst immorality and sin and practised a religion which has been characterised by Raja Rajendralal Mitra in the following significant words :—

"Seeing however that the work in which they occur is reckoned to be the Sacred Scripture of millions of intelligent human beings, and their counter-parts exist in almost the same words in Tantras which are held equally sacred by men who are by no means wanting in intellectual faculties of a high order, we can only deplore the weakness of human understanding which yields to such delusions in the name of religion, and the villainy of the priesthood which so successfully inculcates them".

Probably in the course of time the Vajrayānists would have stepped back and brought in a more healthy tone in the religion, but by the time a reaction could set in, the Muhammadans were already up and doing, and with one stroke of their sword purged India for good of these horrible priests of immorality and lawlessness by killing every monk they could meet on the streets and looting the rich monasteries which were the strongholds of mysterious and highly objectionable hosts of priesthood engaged in still more objectionable rites and practices. It is indeed a pity that the Hindus, and also the Jainas to a certain extent, could not throw off the worthless and immoral practices enjoined in the Tantras even when Buddhism was stamped out of India. The reason for this is not far to seek. The attractive practices enjoined in the Tantras, with the scandalous superstition of Indian people to boot, proved very lucrative for the unscrupulous

1. Cf. *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi*, pp. 22 ff.—

प्रज्ञापारमिता सेव्या सर्वथा मुक्तिकांक्षिभिः।
परमार्थे स्थिता शुद्धा संवृत्या तनुधारिणी॥
ललनारूपमास्थाय सर्वत्रैव व्यवस्थिता।
ब्राह्मणादिकुलोत्पन्नान् मुद्रां वै अन्त्यजोद्भवान्
जनयित्रीं स्वसारं च स्नुषां भागिनेयिकाम्।
कामयन् तत्त्वयोगेन लघु सिध्येत साधकः॥

priests who continued to fan the fire all along. All *Sampradāyas* as they are called are nothing but organisations for feeding worthless and idle priesthood. They are supposed to minister for those householders who are constantly practising impious actions and daily gaining in sins. These gigantic organisations therefore are more or less the outcome of superstious belief on the part of ordinary mortals and in these alone the residue of the once popular Tāntrkism finds its expression now.

Further, the Vajrayāna incorporated many leading tenets of Mantrayāna which was a form of Mahāyāna Buddhism, where Mantras, Mudrās, Maṇḍalas and gods were given the greatest prominence for the attainment of *Siddhis* or else Nirvāṇa or Omniscience. The earliest book of this class is the *Vidyādharapiṭaka* which has been characterised by Hiuen Thsang as belonging to the canonical literature of the Mahāsāṅghikas. But this unfortunately is not available to us in original Sanskrit and we cannot say anything with regard to its subject-matter or the particular tenets inculcated therein. But the case of the other work entitled *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* discovered by the world-famous scholar, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī is otherwise. The text of the book which forms a part of the *Vaipulyasūtras* of the Mahāyāna school is decidedly the earliest work of Mantrayāna at present available. It is written in the Saṅgīti form and in the same style as other Mahāyāna Sūtras are, in prose and verse, and in an archaic style very closely resembling the Gāthā style. This book must have been very popular even after the destruction of Buddhism from India as will be evident from the fact that the book was copied only about four hundred years back in a monastery of Soutnern India by Ravicandra, the head of the monastery called the Mūlaghoṣa Vihāra. The *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* deals with the formulæ and practices which lead to the material prosperity of the followers of Mahāyāna, and probably belongs to the early centuries A. C. but decidedly after the time of the composition of the *Amitāyus-Sūtra* or the *Sukhāvatī-Vyūha* which ushered in the conceptions of Amitābha or Amitāyus and Avalokiteśvara for the first time in Mahāyāna. The *Amitāyus-Sūtra* was first translated into Chinese in a period between A. C. 148 and A. C. 170 and hence the time of its composition may be fixed in about 100 A.C. or a little later. The *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* in that case would be only about a hundred years later than the *Amitāyus-Sūtra*. If we take the *Guhyasamāja* as the very first and the most authoritative work of the Vajrayāna school we must admit also that

much time must have elapsed between the age of *Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* and the age of *Guhyasamāja*, which cannot be very much later than the time of Asaṅga who is traditionally regarded as the author of the new introduction.

The beginning of the Saṅgīti in the *Mūlakalpa* is in the orthodox style in opposition to the Tāntric style which is decidedly later and where in the very opening scene Buddha is introduced in the company of a large number of women instead of an assembly of pure and pious Bodhisattvas as in the case of the earlier Saṅgītis. The doctrine of the five Dhyāni-Buddhas or even their names and Mudrās and their families are all absent in the *Mūlakalpa* while all these are present in the *Guhyasamāja*. Moreover the Mantras and Mudrās which were later on systematised in the Vajrayāna book are found scattered in the body of the text of the *Mūlakalpa* in a disorganised manner. The Mantras of the some of the Dhyāni-Buddhas themselves are found in the *Mūlakalpa* though not exactly with the same meaning or form in which they are met with in the *Guhyasamāja*. Furthermore, the example of a Bodhisattva disobeying all rules of morality and discipline, and obtaining emancipation by the five *Makūras* and other prohibited rites and practices, has not made its appearance in the *Mūlakalpa*. The *Mūlakalpa* indeed speaks of the Mantrayāna but it does not refer to Vajrayāna, which is mentioned for the first time in the *Guhyasamāja*. Under these circumstances we may be justified in calling the *Mūlakalpa* as one of the earliest Mahāyāna Sūtra works on which perhaps is based the outward foundation of the Vajrayāna system. Yet one who will read the *Mañjuśri-Mūlakalpa* very carefully will not fail to notice that it is the product behind which there is a history of development for several centuries. And probably if we could go to the root of this Mantrayāna, we would have voiced the opinion of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla that instructions on Tantras, Mantras, Mudrās and Maṇḍalas were delivered by Buddha himself for the benefit of such of his followers who cared more for the material prosperity than spiritual.

We can thus see that the Vajrayāna took into account all the good things, tenets, philosophical notions and theories, and incorporated all that was best in Buddhism and probably in Hinduism also, and it was owing to this that it attained great popularity. It satisfied everybody, the cultured and the uncultured, the pious and the sinful the lower and the higher ranks of people and devotees. The Vajrayāna which was in essence a very demoralising religion and went against all teachings of Buddha and of the great patriarchs of

Buddhism could be popular only because it could cater for all tastes and because it was cosmopolitan in character.

It is difficult to suggest the exact place where Tāntrikism originated. The introduction of Śakti worship in religion is so un-Indian that we are constrained to admit it as an external or foreign influence. Some of the Tantras also support this view.[1] But these Tāntrics who incorporated Śakti worship into their religion had some strongholds of their own from where the Tantras were disseminated amongst Indian public and got famous. In the *Sādhanamālā*[2] we find mention of four Pīṭhas or sacred spots of the Vajrayānists, namely, Kāmākhyā, Śirihaṭṭa, Pūrṇagiri and Uḍḍiyāna[3]. The identification of the first two is certain. Both are situated in the province of Assam. Kāmākhyā is now known both as Kāmākhyā and Kāmarūpa which is a few miles off from Gauhati. Śirihaṭṭa is modern Sylhet. The identification of the two others has given rise to much speculation and theorizing. Pūrṇagiri is sometimes identified with modern Poona but this is very doubtful, though at this stage it is extremely difficult to suggest any new identification. Among the four Pīṭhas Uḍḍiyāna is by far the most frequently mentioned and its exact situation has been a matter of great controversy. L. A. Waddel identified this Uḍḍiyāna with Udyāna in the Swat Valley. M. Sylvain Lévi will place Uḍḍiyāna somewhere in Kashgarh. Mm. Haraprasad Shastri definitely placed it in Orissa. We supported the third theory in several instances and assigned our grounds.[4] Indrabhūti is described as a king of Uḍḍiyāna, and Guru Padmasambhava as his son.[5] Padmasambhava married a sister of Śāntarakṣita in the latter's

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1 For instance, *Nepal Catalogue*, vol. II, p. 148 under the description of the *Soḍaśanityā Tantra* :

तन्त्रं मदुक्तं भुवने नवनाथैरकल्पयत् ।
त्वया तैर्भुवने तन्त्रं कल्पे कल्पे विजृम्भते ॥

M.M. Haraprasad Shastri informed us that he has discovered a Tantra where Śiva gives instruction to Pārvatī—गच्छ त्वं भारते वर्षे अधिकाराय सर्वतः, and asks her to preach the Tantra to all and then return.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 453, 455.

3 Also spelt as Oḍḍiyāna, Oḍyāna, Oḍryāṇa.

4 Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Intro., p. xxvii, and *Glimpses of Vajrayāna* in the Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference, p. 133.

5 Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 380.

native place in Zāhor[1] (modern Sabhar in the District of Dacca). Śāntarakṣita belonged to the royal family of Zāhor, and therefore it is hardly possible that the king of this place would allow his daughter to be married to a vagabond who comes from such a long distance as Kashgarh or Udyāna in Swat, being driven out of the kingdom by his father who in this case is Indrabhūti.[2] We can explain this marriage only if Uḍḍiyāna and Zāhor are believed to be nearer to each other. Moreover, Uḍḍiyāna is mentioned along with Kāmākhyā and Śirihaṭṭa which, as we can see, are very near each other, and it is hardly possible that Uḍḍiyāna should be associated with the other two even though the distance may be considerable.[3]

Uḍḍiyāna,[4] according to the authority of *I'ag Sam Jon Zan*, is the place where Tāntric Buddhism first developed. In the History of the Eighty-four Siddhas Uḍḍiyāna is described as containing 500,000 towns and divided into two kingdoms. In the one called Sambhala Indrabhūti ruled, and in the other named Laṅkāpurī[5], Jalendra ruled, whose son had for his wife Indrabhūti's sister Lakṣmīṃkarā who became a Siddha after which Indrabhūti handed over the kingdom to his son.[6]

This also does not clear up our difficulties but the identification of Uḍḍiyāna becomes dependent on that of Laṅkāpurī which is generally identified with either (1) a peak in the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain or (2) a place in Assam or (3) Central India or (4) Ceylon [7] But Laṅkā is never taken to the Northernmost and Westernmost parts of India such as either Kashgarh or Swat even in a remote fashion. Now, if we accept the identification of Laṅkā in Assam then Uḍḍiyāna will have to be located in the same country

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 382. Zāhor is identified by Waddell with Lahore with a query after it.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 381.

3 Compare Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 182—"and to the cemetery of Laṅkā Crtsegs-pa in the country of Zāhor, where he was named 'Padmasambhava". Note this Laṅkā was a part of the kingdom of Uḍḍiyāna.

4 S. C. Das wrongly writes Udyāna for Uḍḍiyāna as he may have thought the two to be definitely identical.

5 Note in Waddell, *op. cit.*, p. 182 this Laṇkā is associated with Zāhor.

6 Tāranātha, p. 325.

7 *I. H. Q.*, vol. II, no. 2, p. 354.

probably in the Eastern part of it, and this seems to be more likely as Kāmākhyā and Sylhet are both situated in Assam which till recently formed part of the province of Bengal.

Moreover, the first Siddhācārya Luipā in the *Pag Sam Jon Zan* is described as sprung from the fisherman caste of Uḍḍiyāna who rose to be the writer in the employ of Samantaśubha, the king of Uḍḍiyāna. He met Śavarīpā who initiated him into the mysteries of Tāntrikism.[1] But in the Tangyur Catalogue he is characterised as a Mahāyogīśvara and what is important *as a Bengalee.*[2] Mm. Haraprasad Shastri has discovered some Bengali songs composed by him and published them in his now classical work *Bauddha Gān o Dohā* with a short account of the author and his songs in the introduction.[3] Luipā seems to have composed a book of songs, entitled *Luhipādagītikā*, which is now preserved in Tibetan translation only and from which only a few songs are extant in the original language.

There is, then, an apparent discrepancy in the two statements about the native place of Luipā ; the testimony *Pag Sam Jon Zan* will take it to be Uḍḍiyāna whereas the Tangyur Catalogue will have it in Bengal. There is, however, in our opinion, no discrepancy in the two statements, because Luipā can belong to Uḍḍiyāna and still be a Bengalee. The identification of Uḍḍiyāna not being settled and under the circumstances enumerated above, it is quite possible to locate it in Bengal. If however Laṅkāpura, the counterpart of Uḍḍiyāna, is located according to Prof. Jacobi in Assam, then Uḍḍiyāna also will have to be located in Assam possibly in the Western part of it which is also a part of Bengal.[4]

It is then in Uḍḍiyāna that Tāntrikism first developed and was probably transmitted to the other Pīṭhas like Kāmākhyā, Śrīhaṭṭa and Pūrṇagiri (which must be somewhere near) and thence to the rest of India.

BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYA

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1 *Op. cit.*, Index, cxv, pp. 63, 124, 135.

2 P. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, 2 partie, p. 33 under no. xii, 8.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

4 In the *Sādhanamālā*, pp. 80 and 83 Sarahapā is also associated with Uḍḍiyāna. Saraha wrote a number of Bengali songs (*Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, Intro., p. 26). He is said to have been born in the kingdom of Rajñi (?) in Eastern India. (*Pag Sam Jon Zan*, index, p. xxvi).

Hidden Traces of Buddhism in Assam

1. I desire to state at the outset that in a paper dealing with social and religious customs it is well nigh impossible to give exact facts which go to make scientific history. Conclusions therefore have to be drawn from observed facts of a later day, which take the colour of personal opinions and are always subject to correction or verification in the light of other and more abundant materials, which may be available afterwards. The observations which I make later on in this paper are necessarily of this character and may be accepted with this caution.

2. Mention of Kāmarūpa is easily traceable in the Epics. In the Rāmāyaṇa the name Dharmāraṇya appears to denote Kāmarūpa; while the name Prāg-jyotiṣa also occurs, which is said to be on the Barāha mountain on the sea-coast. The sea probably means the Brahmaputra, whose estuary at that distant date is thought to have been near the Garo-Hills.

In the Mahābhārata, the king Bhagadatta and his kingdom Prāg-jyotiṣa are so famous that they require hardly to be mentioned in this connection.

All the Purāṇas mention Kāmarūpa as a kingdom lying on the eastern side of India; and some of them contain long and detailed description of this country.

Kālidāsa has been held to have flourished in the middle of the 5th century A.D. at the latest. He describes his hero, Raghu, the great grand-father of Rāma, as a conqueror of Kāmarūpa. This at least proves that in the 5th century A.D. Kāmarūpa was a well-known kingdom.

And before that in the days of Candragupta Maurya (316-292 B.C.) "we learn from the famous Allahabad Pillar that Kāmarūpa was nown then as a state lying away east of Nepal" (Col. Shakespeare).

3. Though thus through a long period, the name of Kāmarūpa is to be found in what may be called the Hindu records, it is strange that we do not come across this name in the voluminous records of Buddhism till the time of Hieun-Tsiang. It cannot be that the kingdom of Kāmarūpa sank into such insignificance that it was not known to the Buddhists. For other records contemporary with the hey-day of Buddhism (i.e. from about 500 B.C. to 700 A.D.)

mention the kingdom. We are therefore irresistibly led to the conclusion that to the Buddhist the country was known by some other name. And this seems all the more probable from two facts :

First, many places and tribes of India are known by different names in the Buddhistic literature.

Secondly, it appears that each religion at that period regarded the other with hostility, and as far as it was possible, refrained from making references to the others' activities, e.g., even such of the Purāṇas, as are thought by competent authorities to have been written in the Buddhistic period, speak only meagrely or indirectly of the great Buddha and the social upheaval which his teachings led to.

4. Even if Kāmarūpa was known by a different name to the Buddhists,it is very difficult to know what this name really was. There is a tradition in Burma, Bhutan and Tibet that the name of Kāmarūpa at that time was Wesali-Long or Vaiśālī, and that the Second Synod of the Buddhists was held here in the early part of the 4th century B.C. Col. Shakespeare also states these facts in his History, but does not mention the source of his information. In some of the Vaṃśāvalīs of Assam, the ancient name of the place has been stated to have been Vaiśālī. It may be borne in mind that the scholars have not agreed as to the exact location of Vaiśālī and very few of them have yet turned their eyes towards Assam.

There is however a general belief that Buddhism was never a prevalent religion in Kāmarūpa. I am inclined to think that Sir Edward Gait is mainly responsible for this theory. He based his conclusions solely on Hieun-Tsiang's description of Kāmarūpa in the 7th century A.D. and seems to have overlooked other facts.

What Hieun-Tsiang says, however, is—"though the people adored the Devas, there seemed to be little faith in the Buddha himself; and no place in which Buddhist Priests could assemble appears to exsist. Such disciples, as there are, are certainly of pure faith, but pray more or less secretly" (Col. Shakespeare).

This, it would appear, simply means that the prevalent faith was not Buddhism though there were certainly disciples of the Buddha at the time. The Chinese Pilgrim also says that the king Kumāra Bhāskara Varman though not of the pure faith still respects the Buddhist Śramaṇas greatly. All these show that Buddhism was tolerated, and even regarded with certain respect, though the people generally might not have been professed Buddhists. It should be borne in mind that while the countries surrounding Kāmarūpa, namely Tibet, Bhutan,

Burma, Pauṇḍra-vardhana (north Bengal) and Samataṭa (east Bengal), all came under the sway of Buddhism, it would be strange if the kingdom of Kāmarūpa could altogether escape from its influence—an influence which spread throughout the whole civilized world.

I have already related a few traditions, and in this connection I wish to quote from Col. Shakespeare: "Tibetans and Bhutanese believe that Buddha died in Kāmarūpa, while the learned Hungarian traveller, Csomo de Koros, claims that the Saint died in Gauhati under a pair of Sal Trees. The great Chinese Hieun-Tsiang had also the same idea."

This strikes us as a bit startling, specially when we have learned not to associate anything great with the degenerated eastern nook of India of the present day. But traditions are not valueless, because they happen to be traditions. Here is what Prof. Breasted, speaking of discoveries in the Tutankhamen Tomb, where a documentary reference to the Trojan War was traced, says:—

> "This contemporary reference to the Trojan War is an epoch-making revelation, which must re-act powerfully upon our treatment of early human traditions. It is at once demonstrable that such traditions must not be thrown on the scrap-heap, but rather carefully divested of gods, goddesses, prodigies and wonders, and then examined for the nucleus of sober truth upon which the legendary tale was built."

Materials at present available would not justify any definite conclusion; but such traditions are certainly indicative that the great religion of the Buddha had some hold on the people of this ancient kingdom.

5. Not only tradition, but history also gives some hints about prevalence of Buddhism in Kāmarūpa. During the reign of Mahārāja Naranārāyaṇa of Cooch Behar, one Ralph Fitch, a European, visited the country. Sir Edward Gait quotes the following in his History of Assam (p. 60) from the description left by this traveller:—

"..... There (in the Koch-kingdom) they be all gentiles, and they will kill nothing. They have hospitals for sheep, goats, dogs, cats, birds and for all living creatures. When they be old and lame, they keep them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quick thing in other places and bring it thither, they will give him money for it, or other victuals, and keep it in their hospitals or let it go. They will give meat to the ants."

But with the pre-conceived idea that Buddhism never flourished

in Kāmarūpa, Sir Edward (*loc. cit.*) finds it "difficult to explain the statements made by this traveller regarding the great tenderness shown by the people for animal life" and presumes that "the state of things described was due solely to the personal action of Nara-nārāyaṇa himself."

Would it not, however, be the simpler theory and accord with facts, if it was frankly held that it appears that Buddhism flourished in Kāmarūpa during the days of the rise of Kocha power? A single man, powerful ruler though he be, cannot transform a people into such gentle creatures in the course of one generation.

In fact, we find many references to Buddhism in the ancient Assamese Literature. Sir Edward Gait says that there is no trace of this religion in the old records and inscriptions. But he forgets to mention that in one of the most well-known copper-plates, which he himself discovered and caused to be deciphered by Dr. Hornle, namely the copper-plates of Indra-Pāla (about 1050 A.D.), there is a clear mention of a Śāsana (or rock-cut edict) of the Tathāgata (Buddha), which was then existing, and which is given as a boundary mark of the land-grant forming the subject of this inscription. This land-grant was made in a village, then known as Makkhhi-yāna and now called Mākhi-bāhā near Tihu in Kāmrūpa. There is still a small mound in the neighbourhood, of which no one knows the history or the tradition. The people call it Banuwā Deul or the Jungle-mound. We will hear more of Indra Pāla later on.

6. Coming to Literature, we find mention of the Bauddhas and their excesses in the writings of Mādhava Kanadalī, Ananta Kandalī and Rāma Sarasvatī. The famous Kīrtan also contains such a passage. And in the life of Śrī Śaṅkara Deva, Daityāri mentions some Bauddhas coming to the Guru and having been driven away by his purifying force.

In the Dīpikā-cchandaḥ of Puruṣottama Gajapati, there are many passages referring to the Bauddhas and their excesses, and complaining that even the Brāhmaṇas were following the customs of the Buddhists (বৌদ্ধাচাৰী). It is true that the Dīpikā-cchandaḥ speaks of the Devī-pūjā which was characteristic of these impure people. But we must remember how Buddhism, in later days, gave rise to a form of religion which combined in its rituals Tāntric form of worship and sex worship. It is on this account that we find all the classical authors speaking of excesses of the votaries of Buddhism.

7. But there is a different kind of literature in ancient Assamese,

which has up till now attracted very little attention. This may be called, for want of a better name, the Tract Literature, as distinguished from the classics of the more well known authors.

This literature has two distinct sides—the exoteric and the esoteric. The tracts are original, though some of the esoteric kind profess to have derived their views from Caitanyadeva or Śaṅkara Deva. The names of the authors are not generally mentioned in the tracts and the writers give in them free scope to their heterodox views or other opinions.

A few of the exoteric kind (which cover a wide range of subjects) have been published. But the esotric ones are kept in great secrecy; and he must consider himself fortunate who is allowed a glimpse even into the less important ones. They contain things, which to describe them mildly, are very extra-ordinary; and speak with approval of the excesses of which the classical writers complain. There will be no space to speak of them in any more detail: and this is hardly the place for it. But I shall mention one of them.

This pamphlet is called Dharmasambād and was written in the reign of king Śiva Siṃha (middle of the 18th century). It narrates the following story:

Yudhiṣṭhira once performed a Yajña extending over 12 years; and Bhīmasena was at the gate to receive the guests. On the last day of the sacrifice, when the Pūrṇāhuti ceremony was to be performed, a Caṇḍāla appeared at the gate. Bhīmasena refused him admission, because of his low caste. Thus a discussion ensues, as the result of which Bhīma goes to Yudhiṣṭhira and speaks of this Caṇḍāla. The King comes to see him at the gate and again a deeper discussion begins, towards the end of which the Caṇḍāla declares that he is unable to accept any gift from the king, because a king is the impure of the impure:

পশু মধ্যে অধম কুকুৰ বুলি যাক।
দশ কুকুৰ সম কুমাৰৰ চাক॥
দশ খান কুমাৰৰ চাকৰ সমান।
হৱে অপবিত্র ৰজকৰ পাট খান॥
দশ খান পাটৰ সমান বেশ্যা জাতি।
দশ বেশ্যা সমান নৃপতি হোৱে আতি॥

And when the Brāhmaṇas heard this from the Caṇḍāla, they were also afraid of accepting gifts from the king, and went away, leaving the 12 years' Yajña unfinished. But Yudhiṣṭhira does not in the least

mind this; for he recognises in the Caṇḍāla Dharma himself and worships him.

The points to be noted in this extra-vagant story are: that the Dharma appears in the guise of a Caṇḍāla, that the Brāhmaṇas take his speech as more authoritative than the Śāstras and that a king like Yudhiṣṭhira does not mind the unfulfilment of a Yajña over which he spent 12 years.

That Dharma is the Buddha himself in another garb has been proved by scholars; and they in Bengal have been able to unearth a considerable literature on the Dharma-cult. A peculiar feature of this cult is that the Guru is generally a Caṇḍāla or of some such low caste. The respect for the Caṇḍāla in the story on the part of the Brāhmaṇas and the king is borne of this cause. What the Caṇḍāla says of the true nature of religion completely identifies his teachings with Buddhist tenets:

সত্য হন্তে ধর্ম্ম উপজয় পুনু,
দয়াত বাঢ়য় আতি।
ক্ষমাতে সে ধর্ম্ম সদাই থাকয়,
ক্রোধত বিনাশ যান্তি॥

"Religion springs from Truth, increases in Charity, resides in Forgiveness, and is destroyed in Anger."

I beleive any comment on this is unnecessary.

8. Another significant fact in this connection is the Cosmogony, as related in a considerable part of the esoteric literature above spoken of, and also in the Beulā-Lakhindar literature, that is, the works of Mānkar, Durgābar, and Nārāyaṇ Dev. They all derive the Universe from Śūnya (Nothingness) and speak of the Deity as Nirañjana. Now Śunya-vāda is a well-known philosophic doctrine of Buddhism. Nirañjana as a name of the Deity is widely employed in the Dharma-cult.

These are facts which show that the doctrines of Buddhism permeated throughout all the strata of social life in Kāmarūpa, and greatly influenced the thoughts of the time and were in vogue (in some form or other) even after the great Vaiṣṇavic revival of Śaṅkara Deva.

9. This brings me to that form of Vaiṣṇavism that had its revival and growth in Kāmarūpa and its probable indebtedness to Buddhism. The Kāmarūpa-Vaiṣṇavism differs considerably from other schools of this great Indian form of worship. Its proper appreciation

in relation to those other schools requires an amount of scholarship and research, which the present writer is unable to command. Here it is sufficient to touch upon its most salient features and to show how this school was greatly influenced by Buddhistic ideas.

The most note-worthy institutions of Kāmarūpa-Vaiṣṇavism are the Satra, the Nām-ghar, and the Śaraṇ.

The Satra is an institution which is not known, in the form existing in Assam, in any other part of India. It has many peculiar characteristics, e.g.,

A Satra is built in four Hatis or lines enclosing a big quadrangle; and an inner and an outer gate leads to it from the outside ;

The Bhakatas are celebates in all the representative Satras ; they live under the authority of an Adhikārin ;

A Satra is essentially a democratic institution where the Samūha, as the Bhakats are collectively called, has more or less effective voice in the control of affairs ; and

The Bhakats live, or had to live in former days, on alms, that is, doles received from the disciples of the Satra.

Now celebacy, living on alms, leadership of an erudite monk and control on democratic lines are essential features of a Buddhist Monastery. And it is also known that many monasteries, as also the Buddhist Universities, were built in four lines enclosing a huge quandrangle, and on the road leading to them from the outside were placed abodes for the Dvāra Paṇḍitas.

With our present knowledge it is useless to say definitely that our Vaiṣṇava-Satras are counterparts of Buddhist monasteries. But it must be borne in mind that the Satra must have had a history behind it ; and I leave it to the learned to work out what this history is.

10. I shall now add a word about the Nām-ghar. This is also an institution at once peculiar to, and national of, the Assamese people. Every Assamese village has a Nām-ghar. Free entrance is allowed into the prayer-hall, even to the people who are generally regarded as untouchable. In later time, however, this freedom has been restricted to that portion of the Hall which is known as the Top.

And this word Top appears to have kept in concealment within itself a whole history of a religion. The Top is that portion of a Nām-ghar which is covered by a rounded roof, this roof being added as a third roof to the western end of the other two roofs of the Hall. From the use to which it is put, viz., the accommodation of the lower class people, it is more than probable that the word comes

from Stūpa the well-known Buddhist word. It is on this account, perhaps, that even to-day all sorts of people are allowed entrance to this part. The rotundity of the roof of the Top may also owe its origin to the rounded shape of the Buddhist Stūpa.

11. Lastly, I shall have to speak a word about the Śaraṇa. The Kāmarūpa School of Vaiṣṇavism recognises four Śaraṇas, viz., (1) হৰিত শৰণ, (2) নামত শৰণ, (3) গুৰুত শৰণ, and (4) ভকতত শৰণ, i.e., a Vaiṣṇava must reverence the God, the Nāma or the Teaching, the Guru or the Teacher, and the Bhakata or the Order. The famous Tri-ratnas (three jewels) of Buddhism are the Dharma, the Buddha and the Saṅgha, that is, the Teaching (Dharma), the Teacher (Buddha) and the Order (Saṅgha).

It is striking that excepting the Śaraṇa in Hari or the God-head, the other three Śaraṇas are exactly identical in Buddhism and Kāmarūpa Vaiṣṇavism. Buddhism did not teach anything explicit of the God-head, so that Śaraṇa in Hari is a necessary addition in the Vaiṣṇavic cult. Now this very striking identity cannot be a matter of accident. It indicates some deeper connection between the two forms of worship.

There will be no space here to speak in detail of the Dissenters from the orthodox forms of Vaiṣṇavism and their teachings, which form the contents of the esoteric tract literature briefly noticed in a preceding paragraph; nor it will be possible to demostrate here how these teachings are similar to the doctrines of that form of Buddhism, which prevailed in a later age in the North, including Tibet and Bhutan.

But one particular sect cannot be overlooked. They are the Tamol-Nokhowas (তামোল-নোখোৱা). They are only a few hundred people and live in three or four villages of Upper Assam. They have their own priests and do not recognise Brāhmaṇas, and are so much freed from all ceremonials, that even their marriage is performed without any other ceremony than a formal intimation to their Order. They claim to be worshippers of the Buddha himself. They have got their own Kīrtan, Ghoṣa, and Bhāgavat; and these are entirely different from those we know. But the teachings of Śaṅkara Deva have had such a great hold on the people of Assam, that they think that the Buddha incarnation occurred after Śaṅkara Deva, and that the latter was a person superior to their Buddha. They derive their name from the extreme exclusiveness they maintain from other people, so much

that they are forbidden to take even a Tamol from anyone outside their creed.

13. It will bear mention in this connection that almost till now (and in some places even now) many lower caste people used to take their priests from their own castes. These priests are not regarded as Brāhmaṇas and till a generation ago did not wear the sacred thread; but had a pair of Karias (ear ornament) as their distinctive mark.

Near the Sorbhog Railway Station on the E.B. Railway in Barpeta Sub-division, there is a Thān (or sacred place) called the Gorakhīyā Gosāi Thān (গোৰখীয়া গোঁসাই থান), the abode of the God of the common people. Here the priest belongs to the Koch caste, though the god is held in high reverence by all castes, including Brāhmaṇas. Similar Thāns are common all over Kāmarūpa, though without a priest. The word Gorakhīyā literally means cow-keeper; but by transference it now signifies common people.

All these do show clear and distinct Buddhistic influence in Assam, even to a over-critical mind.

14. Now from Vaiṣṇavism, I come to certain Viṣṇu images. Of the well-known and oft-discussed images, one is the Janārdana image at Gauhati, just on the Brahmaputra, below the Śukreśvara Hills. It is regarded as an image of a Dhyāni-Buddha by many; while others think that it might be a Viṣṇu Mūrti as well, though the position of the lower two hands are very significant. And to any one who has seen it with a scrutinising eye, it will appear that the upper two arms were cut out in after age rather clumsily.

And the other Mūrti is the Haya-grīva Mūrti at Hajo. Tibetans and Bhutanese still come to this shrine and worship the image with an amount of devotion which is extremely rare among us. They call the image Mahā-Muni, or the Great Saint. Sir Edward Gait cites Dr. Bloch as the authority who thinks the Mūrti as that of the Man-Lion, Narasiṃha. But the characteristic posture of the lower hands is that of a Dhyānī Buddha.

As to this image there is a secret; and at Hajo there is a family who keeps this secret, and is known on that account as Viśvāsī. The real secret is not known, perhaps even to this family; but it is known that the inner rock image is covered by a layer of plaster of special preparation; and repairs to this layer are to be occasionally done by the members of this Visvāsī family. It is not improbable that under a layer of plaster which depicts the Haya-grīva (or the Man-

Lion, as has been thought) there shine the beautifully composed features of a Dhyānī Buddha.

And, in connection with this shrine there is a deeper secret still, the existence of which even is known only to a few. In the innermost recesses of the temple, the true object of worship is contained in a series of gold caskets. Not even all the Dalais—chief preists—are allowed to see what these caskets conceal. Only a few, whose devotion and good faith are beyond suspicion, are allowed to see this mysterious object under the most terrible vows. In one generation only two or three persons become acquainted with this secret; and they would not divulge it even at the cost of their lives.

Other traditions about Hindu shrines having been built over Buddhist ones ascribe the Kāmakhyā and many other temples to Buddhism. No real proof, which could count in history, can however be produced at this stage of our knowledge. Major Hannay, who made extensive tours of the Sadiya country, is of opinion that he found many Buddhistic ruins in that part.

I have already spoken of Indra-Pāla and his copper plates. In that plate which has been already mentioned, Indra-Pāla is depicted to be a devotee of Śiva. But it appears that he embraced Buddhism later on, and turned himself into a monk. To test him, he was placed with a Dārikā, public woman. But he proved himself true; so he was taken into the monastic order and renamed Dārikā-Pāla and in this name the King of Kāmrūpa composed many songs on Buddhism.

There are many indications which go to show that Kāmarūpa has had many glories in the Buddhistic period and researches into this particular period are likely to yield startling results.[1]

SARAT CHANDRA GOSWAMI

1 I am indebted for this information to Maulvi Muhammad Sahidulla, M.A., B.L., of the Dacca University; and he tells me that it is from Tibetan sources.

Max Müller's Introduction to the Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya *

II

Abhinidhāna or pause takes place :

1. When sparśas stand at the end ; e.g. vāk, triṣṭup (S. 394).
2. When sparśas follow sparśas (S. 393).
3. When sparśas follow antaḥsthas, excepting *r* (S. 393). It is thereby presumed that the changes required by Sandhi have already taken place.

We have thus abhinidhāna in :

(a) arvāg : devāḥ ; ṣaḍ : dvā ; yad : devāḥ ; dag : dhāti ; ab : dayā.

(b) ul : kam ; krāv : naḥ.

In tac chmaśru, or vajriñ chnathihi no abhinidhāna takes place because the second sparśa was originally ūṣman (see S. 407).

We have no abhinidhāna when *r* stands before sparśas, e.g. arkam, also where the first letter is not a sparśa or an antaḥstha, i. e. where it is ūṣman ; e.g. brahmā, viṣṇu ; also where the second letter is not sparśa, i.e. where it is either antaḥstha or ūṣman ; e.g. adya, vavrivān. After these principal rules follow a few further less important supplements.

(4) When a semivowel follows the same semivowel and when the first is nasal, the pause takes place (S. 395), e. g. anyāl : lomnaḥ, yam* : yam.

(5) *L* takes *abhinidhāna* before ūṣmans, according to Śākala (s.396), e. g. jal : havaḥ.

(6) *K* before *ś* in Kśāti (S. 397)[1] ;

(7) *P* before *ś* in rapśati (S. 398), e. g. virap : śī.

(8) Then comes an important restriction about final sparśas.

Final sparśas excluding *m*, when they are followed by no sparśas but by the antaḥsthas *y*, *r*, *v* or by the ūṣmans, are paused ; e. g. yad : yāmi ; tad : rāsabhaḥ : arvāk : śaphau.

Here is an exception that before *su* after monosyllabic roots pause never takes place (S. 401, 402) ; thus apsu, but arvat : su. The rules about the Abhinidhāna in the cases 5-8 are specially attributed

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* Translated from German.

1 This seems to me to be the only correct reading, for *k* before *kh* would have been paused by S. 393.

to the Śākala school and are called asaṃyukta in Sūtra 400, which is to be well remembered.

Here other authorities are quoted who at least allow the abhinidhāna in much greater measure, namely in all cases, in the middle or at the end of a word where two consonants of different organs and different forms are in juxtaposition, in short, in all cases where a consonant is not followed by the same consonant,

Other teachers however twist it a great deal (S. 421) and demand the rejection of the abhinidhāna when savarṇa consonants follow one another but nowhere else. They pronounce therefore yad devāḥ, but arvāg : devāḥ.

Although this is given as an optional rule, it appears that others again demand pause regularly after the gutturals (S. 404) e.g. arvāg : ratham.

Then further follow other opinions. Vyāḷi everywhere rejects the abhinidhāna excepting where the second consonant is doubled, as in words like ul : bbam, or where a vowel or *r* is the penultimate of a word ; e. g. arvāg : devāḥ ; parāvark.

Coming now to the rules about the doubling of compound consonants, we read that excepting where an unmodified visarjanīya is preceding, the first consonant of a saṃyoga is doubled when a vowel or anusvāra precedes it (S. 378). The examples are only consonant groups in which, according to the general rules, abhinidhāna does not take place.

Thus : ā ttvā, somānaṃ ssvaraṇam.

Also : akkhyam (S. 379).

According to S. 381 a consonant following *r* is doubled. *r* has no abhinidhāna after itself (S. 391), and thus forms a saṃyoga with every consonant. The peculiarity in this is that in *r*-saṃyogas, not the first but the second consonant is doubled, e.g. arddha.

According to S. 382 a sparśa following *l* is doubled, e.g. ulbbam. This had to be specially mentioned because *lb* is no saṃyoga, such as for example *rb* would have been, but an abhinidhāna is expected after *l* followed by a sparśa. The doubling had to be specially provided for here and even the vyañjana, consonant, had to be restricted to sparśas, mutes, because according to Śākala (S. 396) *l* before ūṣman takes abhinidhāna and thus, as there is no special rule to the contrary, causes no doubling.

According to S. 383* every sparśa after an ūṣman can be doubled.

* 386 in the text must be a typographical mistake. G.

After an ūṣman no abhinidhāna takes place; the combination has therefore have a pretension to the name saṃyoga; the novelty is only this that not the first but the second letter is doubled, and that this doubling is not compulsory. If however the second is doubled, the first too then can no longer be doubled (S. 387b). The commentary then adds further that this doubling after *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* is restricted only to the first and the second letters (of vargas), and that thus in *sma*, when the doubling takes place according to the general rule, the *s* is doubled. After *h* however *m* or *n* is doubled.

S. 384 objects to the doubling of a consonant after *r* when it is at the end of a word, such as in vark, and S. 385 objects to the doubling of *r* in this or any other case.

S. 386 then adds, that, also when a vowel is not preceding, an ūṣman which is followed by another consonant, can be doubled; e.g. hhvayāmi, ssyandati.

According to S. 387 an ūṣman is never doubled when it is followed by a vowel or another ūṣman; e.g. adarśi, never adarśśi; adarśśy āyatī however is quite allowable.

Now follows the rule which Pāṇini refers to and which according to Pāṇini can only signify that the Śākala shool deny all kinds of reduplications. If we allow ourselves more freedom with the interpretation of the Prātiśākhya we could connect this sūtra, according to which the Śākalas are said to have denied all kinds of reduplications, with S. 400 and conclude therefrom that this school denied all saṃyogas, i.e. disjoined all consonants. The only difficulty then would be with the special mention of a particular case in which this school denies saṃyoga and prescribes abhinidhāna in S. 396 and the anuvṛtti of Śākala taken by the commentary in the following Sūtras. At all events Śākala in Sūtra 403 is synonymous with "saṃyogābhāva" without any further restriction.

It should firstly be observed that the krama or the doubling, the abhinidhāna or the pause, yama or the nasal twin, the dhruva and the svarabhakti dealt with in this Paṭala, however heterogenous they may seem at first sight, are in close connection with one another. This would have been clearer if Śaunaka had begun with abhinidhāna. Abhinidhāna is the pause between certain consonants, which, when they are together, cannot be pronounced in one breath. If with the Indian grammarians we call the tenues the first series, the tenues aspirates second series, the mediae the third series, the mediae aspirates the fourth series, the nasals the fifth series, and continuing call the

antaḥsthas the sixth series and the ūṣmans the seventh series, then we can, in short, say, that abhinidhāna or pause takes place :

after 1-6, excluding *r*, before 1-5.

This pause after the first which requires a new start for the second consonant is now simply called *viccheda*, break, in a passage (S. 423) and the length of this pause or the break is fixed and is called Dhruva.* This dhruva is inaudible after the tenues, i.e. the aghoṣas but not so after the mediae, i.e. the ghoṣas ; after a nasal it is nasalised, after an antaḥstha or semi-vowel it is like a semi-vowel. After ghoṣa letters which are followed by a sparśa, this dhruva is identified by some with svarabhakti† and fixed at ¼ mātrā ; when however an ūṣman follows, at ½ mātrā (S. 423-25). This svarabhakti should then have in each case the sound of the preceding vowel.‡ Others however, probably more rightly, confine the so-called svarabhakti to *r*, which, as is well-known, takes no abhinidhāna when followed by sparśas S. 393), which however, when it is preceded by a vowel, should be followed by a svarabhakti, namely a short *ṛ*. This *ṛ* is essentially different from the dhruva and does not prevent the close combination, the so-called saṃyoga (S. 411).

Now, whatever might be the length or the sound of this dhruva, in any case, it designated a disjunction between two consecutive consonants, and while in many cases the word saṃyoga is used as the designation of every consonant group, in this section however saṃyoga as a terminus technicus certainly excludes those groups which require abhinidhāna. Thus follows, that all consonant groups in which abhinidhāna does not take place, are called saṃyogas. This has been expressed particularly in the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya, I, 49, very clearly and convincingly.

Now the krama or the doubling of certain consonants takes place only in saṃyoga groups and therefore we must take saṃyoga in S. 378 in the narrow technical sense just explained. The first consonant is not doubled in every consonant group but only in those which remain when we have subtracted the abhinidhāna groups which are also

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* The Dhruva is the nāda of the previous letter continued after the abhinidhāna but its duration is so short that no definite time-limit can be hazarded for it. G.

† The svarabhakti is an inserted vowel between two consonants. G.

‡ Also of the following vowel ; see S. 429. G.

called Āsthāpita. Now what are the remaining cases? Excluding isolated cases there remain :

(1) Letters of the first to the seventh series, when before letters of the sixth series.

(2) Letters of the first to the seventh series, when before letters of the seventh series.

(3) Letters of the seventh series, when before letters of the first to the seventh series.

All these combinations have a pretension to the name saṃyoga, and the rules of krama or doubling are applicable to the saṃyoga alone. I think that the whole chapter becomes clear when this is comprehended, and apparently, for other prātiśākhyas too, although they differ in details, the seeming disorder of the rules dealing with this subject is cleared up by this comprehension.

Only the yamas or the twins are still remaining to be dealt with in our paṭala. These too are occasioned by a kind of abhinidhāna, which should take place according to the rule when a sparśa meets another sparśa. The difference however is that if the second consonant is a nasal or is a letter of the fifth series, the abhinidhāna or the pause is there replaced by a so-called twin. We have seen above how viccheda, break, was used as synonymous with abhinidhāna, and we see now how viccheda itself is explained as yama. According to the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya,[1] in words like rukmaḥ, the *k* before *m* would be doubled, rukkmaḥ ; then however the second *k* would become a nasal yama, rukk͂maḥ. According to the terminology of our Prātiśākhya the matter is presented in a somewhat different manner. Here *km* would not be a saṃyoga in the technical sense of the word, and thus would have no occasion for the doubling of *k*. Rather abhinidhāna would have taken place here according to the rule after *k* which is however prevented by S. 405 or at least it is laid down there more accurately that letters of the first to the fourth groups become their yamas before letters of the fifth group, or, as it is said in the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākya (I, 99), that the disjunction (the commentary says vyavadhānam) by the yamas takes place. The result on the whole remains the same although exceptions are not wanting in isolated cases. It should be noticed that in usual doubling the first of the

1 Vājasan. Prāt., iv, 160.—*antaḥpade' pañcamaḥ pañcameṣu vicchedam.* Comm. *vicchedo yama ity anarthāntaram.*

two consonants is regarded as the result of the doubling (dviruktija),[1] but in the case of yamas the twin coming in later is considered the real twin, i. e. should be the disjoining sound between *k* and *m*.

If this interpretation of the whole matter is right it must stand the test in each case, which however at first sight it does not seem to do everywhere. I cite only two instances which at first sight seem to be discordant. In Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya, I, 90 it is said that when a word actually ends in a sparśa, the contact between the active and the passive organs must be loosened towards the end. The commentary further adds that the next word begins with a new start. So far everything is understandable. When however it is further said, *yathā padāder dvitvam bhavati*, "so that the initial letter may be doubled," it becomes meaningless. On the contrary if no pause takes place, but the final and the initial letters form a saṃyoga, dvitva or doubling can take place, under certain circumstances even the doubling of the initial letter, but not when there is a pause. Therefore there must be a mistake here and I think either a *na* should be inserted or, we should read *anyathā padāntasya padāder vā dvitvam bhavati*.[2]

A second test lies in the verses which are cited as commentary to the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya. Here is described how the letters of the first group *k, c, ṭ, t, p* become letters of the second group, *kh, ch, ṭh, th, ph* by assimilating the characteristics of *jihvāmūlīya, ś, ṣ, s, upadhmānīya* respectively; they become letters of the third group, *g, j, ḍ, d, b* by means of ghoṣa or voice and by further assimilation of the second ūṣman, i.e. *h*, become letters of the fourth group, *gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh*; finally, through ghoṣa and nasalisation they become the letters of the fifth group, *ṅ, ñ, ṇ, n, m*. Then however the author warns us against a misunderstanding. It should not be thought that in the letters of the second and the fourth groups, i.e. the aspirates, actually a combination of two letters has taken place. In that case asaṃyoga, i.e. pause, would have set in, or krama or doubling would have followed if saṃyoga had taken place. This reduplicotion would have taken place in the case of the letters of the fourth group, for here *h* is at the basis; but not in the case of the letters of second group, for when, as here, the two letters coming together are sasthānas (*c*+*ś*, *ṭ*+*ṣ* etc.), reduplication is prevented by III, 30. This seems to me to be the sense of this

1 Vāj. Prāt. iv, 97, Comm.

2 Compare Professor Weber's different reading, Indische Studien, iv, p. 127.

verse ; if however it is right, here too emendation must be made through conjecture and it must be read *saṃyogaś cet prasajyeta* and *kūrakaḥ* instead of *kāra*.[1]

If we now look at the result of our investigation, we find that on all the points where Pāṇini quotes Śākalya, the Śākala Prātiśākya contains the view which is ascribed to Śākalya by Pāṇini, while on the other side in the Prātiśākhya, though many other grammarians or phoneticians have been quoted, Pāṇini is never mentioned even by a single word. From this it follows, so far as I can judge, if there is no strong reason to the contrary, that Pāṇini's work is later than the prātiśākhya.[2]

Before I come to consider the objections raised by Professor Goldstücker I should like to mention a fact, which, though in itself is no convincing argument, yet however deserves consideration,—that, so far as I know, all Indian writers, from the earliest to the modern times, whenever they mention the Prātiśākhyas, never consider them to be recent or post-Pāṇinic. Even the latest commentators of Pāṇini who, certainly more than any other, thought Pāṇini to be incomparable, did not hesitate to say that Paṇini has once used the expression *udaya* in VIII, 4, 67 (and indeed *maṅgalārtham*), which is sufficiently well-known from the Prātiśākhyas, and that this terminus technicus is synonymous with *para*.

I shall here notice still another fact, which however is taken from a recent commentary and thus is not of more importance than we are inclined to attach to the traditional conviction of the scientific schools in India. In Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya, 1, 54, the expression soṣman is used to designate the aspirates. As this terminus technicus has not otherwise been used in this prātiśākhya, the commentator wonders that it has been used at all and, among other reasons for it, says also that soṣman is a terminus technicus of the Pūrvācāryas or the ancient teachers and it has been used out of reverence for them. This terminus technicus does not occur in Pāṇini, neither in Kātyāyana's

1 Compare Professor Whitney's different reading in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, viii, pp. 346, 772, 591.

2 The original work of Śākalya was certainly older than Pāṇini, but in its present form, improved and perfected by Śaunaka, the Prātisākhya may as well be later than Pāṇini. According to to Geldner, Śākalya belonged to the age of the Yajurveda but Oldenberg was inclined to assign him to the end of the Brāhmaṇa period. G.

Prātiśākhya, but it is the usual expression used to designate the letters of the second and the fourth groups, i.e. the Mahāprāṇas, in our Prātiśākhya.

Let us now hear the two opposite arguments by which Professor Goldstücker proposes to bring down our Prātiśākhya from a pre-Pāṇinian to a post-Pāṇinian period (p. 195).

"In now proceeding to state the reasons which induce me to look upon all Prātiśākhya-Sūtras, not only as posterior to Pāṇini's Grammar, but to Pāṇini himself, and separated from him by at least several generations, I must, in the first place, point out the general fallacy which has led to the assumption that these works are anterior to Pāṇini. It consists in applying the standard of the notion of grammar to both categories of works and having done this, in translating the result obtained, which is less favourable to the Prātiśākhyas than to Pāṇini's work, into categories of time—priority and posteriority. An analogous fallacy would be too apparent to require any remark, if it premised conclusions concerning the chronological relation of works of a totally different nature and character. It may assume, however, as it has done, a certain degree of plausibility, if it be applied to works of a similar category.

"I must observe, therefore, in adverting to Professor Müller's own words, as quoted before, that the term vyākaraṇa, grammar, though constantly and emphatically given to Pāṇini's work, has not been applied by any author within my knowledge to a Prātiśākhya work.[1] This circumstance, however, implies an important fact which must not be overlooked. Tradition from immemorial times, as every one knows, connects with the Veda a class of works which stand in the most intimate relation to it, the Vedāṅga works. One of them is the Vyākaraṇa. The Prātiśākhyas do not belong to them.[2] Thus, tradition even in India—and on this kind of tradition probably the most squeamish critic will permit me to lay some stress—does not

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1 I had very strongly given warning against calling the Prātiśākhyas grammatical works; Professor Goldstücker however speaks (p. 103) of "whole grammatical works, ancient and modern, written in verse", and explains in a footnote that thereby he understands the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya and the Paṇinīya-Śikṣā.

2 "The Prātiśākhyas are never called Vyākaraṇas,"—History of Anc. Sanskrit Literature, p. 120.

rank amongst the most immediate offsprings of Vaidik literature, those works which apparently stand in the closest relation to it—which have no other object than that of treating of the Vaidik texts of the Saṃhitās ;—but it has canonised Pāṇini's Vyākaraṇa, which, on the contrary, would seem to be concerned more with the language of common life than with that of the sacred hymns. Is it probable, let me ask, even at this early stage, that tradition would have taken this course, if it had looked upon these Prātiśākhyas as prior to the work of Pāṇini ?"

The reply to this is, that, the theory of six Vedāṅgas in the sense of six books, of which Pāṇini's Grammar is one, rests on no ancient authority at all.[1] Even if this was the case, the answer would have been simply this that the Prātiśākhya never claims to be regarded among the Vedāṅgas as Vyākaraṇa, but as Śikṣā. Thirdly, that our Prātiśākhya has therein an advantage over most of the other Vedāṅgas in that it definitely calls itself Vedāṅga or even ārṣa (revealed). The question had been raised in the ancient schools that the Śikṣā or Varṇaśikṣā, teaching of the alphabet, contains many defects and therefore cannot be regarded as perfect and revealed. The objections were based mainly on the fact that it teaches impossible things and contains contradictions. To raise such objections, be they real or imaginary, is a well-known artifice which serves to emphasise by a firm reply the perfection of the manual with greater vigour. The same artifice is found for example at the end of the eleventh paṭala where the krama and its rules are represented as established by reavealed authority. The expression apavāda, condemnation, reproof occurs in both the passages and should also be taken in this sense in S. 826. After the Śikṣā has been disparaged in this manner, the author continues (S. 827) : Quod non ! Such objections may be made to every manual, and our manual is a perfect, irreproachable, revealed Vedāṅga ; "*kṛtsnaṃ ca vedāṅgam anindyam ārṣam.*"

We now come to the second objection. Occasional remarks to which Professor Goldstücker himself attaches no great importance, need not be touched. When for example in p. 208 he says that Śaunaka cannot be the author of our Prātiśākhya, because Pāṇini quotes a Śaunaka and yet the Prātiśākhya is later than Pāṇini, the conclusion cannot be valid—there are too many suppositions in it. The initial verses of the Prātiśākhya seem to myself to have been added

1 History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 109 et seq.

later as I have often remarked, but the assertion that Śaunaka is the author of the Śākala Prātiśākhya is confirmed so unanimously in Indian tradition that we must have some reason first before we attribute this work to another author, We now therefore come to the second chief argument (p. 209).

"There is a grammatical work, in a hundred thousand ślokas, called Saṅgraha whose author is Vyāḍi or Vyāḷi. I know of no other grammatical work bearing this name Saṅgraha, nor of any other celebrated grammarian named Vyāḍi. Both names, however, are not infrequently met with in the grammatical literature. Vyāḍi is quoted several times in the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya and there is no valid reason for doubting that he is there the same person as the author of the Saṅgraha. This same work and its author are sometimes alluded to in the illustrations which the commentaries give of the Sūtras of Pāṇini or the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana ; and both, indeed, as I shall show hereafter, appear to have stood in a close relation to the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. We are, however, only concerned here with one instance with which Patañjali illustrates the second Vārttika to Pāṇini's rule II, 3, 66. It is this: 'beautiful indeed is Dākṣāyaṇa's creation of the the Saṅgraha.'

"From it we learn, then, in connection with the information we already possess of the proper name of the author of the Saṅgraha, that Vyāḍi and Dākṣāyaṇa are one and the same grammatical authority. Dākṣāyaṇa, however, is not only a descendant of Dakṣa but also of Dākṣi, at least in the third generation, while he may possibly have held a far more distant place in the lineage of this personage who is so often named in the ancient literature. For Pāṇini, who defines the term *yuvan* as the son of a grandson or of a more remote degree in the lineage of a family chief, gives a rule in reference to this term, which the principal commentators illustrate by the name of Dākṣāyaṇa.

"If we now turn to Pāṇini himself, we have it on the authority of Patañjali that his mother bore the name of Dākṣī. And Dākṣī, again, is, on the evidence of all commentators on a rule of Pāṇini, the female family-head of the progeny of Dakṣa, standing in the same relationship to Dakṣa as the male family chief Dākṣi ; she is, in other words, the oldest sister (vṛddhā) of the latter personage. Vyāḍi, therefore, was a near relation of Pāṇini and Pāṇini must have preceded him by at least two generations.

"Now since the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya quotes Vyāḍi, as we have seen,

on several occasions, and since the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana is more recent than this work, I must leave it to the reader to determine how many generations must, in all probability, have separated Pāṇini from the author of the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya on the one hand, and from the author of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya and the Vārttikas on the other."

I do not at all wish to urge against this that till now at least three Vyāḍis and as many, if not still more, Saṅgrahas are known to exist.[1] I think on the contrary that Patañjali's example, "beautiful is Dākṣāyaṇa's creation of the Saṅgraha," refers to the lost Saṅgraha of the Grammarian Vyāḍi and also that Dākṣāyaṇa was the family name of Vyāḍi. Now, however, that Vyāḍi was at least the great-grandson of Dakṣa and that Dākṣī, the mother of Pāṇini, was the daughter of the same Dakṣa and the grand-aunt of Vyāḍi, appears to me to be unproved. According to Pāṇini, the gotra at all events begins with the grandson, and the Yuvans with the great grandson, and accordingly a son or a grandson of Dakṣa would be called Dākṣi, a great-grandson or a great great-grandson etc., however, Dākṣāyaṇa. But Pāṇini himself now adds in IV, i, 163, that these great-great-grandson etc. are called Yuvan and thus have a pretension to the names formed by the Yuvan affixes only so long as an elder member of the family, be he father or elder brother, is alive. What happens when they are dead?—Secondly, and this is more significant, to people who have a right only to the Gotra name, Yuvan name is applied when showing honour according to Pāṇini, IV, i, 166, and thus in fact we find a daughter of Dakṣa called Dākṣāyaṇī. Finally it is by no means apparent that, Dākṣī, the mother of Pāṇini was the daughter of Dakṣa who was the ancestor of the Dākṣāyaṇas.[2]

As Vyāḍi's Saṅgraha was known already in the time of Patañjali only in a fragmentary condition,[3] we cannot arrive at any decision

1 See Aufrecht, Catalogus Codicum Sanscriticorum, s. v.

2 See Böhtlingk and Roth, s. v. Dākṣāyaṇa.

3 This follows from a passage of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya or Vākyapradīpa, for both the names are right, which Pandit Tārānātha quotes in his edition of the Siddhāntakaumudī, vol. II, p. 2; and still more from the commentary of Puṇyarāja and Helarāja. The verses of the Vākyapadīya are:

प्रायेण संक्षेपरुचीन् अल्पविद्यापरिग्रहान्।
समाप्य वै याकरणान् संग्रहेऽस्मिन् उपागते॥

about the connection of this work with the grammar of Pāṇini. Pandit Tārānātha quotes from Somadeva, as if Pāṇini and Vyāḍi were schoolfellows, and as if Vyāḍi had written the Saṅgraha to prove the correctness of the Sūtras and the Vārttikas. Unfortunately he does not mention the passage from Somadeva, and so far as we know, Somadeva says only this that Kātyāyana Vararuci was such a wonderful child that even in his boyhood he knew the Prātiśākhya by heart which he had heard from Vyāḍi.[1] Though we cannot decide whether the author of the Saṅgraha was the same Vyāḍi who is quoted in our Prātiśākhya among the most important authorities on Śikṣā, yet we are at all events fully justified in concluding that if Vyāḍi the author of the Saṅgraha lived at a much later period than Pāṇini, it is impossible that he should have been the same Vyāḍi who is quoted in the Prātiśākhya.

BATA KRISHNA GHOSH

कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना।
सर्वेषां न्यायबीजानां महाभाष्ये निबन्धने॥
अलंघ्यगाधे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात्।
तस्मिन्नकृतबुद्धीनां नैवावास्थित निश्चयः॥

The extract from the commentary says still more clearly: कालवशेन लोकानामालस्यदोषससुल्लासाद्ग्रन्थविस्तारे व्याड़िप्रणीते संग्रहग्रन्थेऽनादरमुपलभ्य पाणिनीयदर्शनस्य च क्रमेण लुप्तप्रायतामुपलक्ष्य, भगवता पतञ्जलिना संग्रहनिबद्धसारांशसंकलनेन सवार्त्तिकव्याख्यासुखेन संगृहीतान् सर्वान् न्यायान् प्रदर्शयता महाभाष्यम् निरमायि। Compare what Pandit Tārānātha says about the whole passage with Professor Goldstücker's Pāṇini, p. 237 et. seq., and specially with Professor Stentzler's valuable remarks in Indische Studien, v, 447.

1 History of Anc. Sanskrit Literature, p. 241.

Harṣa Śilāditya: a revised study

A less gifted and less qualified personality than either Aśoka or Akbar, Harṣavardhana Śilāditya of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty was not less fortunate than either of them in finding out a place in History in equally brilliant relief that gives glorious distinctiveness to a character against a comparatively darker back-ground. With a poet-historian like Bāṇa in his court, with an envoy from China gifted with a keen religious fervour coupled with an historical outlook unequalled in that age, and with a series of coins and inscriptions of his own and also of other contemporary rulers and dynasties to speak in his favour, Harṣa has left behind him a name uttered in the same breath with the best and noblest monarchs of India. He is never a neglected character of History—rather there is already the fear of the swing of the pendulum to the opposite direction. Harṣa is undoubtedly an interesting and important study—as a king and as a ruler, as a conqueror and as a patron of learning; but it is really to be doubted if he had that lofty idealism of Aśoka or the majestic personality of Akbar. Yet he is often ranked with Aśoka or called the "Akbar of Hindu India" and why? Without belittling the historical position he holds, it must be admitted that it is the abundance of the historical material of his reign that has, to a great extent, given him this importance. Literature regarding his life and reign are daily growing and the sources of information are being carefully sifted; still the account of his reign has not been settled beyond doubt and there is yet room for discussion. That is the excuse for this paper.

In this short monograph I propose to deal with three points of Harṣa's reign—

(1) Harṣa's accession to the throne
(2) His conquests and the extension of his empire
(3) The fate of his empire immediately after his death.

These three points practically comprise the whole political career of Harṣa and I propose to subject each of them to a revised critical discussion on the strength of the available evidences. They have again and again been discussed by competent scholars, and different conclusions arrived at quite independently. I have tried to take all these evidences and conclusions into consideration and arrive at my

own ; they may tally here with one scholar and differ there with another ; in both cases I offer apology.

I *Harṣa's accession to the throne*

Rājyavardhana was the eldest son of Prabhākaravardhana and on him devolved the onerous task of royal duties in the old age of his father who thought it prudent to send Rājya "attended by ancient advisors and devoted feudatories" against the second attack of the Hūṇas. While he was busy fighting with the enemies away from the capital, the old king Prabhākaravardhana died. He returned to the capital only on Harṣa's earnest request but in his overwhelming grief wished to renounce the world and abdicate in favour of Harṣa. Just at this psychological moment arrived that fatal news of the defeat and murder of Grahavarman Maukhari, the husband of their sister Rājyaśrī, by Devagupta of Mālava, and also of the imprisonment of the sister at Kanoj. Enraged at this humiliation, Rājya at once marched against the king of Mālava with his cousin Bhaṇḍi, leaving Harṣa behind to look after the affairs of the State. Some time after, news arrived that he had easily conquered and put to death the king of Mālava but had himself been treacherously murdered by the Gauḍa king on his way back.[1] This is the prelude to the story of Harṣa's accession to the throne.

After the death of Rājyavardhana it was rational that Harṣa should ascend the throne—Rājya having left no son. Bāṇa states that as soon as he heard the news of his brother's tragic end, 'his fiery spirit blazed forth in a storm of sorrow augmented by flashes of furious wrath' and in his violent angry mood he cursed the people of Gauḍa and admonished the 'ignoble wretch,' the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka. Senāpati Siṃhanāda thereupon made a long speech about the future policy the king should follow and the steps he should take to punish the Gauḍa king. Harṣa listened to his utterances and promised to march at once against the 'wicked Gauḍa king' and accordingly gave orders.[2] It should be noticed here that Bāṇa makes no *special* mention of Harṣa's accession to the throne and there was obviously no reason to do so; for after the death of the elder brother,

1 In my paper on the "Maukharis of Kanoj", the matter has been discussed in detail.

2 Cowell and Thomas, Harṣacarita, pp. 178-195.

Harṣa must have ascended the throne, and the acceptance of the hereditary crown was certainly automatical.

Now to consult our second authority. Yuan Chwang states that after the death of Rājyavardhana, the country became desolate. With the great minister 'Po-ni' at their head, the people wished to install Harṣa on the throne. But Harṣa expressed some hesitation and was unwilling to accept the crown. The matter was, therefore, referred to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, like the Greeks referring, on similar occasions, to their oracles at Delphi or Amphipolis. An answer was readily found. The Bodhisattva asked him to be the ruler but not to ascend the 'lion throne', nor to call himself 'Mahārāja'. Having received these instructions he departed and assumed the royal office. He called himself 'Kumāra' and his title was Śilāditya' [1] It should, however, be remembered that Yuan Chwang's record is connected not with Thāneśvara but with Kanoj. He speaks nothing of Harṣa or his family when he visited Thāneśvara : whereas Bāṇa's Harṣacarita has nothing to do with Kanoj, the whole story having connection with Thāneśvara. We know that Bāṇa's record comes abruptly to an end when Harṣa had rescued Rājyaśrī from burning herself by jumping into a funeral pyre. It would not, therefore, be unreasonable to infer that Bāṇa related that part of Harṣa's life and career which is connected with Thāneśvara i.e. the early part. That is why the poet-laureate's record is silent about the subsequent career of the king. We can have a glimpse in Yuan Chwang's record of that part of his life in which Harṣa had settled himself at Kanoj, once the capital of the Maukhari dynasty, to which Grahavarman, the husband of Rājyaśrī belonged.

The apparently conflicting statements of Bāṇa and Yuan Chawng about Harṣa's accession and succession to the throne had given rise to conflicting theories among scholars. Almost all of them are of opinion that Harṣa was at first reluctant to accept the crown and that it was after considerable hesitation that he was persuaded to do so. Smith suggests that the minister Bhaṇḍi was the man to lead the persuasion. But according to the Harṣacarita, the minister in question was Siṃhanāda (not Bhaṇḍi) who made an impressive speech on the receipt of the news of Rājya's death and he might possibly be

1 Beal, Si-yu-ki, vol. I, pp. 212 f. ; Watters, Yuan Chwang, vol. I. p. 343.

instrumental in persuading (if persuasion was at all required) Harṣa to accept the crown. But the question remains if Harṣa was really reluctant to accept the crown, and if he was, why?

Smith thinks that Harṣa's early acceptance of the monastic life was perhaps responsible for his reluctance. Mr. Panikkar thinks that Harṣa perhaps feared the responsibility of kingship in view of the fact that the feudatories were 'refractory and rebellious' and perhaps that Rājya had left an issue. As regards Smith's view we can with all certainty affirm that Harṣa came of a dynasty devoted to Śiva and Sūrya and he himself was a devotee of Śiva. He became inclined to Buddhism only after Yuan Chwang's visit to his court before which there is no evidence of his acceptance of the Buddhist creed or even of his inclination to that religion. Moreover, we have the conclusive evidence of the Bānskherā Inscription of the 9th year of his reign which mentions Harṣa as a 'Parama-māheśvara'. Bāṇa also states that when Harṣa started on his 'digvijaya' from Thāneśvara, he first of all, "with deep devotion offered worship to the adorable Nīlalohita"[1] Panikkar's statement can also hardly be relied on. We have no evidence of Harṣa's feudatories being refractory and rebellious; rather we have the evidence of Bāṇa that he was a popular prince; nor can we think that Harṣa was afraid of the responsibility of the duties of the throne to which he had accustomed himself from his early youth. We have seen that during the absence of Rājyavardhana from the capital, he was entrusted with the discharge of royal duties. Of Rājya's having left any issue, there is not a single piece of evidence. We are not even sure if he at all married.

The episode in the Harṣacarita of the 'Goddess of Royal Prosperity (Rājalakṣmī) taking Harṣa in her arms and forcing him to mount the throne' is a poetical interpretation of Harṣa's acceptance of the crown. Such poetic mannerisms are abundant in ancient Sanskrit inscriptions and literature; and this fact has nothing to do with the Avalokiteśvara episode in Yuan Chwang. There can, in fact, be no question of replacement of Avalokiteśvara by the Rājalakṣmī in the Harṣacarita,[2] or vice versa.

We have seen that Bāṇa's record connects Harṣa only with

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1 "Virachayya paramabhaktyā Bhagavato Nīla-lohitasyārcām." Cowell and Thomas, Harṣacarita.

2 R. K. Mookerjee, Harṣa, p. 20.

Thāneśvara and it is evident from the same source that Harṣa was experienced in the duties of the State and the officers of the court were all faithful to him ; and if we follow the narrative closely we can see that Harṣa was automatically raised to the throne by his courtiers immediately after Rājyavardhana's death.

It is only in Yuan Chwang that we meet with any reference to Harṣa's hesitation to accept the crown. Yuan Chwang's record, it has already been remarked, refers to Kanoj and not to Thāneśvara. So it is probable that the hesitation on the part of Harṣa was expressed with regard to the throne of Kanoj that had fallen vacant after the death of Grahavarman, the husband of Rājyaśrī.[1] It is stated in the "Fangchi," a Chinese work, that 'Harṣa administered the Government in conjunction with his widowed sister.'[2] This widowed sister was, without doubt, Rājyaśrī. Rājyaśrī,according to Hindu law of inheritance, could not have any claim to the throne of Thāneśvara and therefore it is not possible to conjecture that Harṣa ruled conjointly with Rājyaśrī in Thāneśvara. It was the throne of Kanoj to which Rājyaśrī had a legitimate claim through her husband. But she herself was not willing to mount the throne and administer the government. Rather she had already expressed her wish to join the Buddhist order and become a nun, from which she was dissuaded only by the ardent requests of Harṣa. The first man to whom then Rājyaśrī could turn to administer the government of Kanoj in her name was naturally Harṣa, his brother and king of Thāneśvara. It was also natural that Harṣa would first hesitate to accept such a proposal, even though coming as it did from his sister. It meant the shouldering of a serious responsibility,—the responsibility of running an additional machinery of government. Hesitation was, therefore, sincere : but when the Avalokiteśvara spoke, he had no way out than to accept. He therefore became regent and began to rule in the name of Rājyaśrī. But he was, according to the Buddhist oracle, the Kumāra Śilāditya of Kanoj. Henceforth, Harṣa Śilāditya began to hold his court at Kanoj which he made the capital of the joint empire of the Puṣpabhūtis and the Maukharis. Harṣa had reasons probably, for preferring Kanoj (not Thāneśvara) where the capital should have been transferred. His extensive conquests were to lie more

1 The suggestion was first made by C. V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India, pp. 7-9.

2 Watters, Yuan Chwang, vol. I, p. 345.

towards the east than to the west and Kanoj from that point of view was more centrally and advantageously situated than Thāneśvara, a place more exposed to outside attack.

2 *His conquests and the extension of his empire*

Regarding this point, scholars have ranged into two camps. One school is of opinion that Harṣa conquered almost the whole of Northern India barring only the North Western Provinces and that he was the last great North Indian emperor of Hindu India. This view has been upheld by C. V. Vaidya, V. A. Smith, Panikkar and others. Another view is that Harṣa was king only of Mid-India, i. e., his kingdom extended from the districts adjoining Thāneśvara to Magadha and that he was not the last great North Indian emperor. The propounder of this view is Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Without belonging to either of the camps, let us proceed to examine our evidences on the point and try to arrive at a conclusion.

Harṣa was furious at the receipt of the news of his brother's death. He promised retaliation and immediately asked one of his ministers, Avanti by name, to make a proclamation that all kings 'as far as the Orient hill, as far as Suvela, as far as the Western mount, as far as Gandhamādana' 'must prepare their hand to give tribute or grasp swords'; 'they must bend their heads or their bows.' He then started on his expedition against Śaśāṅka.

On his way he met in his camp Haṃsabeg who had been deputed by Bhāskaravarman, the king of Kāmarūpa, to make an alliance with Harṣa. The alliance was readily accepted and was much valued by both the parties. The kingdom of Kāmarūpa adjoined Śaśāṅka's dominions in the east and it was natural that Bhāskaravarman would watch with suspense the growing power of the Gauḍa king. He therefore allied himself with Harṣa, the confirmed enemy of Śaśāṅka, and Harṣa too valued the alliance, for he thought that they would then be able to press the enemy hard from both the rears. Soon after the alliance was effected, he met Bhaṇḍi 'returning loaded with spoil and bringing the Mālava troops prisoner.' Bhaṇḍi announced that Rājyaśrī had somehow made her escape from the prison-house and had fled somewhere in the Vindhya forest. Harṣa then sent Bhaṇḍi against the Gauḍa king and himself went to find Rājyaśrī out, whom he was able to save when she was about to plunge herself into the funeral pyre. With Rājyaśrī, Harṣa returned to

the camp. The narrative of Bāṇa suddenly stops here and we know almost nothing about what occurred next, nor are we informed about Harṣa's further action or Bhaṇḍi's exploits against the Gauḍa king who was their first concern. We have, therefore, to look to other evidences for our information on this point.

A stone seal-matrix of Śaśāṅka has been found at Rhotashgarh in South Magadha,[1] which speaks of him as a 'Mahāsāmanta.' It proves that Śaśāṅka was a feudatory and not an independent king when the seal was inscribed. Unfortunately, the date of the seal is not given. But the Ganjam Copper-plate Inscription[2] (619-20 A.D.) refers to Śaśāṅka as exercising his authority over 'Sāmantas' or vassal kings and he is represented as 'Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka'. The Nidhanpur Copper-plate Inscription of Bhāskaravarman[3] was issued from Karṇasuvarṇa which may go to prove that Karṇasuvarṇa was for some time at least under the suzerainty of Bhāskaravarman. We should note on the evidence of Bāṇa and Yuan Chwang that Śaśāṅka, when he killed Rājyavardhana, was the king of Gauḍa (Gauḍādhipa) and Karṇasuvarṇa. From these evidences at hand it is permissable to deduce that Śaśāṅka was at first an independent king. (He is explicitly mentioned as Gauḍādhipa by Bāṇa when he killed Rājyavar dhana. The way in which he is mentioned in the Harṣacarita cannot in any way be taken to mean that he was then a subordinate feudatory, either of the Puṣpabhūtis or the Guptas of Mālava, for whom it was then impossible to extend their power up to Gauḍa). He was afterwards defeated by the the combined forces of Bhaṇḍi and Bhāskaravarman and probably it was then that the Rhotashgarh seal was inscribed which speaks of him as a 'Mahāsāmanta.' But some time before 619-20 A.D. he must have thrown off the yoke of vassalage and become an independent king, 'Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka'. During this period of vassalage Karṇasuvarṇa was probably for a time under the suzerainty of the Kāmarūpa king. It was possible, only after the death of Śaśāṅka, for Harṣa to extend his power to the Ganjam region as we shall see later on.

As for the remaining part of Harṣa's account we have got no direct evidence. We only get incidental references from inscriptions of other kings and princes from which no connected history can be

1 Corpus Ins. Ind., vol. III, pp. 283-84.
2 Ep. Ind., vol. VI, p. 143.
3 Ep. Ind., vol. XII, p. 73.

formulated. Yuan Chwang states that Harṣa Śilāditya "waged incessant warfare until in six years he had fought the 'Five Indias' and then for thirty years the king enjoyed peace and good Government." But the pilgrim's account is not warranted by facts. We have reference to his wars with the Valabhi king Dhruvasena II (Dhruvabhaṭṭa) and the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II. The dates of these wars are not known, nor can we determine with any amount of certainty whether the fight with the Valabhis occurred earlier or the war with the Cālukyas.

A slight reminiscence of the fight with the Valabhi king is mentioned in the Nausari Copper-plate grant of Broach[1] which supplies the most important information that Dadda II (629-641 A.D.) 'gave protection to the lord of Valabhi when the latter had been defeated by the great lord or Parameśvara, the illustrious Harṣadeva'. The defeated Valabhi king was Tu-lu-p'o-po-t'a or Dhruvabhaṭṭa as stated by Yuan Chwang. The Valabhi king, contemporary of Dadda II of Broach, was Dhruvasena II, so that Dhruvabhaṭṭa was only another name of the same monarch. The pilgrim further states that he was the son-in-law of Śilāditya reigning at Kanoj, and nephew of Śilāditya, a former king of Molāpo who ruled 60 years before the pilgrim's visit to the country.[2] After his defeat Dhruvabhaṭṭa perhaps sued for peace which was granted and was further cemented by Harṣa's giving in marriage his daughter to the defeated king. Mo-lā-po is Western Mālava and Śilāditya of Mo-lā-po has been rightly identified by Mon. Sylvain Lévi with Śilāditya Dharmāditya of Valabhi whose nephew Dhruvasena II happend to be. The war with the Valabhis must have occurred before 640 A.D. when Yuan Chwang visited the country.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar remarks about Harṣa's relation with Valabhi: "There does not seem to be adequate reason for the assumption that Valabhi was a *feudatory* state under Harṣa."[3] There is, it is true, no evidence of the Valabhi kingdom being a direct dependency of Harṣa or of the latter's having any direct control over the former. But this much is certain that Harṣa overpowered and subdued the lord of Valabhi (ŚrīHarṣa-devābhi-bhūta-Valabhipati). Dr. Majum-

1 JBBRAS., vol. XVI, p. 1 ; Ind. Antiq., vol. XIII, 1874.
2 Watters, Yuan Chwang, vol. II, pp. 246f.
3 JBORS., 1923, Harṣa—A critical study.

dar argues that the Valabhi king regained his power with the help of Dadda II and as an independent chieftain he "married the daughter of Harṣa" and attended the religious assembly of his father-in-law. The passage—'Parameśvara-ŚrīHarṣadevābhibhūta-Valabhipati-pati (ri) trāṇopojāta ... ... yaśo-vitānaḥ ŚrīDaddaḥ'– has been translated as "Dadda who had acquired renown by rescuing the king of Valabhi who had been overpowered by Harṣadeva." Accepting the translation as it stands, does it show that "the Valabhi king was defeated by Harṣa but *regained his power* with the help of Dadda?" The passage only means that the Valabhi king was overpowered or subdued by Harṣa but was rescued or given protection by Dadda who by this generous act acquired fame. There is no reference to the Valabhi king regaining his power. He might have continued to rule as an independent king but Harṣa's suzerainty must have been recognised and his power feared by him. And so long as Harṣa lived, the Valabhi king continued to rule as a subordinate ally. It was only after Harṣa's death that Dhruvasena's successor Dharasena IV at once assumed imperial titles and became Mahārājādhirāja Cakravartin. This is also to be evidenced in his change of religion which must have been effected by the influence of Harṣa. His attendance at the religious festival of Harṣa along with eighteen other subordinate allies was not merely as the son-in-law of Harṣa as it is difficult to ignore that there was also an element of obligation in it. During the quinquennial assembly we know that the Valabhi king was employed to guard the 'Arena of Charity' at the west of the confluence, while the other most devoted feudatory, the king of Assam, was employed on the south side of the Yamunā.

But what motive possibly led Harṣa to make war with the Valabhi king? Harṣa was actuated probably by one of the most important political motives which influenced the policy of the Northern and Southen paramount sovereigns. It was the Narbada frontier problem. The problem presented itself as early as the time of the Imperial Guptas who tried to solve it either by matrimonial alliances or by conquest. The same problem confronted Harṣa. The Cālukyas were at this time the paramount power in Southern India and were seeking every opportunity to push towards Northern India, either through the Narbada frontier or the Mahānadī valley. Harṣa probably foresaw the situation and hastened to conquer the Valabhi king who might stand as a bar to the advancement of the Cālukya power.

There is no record to show how far he was successful in his policy. The Narbada frontier continued throughout the Muhammadan period to be an important problem and in the time of the Peśwās of the 18th century, it became a vital problem.

No record preserves for us any reference to any other direct struggle and conquest in Northern India by Harṣa. But from Bāṇa, Yuan Chwang and other epigraphic records we can have a glimpse of his extension of power in India intra-Vindhyas. It is well to begin by mentioning the countries under his direct rule as outlined by certain evidences.

It is certain on the authority of Bāṇa that Harṣa ruled over Thāneśvara and some districts around. Yuan Chwang states that he ruled over Kanoj and the adjoining districts. The references and findspots of the Bānskhera and Madhuvan records and the coins of his family prove that he had direct dominance over Ahichatra and Śrāvastī (Rohilkhand and Sāheth-Māheth). His direct dominance must have also included Prayāga and Magadha, as is evidenced from Yuan Chwang's description of the religious festival and also from the Chinese envoy who describes him as the "king of Magadha." We can, therefore, safely conclude that the whole Gangetic valley from Thāneśvara to Magadha was under the direct control of Harṣa.

What relation the adjacent countries surrounding this direct dominion had with Harṣa, we cannot exactly ascertain. The only evidence on the point is Yuan Chwang, supplemented here and there by Bāṇa. And Yuan Chwang, to our utter regret, is almost everywhere silent on the point. His silence has often been construed as significant, and there are scholars who think that the country or kingdom, about whose political relation with Harṣa Śilāditya the Chinese pilgrim is silent, must have been independent of the royal patron. Judging from this point of view, Magadha, Śrāvastī and even Thāneśvar fall outside the dominions of Harṣa. But other evidences have proved that they are not so. Had not these evidences been at our disposal, we could have jumped to a contrary conclusion, but that would have been a logical fallacy. With regard to some kingdoms, the pilgrim does not fail to give us an account of the particular political relation which they bear to the emperor at Kanoj; in such cases a definite conclusion can safely be arrived at, but where no such mention is made, we can arrive at no decision for or against, particularly when we think that Yuan Chwang's is no political record but is only an itinerary with a stress on Indian Buddhism during his

time. It would not, therefore, be advisable to conclude anything from that point of view.

Of the kingdoms during Harṣa's time, Yuan Chwang is our best guide. I therefore propose to consider one by one the kingdoms recorded by him and try to find out what was their exact political status from the data incidentally supplied by the pilgrim and other evidences.

1 Lampa (Lam-p'o)—With Lampa, Yuan Chwang reached the territory which he, like others before and after his time, calls India. Regarding the political position of this country when he visited it (i.e. during the period of Harṣa's reign) he says, 'For several centuries the native dynasty had ceased to exist, great families fought for pre-eminence and the State had recently become a dependency of Kapis.'

2 Nagar (modern Jalalabad)—'There was no king and the state was a province of Kapis.'

3 Gandhāra—'The royal family was extinct and the country was subject to Kapis.'

We thus see that Kapis was an important kingdom on the frontier and comprised at least three subordinate principalities—Lampaka, Nagara and Gandhāra. From what Yuan Chwang relates of Kapis and her dependencies it seems to be certain that Kapis was an independent kingdom and had nothing to do whatsoever with Harṣa.

4 Takṣaśila—'The chiefs were in a state of open feud, the royal family being extinguished; the country had formerly been subject to Kapis but now it was a dependency of Kāśmīr.'

5 Siṃhapura—'There was no king and the country was a dependency of Kāśmīr.'

6 Urasa (Wa-la-shih; modern Hazara)—'There was no ruler and the country was a dependency of Kāśmīr.'

7 Parṇotsa (Pan-nu-ts'o ; modern Punch)—'The country was a dependency of Kāśmīr.'

8 Rājapura—'It had no sovereign of its own and was subject to Kāśmīr.'

We thus see that Kāśmīr was another important kingdom in Northern India and exercised suzerainty over at least five outlying states. From the description of the royal reception and honour which was accorded to the pilgrim it seems that the king was a powerful one. Neither the "Records" nor the "Life", unfortunately, gives the name of the king who so hospitably entertained the pilgrim. But the Rājataraṅgiṇī helps us to ascertain the identity of the king who

was Durlabhavardhana (i.e. To-lo-po-fo-tā-na), the founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty, who is said to have come to the throne in 3677 of the Laukika era = 601 A.D. and ruled for 36 years. Our pilgrim too states that the kings of Kāśmīr were protected by a dragon whose name was Karkoṭaka and by whose help the dynasty rose into prominence. From what we know of this dynasty we can safely conclude that Kāśmīr remained quite independent of the king of Mid-India.

But even admitting this, we cannot deny that Kāśmīr had to bear, at least for once, the brunt of Harṣa's invading army. For we are informed that Harṣa Śilāditya invaded Kāśmīr a few years after Yuan Chwang's visit and carried off the tooth-relic. (Watters, vol. I, p. 279). Of Harṣa's rule in Kāśmīr we can perhaps glean a faint allusion also in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (ch. II, v. 7)—where it is said : "Idaṃ svabhedabidhuraṃ *Harṣā*dīnāṃ dharābhujām, Kaṃcit kālam abhūd bhojyam tataḥ prabhṛti-maṇḍalam." Mention is made here of Harṣa who, presumably, is identical with our Harṣa Śilāditya. The reason for this assumption is that in the history of Kāśmīr mention is made of only another Harṣa who belonged to the later part of the 12th century and had, evidently, nothing to do with this Harṣa who, as Kalhana informs us, came to rule in Kāśmīr after Mihirakula had lived and died. Kalhana states that Kāśmīr was then divided by internecine quarrels and later on came under their rule of Harṣa and others for some time, It is not, therefore, improbable that Kāśmīr, for once at least, had bent her knees before the great king of Mid-India.

9 Jalandhara (She-lan-ta-lo)—The next important kingdom about which the pilgrim writes anything is Jalandhara. 'A former king of this country had been a patron of non-Buddhistic systems; afterwards he met an arhat and learning Buddhism from him became a real believer. Thereupon the *king of Mid-India* appreciating his sincere faith *gave him* sole control of matters relating to Buddhism in all India." The king of Mid-India during this time could not be any other person than Harṣa and the passage just quoted shows that he had, evidently, some control over that kingdom. 'A former king' in the passage should not necessarily mean that he lived and died long ago. Leaving Jalandhara the pilgrim visited *ku-lu-to*, *She-to-t'u-lu*, *P'o-li-ye-ta-lo* (Pāryātra) and *Mathura*, but no mention is made of their political status and relation. We are not therefore, entitled to conclude anything from this. But next the pilgrim came to *Thāneśvara*, the Puṣpabhūti capital, but there too he does not

mention the name of any king nor speaks anything of its political relations, yet Thāneśvara, as we know from other sources, was undoubtedly under the direct rule of Harṣa. *Srughna* is next mentioned but here too the pilgrim does not seem to supply us with any positive information. The king of the next place of visit i.e. *Matipura* (Mo-ti-pu-lo) was of the Śūdra stock, and 'did not believe in Buddhism and worshipped the Devas'. This kingdom could not possibly lie outside the direct suzerainty of Harṣa, for we have already ascertained that his kingdom extended at least from Thāneśvara in the west to Magadha in the east. The mention of a king in *Matipur*, therefore, proves one important point, viz. that even within the jurisdiction of Harṣa's direct suzerainty subordinate feudatories were allowed to rule as kings, independent in their internal affairs. And when we apply this case of the king of *Matipur* to Wu-ti-to or Udito king of Jalandhar, we are naturally inclined to believe that Jalandhar, though it had its own king, was but a feudatory kingdom within the direct control of Harṣa. This conclusion of ours can also be borne out by an independent evidence. According to the "Life," the pilgrim revisited Jalandhar on his way back home. The king Udito was entrusted by Harṣa Śilāditya to lead his revered guest from Magadha to the frontier on his way back to China. After six months of leisurely progress the king was able to complete his task and *'brought his sovereign's guest* in safety to Jalandhar.'

10 Ahichatra (Ngo-hi-ch'i-ta-lo)—No king is mentioned but we know from epigraphical sources that Ahichatra formed a 'bhukti' or province under the direct suzereinty of Harṣa Śilāditya.

11 Kāpitha or Sāṅkāśya—This was situated close to Kanoj, the royal capital, and according to archaeological evidences, was within the jurisdiction of Harṣa

12 Kānyakubja or Kanoj—This was the royal capital where Harṣavardhana became king with the title Rājaputra and the style Śilāditya.

13 Ayodhyā (A-yü-t'è)—Nothing particular can be known about the relation, but presumbly, it must have been under Harṣa's direct control.

14 Ayamukha (A-ye-Mu-ka)—Nothing is known about its political relation but it would be folly to argue from pilgrim's silence that it did not lay within Harṣavardhana's direct suzerainty.

15 Prayāga—Yuan Chwang speaks nothing about its political relation, but from the account he gives of the great religious festival

and the description how king Śilāditya acted on the occasion, it seems that Prayāga or Allahabad was one of the big centres of Harṣa's extensive dominion.

16 Kośāmbī—It was Situated very close to Prayāga and though Yuan Chwang furnishes us with no particular information as to its political relation, it will not at all be hazardous if we take it for granted that these adjacent kingdoms were the direct dependencies of Harṣavardhana Śilāditya.

17 Śrāvastī—Yuan Chwang is silent about its contemporary political relation, but from epigraphic sources we know that Śrāvastī, like Ahichatra, formed a bhukti or a province within the direct dependencies of Harṣavardhana Śilāditya.

18 Kapilāvastu—Very close to Śrāvastī and presumably within the dominions of Harṣa.

19 Rāmagrāma—Rāmagāma, the abode of the Koliyas, was a deserted and depopulated city when the pilgrim visited it. No mention is made of its political relations.

20 Kuśinagara—Here too the pilgrim is silent about the political condition of the place of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa.

21 Vārāṇasī—It was a capital city where Buddhism flourished little. Neither Vārāṇasi, nor Vaiśāli, the place next visited by the pilgrim, has any record of its political relation with the king of Mid-India.

22 Nepāl—The next important country visited by the pilgrim is Nepāl,regarding the political condition of which Yuan Chwang writes, "The kings of Nepāl were Kṣatriya Licchavis, and they were eminent scholars and faithful Buddhists. A recent king whose name is given as Ang-shu-fa-ma or Aṃsuvamma ... ... had composed a treatise on Etymology." We may sincerely doubt with Thomas Watters (Yuan Chwang, vol. II, p. 84) whether Yuan Chwang had really personally visited Nepāl, and on that score he might have possibly been misinformed about the exact date of the death of Aṃśuvarman. 'A recent king' need not necessarily be taken to mean a king who had lived and ruled long ago, nor does it even preclude the possibility of his (Aṃśuvarman's) being contemporaneous with Harṣa. As for Harṣa Śilādiya's relation with Nepāl, there is a difference of opinion. Mon. Sylvain Lévi and Mon. Ettinghausen and with them Dr. R. C. Majumdar are of opinion[1] that the king of Mid-

1 Sylvain Lévi, Journal Asiatique, 1894; Ettinghausen, Harṣavardhana; R. C. Majumdar, Harṣa—A critical study.

India could not have extended his power as far as Nepāl, nor had he any direct or indirect control over that kingdom. Now, the Nepalese Vaṃśāvalī mentions one Aṃśuvarman who ruled in Kali era 3000 = 101 B.C. It should be noted here that the Vaṃśāvalī mentions no other Aṃśuvarman. It is, therefore, admissible that Yuan Chwang's Aṃśuvarman and Aṃśuvarman of the Vaṃśāvālī are identical. The difficulty is that the Vaṃśāvalī era gives what is corresponding to 101 B.C. But the evidence of the Vaṃśāvalī with regard to dates can hardly be relied on. According to Yuan Chwang, Aṃśuvarman should be placed between 600-650 A.D. Now again, we have Sanskrit inscriptions in Nepāl of one Aṃśuvarman who is identical with the Aṃśuvarman of the Vaṃśāvalī and Yuan Chwang. The dates referred to in the inscription are saṃvat 34, 39, and 45. What particular era do these dates refer to? Mon. Lévi thinks that these dates refer to some local or Tibetan era. But the late Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji was definitely of opinion[1] that the era used by Aṃśuvarman and other kings of the Thākuri dynasty could be no other than the Harṣa era which had been current in Northern India during the 7th and the 8th centuries A. C. In the time of Alberuni the area was limited to Mathurā and Kanoj. According to the Vaṃśāvalī, Aṃśuvarman was the first king of a new dynasty, and the epigraphic records seem to corroborate this evidence. Just a few years before Aṃśuvarman, the Vaṃśāvalī states, Vikramajit, the most powerful king of Northern India, established a new era in his own country and came to introduce it in Nepāl. This is the second mention, in the Vaṃśavālī, of the coming of Vikramajit to Nepāl. The Vaṃśāvalī legend must have confused this invader of Nepāl with the founder of the Gupta era and given him the significant and general title of Vikramajit. This Vikramajit must naturally be taken to mean Harṣa who founded a new era and who was the most powerful sovereign of Northern India at that time. In the earlier inscriptions of Nepāl, the Gupta saṃvat had regularly been used, as has been demonstrated by Fleet. But there is a sudden change in the era used by Aṃśuvarman and that era was a recent one. The newly introduced era could only be the era of Harṣa, then in use in Northern India. We know of no Tibetan era recently introduced at that time by any paramount sovereign of Tibet. Aṃśuvarman began his reign as a Mahāsāmanta and it was

1 Indian Antiquary XIII. p. 421ff.

late in his reign that he became somewhat independent. Could it be possible for a Sāmanta chief or a Mahāsāmanta to establish an era of his own[1] ?

Bāṇa, too, gives us a reference in the Harṣacarita to the fact that Harṣa Śilāditya invaded and conquered an inaccessible Himālayan territory, ("Atra parameśvareṇa tuṣāraśailabhuvo durgāyā gṛihitaḥ karaḥ") which may also be taken to be identical with Nepāl. Mon. Ettinghausen does not accept it and says that "this country need not be looked upon as Nepāl as most scholars have done on the authority of Bühler, but that it most probably refers to a Tukhāra country." Tukhāra is Tokhārā of the Western geographers. The Sanskrit form is Tukhāra or Tuṣāra which means frost or snow. In Yuan Chwang's time Tukhāra or Tokhārā was not the name of a country but of a great tribe or people (Watters, I, p. 103), occupying a large territory corresponding to Badakshan. We have not a single evidence whatsoever of Harṣa's making any advance towards that region which lay far outside his dominions. The inaccessible Himlayan region can hardly, therefore, be taken to be identical with the country inhabited by the Tukhāras. It is safe to identify it with Nepāl.

23 Magadha—The pilgrim is silent about the political relation of the country with the king of Mid-India, but here too, as elsewhere, it would be folly to conclude at once that Magadha lay outside the dominions of Harṣa Śilāditya ; for as the 'Life' distinctly records, the Chinese envoy, back from Harṣa's court, mentions his host as the "king of Magadha."

24 Campā (Modern Bhagalpur)—The pilgrim is silent about its polititical relation.

25 Ka-chu-wu-k'i-lo or Kajangala (identified with modern Rajmahal)—Yuan Chwang remarks, "The native dynasty had been extinguished some centuries before the pilgrim's visit, and the country had come under the control of a neighbouring state, so the capital was deserted and the people lived in towns and villages. Hence when king Śilāditya in his progress to "East India" held his court here, he cut grass to make "huts and burned these when leaving." Dr. R. C. Majumdar doubts if Harṣa had really any control over this kingdom. But let us take note of facts. The pilgrim states that Harṣa held his court there. Was he allowed to hold his court on

1 My paper on the "Chronology of the kings of Nepāl" discusses the whole problem in detail.

the heart of a country that was not within his dominions or within a country that did not owe any obligation to him? No doubt, the pilgrim's apparent ignorance of, and studied indifference to, any sort of definite polititical information raise doubts as to our assertion, but it cannot be denied after the above discussion that the "neighbouring state" could have been any other than that ruled over by Harṣa Śilāditya. We know from Yuan Chwang himself that the king "made visits of inspection throughout his dominions, not residing at any place but having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn." This is also apparent from the Harṣacarita where Bāṇa speaks of his first halting place as Thāneśvara. "Nāti dūre nagarād upasarasvatī-nirmite mahati *tiṛṇamaye* mandire prasthānam akarot."

26 Pun-na-fa-tan-na or Puṇḍravardhana; Samataṭa, Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa—No mention is made of any king or kings ruling in these countries and we can in no way definitely assert what relation these countries had with the "king of Mid-India", but as we have already seen and will see later on that the neighbouring kingdom had all been used to some sort of direct or indirect dependency of the monarch of the Mid-land, it will not be too much to infer that they must have recognised the suzerainty of Harṣa Śilāditya and there is no evidence to prove anything to the contrary.

27 Kāmarūpa—"The reigning king who was a brahmin by caste and a descendant of Nārāyaṇadeva was named Bhāskaravarman, his other name being *Kumāra*." From this it may follow that Bhāskaravarman, though a king in his own realm, did not enjoy sovereign and independent authority. This would lend support to the view which we hold. In Bāṇa's Harṣacarita there is a passage "Atra (probably meaning Karṇasuvarṇa) devena abhiṣiktaḥ Kumâraḥ" (Harṣacarita, Bom. ed., p.319)—Kumāra was coronated as king by Harṣa. This would lead one naturally to believe that the sovereign authority rested with Harṣa Śilāditya and Bhāskaravarman was only a vassal king. The Kāmarūpa king was in dreadful fear of his more powerful neighbour Śaśāṅka and he of his own account and for his own interest sent his messenger Haṃsabeg to conclude an alliance with Harṣa and as such he was naturally under his thumb. This fact is borne out by the strong evidence of the Chinese narrative, which, to be properly understood, must he read in connection with the account given in the 'Life' of the pilgrim. The pilgrim had been invited to the court of Kāmarūpa when Harṣa Śilāditya was himself out on an

expedition to a country called Kung-yü-ta or Kangoda. "Hearing of the arrival of the Chinese pilgrim at the court of king Kumāra, he (Harṣa Śilāditya) sent summons to the latter to repair to him with his foreign guest. Kumāra replied with a refusal, saying that the king could have his head, but not his guest. "I trouble you for your head," came the prompt reply. Thereupon Kumāra became submissive and proceeded with the pilgrim and grand retinue to join Śilāditya." The passage speaks for itself and any comment is superfluous.

28 Kung-yü-to or Kangoda and Wu-t'u or Oḍra-Kaliṅga—These two countries may be taken to be identical with modern Orissa. The pilgrim is silent about the political relations of Oḍra and Kaliṅga. About Kangoda he only mentions that the "towns were naturally strong, there was a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe, and there was no powerful enemy." The 'Life' speaks of Harṣa's expedition to Kangoda which, most probably, for some time at least, formed part of his dominion. It is significant that his most powerful rival Cālukya Pulakeśin II too claims in the Aihole Inscription to have conquered Kaliṅga and (south) Kośala. The rival claims thus lead us to suppose that like the Narbadā frontier, the Mahānadī frontier in the east too played a prominent part in the political history of the North and the South during the 7th century of the Christian era. The 'Life' too states that Harṣa Śilāditya assigned to one Jayasena, a learned Buddhist savant of his time, the revenue of eighty large towns of Orissa. This would certainly warrant us to conclude that Orissa must have been included within his realm. It was possibly to put a check to any further advance of his Southern adversary that he fortified Kangoda and stationed there 'a gallant army which kept the neighbouring countries in awe.'

We have tried, so long, to pass through the countries referred to by Yuan Chwang in North and East India and examine their political relations with the king of Mid-India. Coming to the West, we first of all refer to Valabhi, the kingdom of the Maitrakas. Harṣa's relation with this particular kingdom, we have already discussed. Let us next refer to Sind.

29 Sind—Sind, the capital of which lay beyond the Indus, was under a powerful king, who held under subjection several kingdoms to the West and South as far as the sea. Yuan Chwang says that the king was a Śūdra by caste and professed Buddhism. From the Harṣacarita, we know that Harṣa's father Prabhākaravardhana claimed himself to be a "burning fever to the king of the Indus region"

(Sindhurājajvara). It would not, therefore, be surprising to learn if Bāṇa informs us in Harṣa's case too that he defeated the king of Sind and won over the Sindhurājalakṣmī—(Atra puruṣottamena Sindhurājam pramathya lakṣmī paramātmiyā kṛtā). Would it be going too far to hold that Sind, though outside the pale of Harṣa's direct dominance, at least acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of Mid-India just like a '*pratyanta* kingdom'?

30 Lāṭa, Mālava and Gurjara—Lāṭa should be identified with the kingdom of the Gurjara of Broach, founded by Dadda; Mālava is Western Malawa or Mo-la-po of Yuan Chwang with her dependencies of Ānandapura, Cutch and Surāṣtra; and Gurjara is certainly the country ruled over by Gurjaras of Rajputana (Mandor) belonging to the dynasty founded by Haricandra. It is a fact to be noted that all these three countries felt the shock of the conquest of Prabhākaravardhana who claims to have been "a troubler of the sleep of Gujrat, a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāṭas, an axe to the creeper of Malwa's glory"—Gurjaraprajāgaraḥ * * * Lāṭapāṭavapāṭaccaraḥ Mālavalakṣmīlatāparaśuḥ." Whether the Lāṭas or the Mālavas were temporarily subdued or not, we cannot ascertain, but this much is sure that they continued to be thorns on the side of the political growth of Thāneśvara, so much so that in his old age Prabhākara had been compelled to send his son Rājyavardhana to remove a renewed trouble created by one of the once defeated enemies of the North-west—namely the Hūṇas; and during the life-time of Harṣa even they must have continued to be so. According to Yuan Chwang Mo-la-po or Mālava, sixty years before his visit, was ruled by a king named Śilāditya who has been identified by Mon. Sylvain Lévi with Śilāditya Dharmāditya of the Valabhi dynasty. It may follow from this, that the Valabhi kings enjoyed suzerainty over Mālava and as such it was not impossible that Dhruvabhaṭṭa or Dhruvasena II, the king of Valabhi, contemporary of Yuan Chwang, had been in possession of Mālava. The Aihole Inscription of Pulakeśin II leaves the impression that the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras were subdued by the splendours of the Southern monarch and 'became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave.' We thus see that these North-western powers submitted themselves to Pulakeśin. This submission, it is not difficult to infer, was not made willingly and without reason. We know that the king of Valabhi met with defeat at the hands of Harṣa-Śilāditya in one of his western expeditions which he certainly had led and in

course of that expedition he must have proved himself terrible to the petty princelings of Lāṭa and Gurjara, who, to shield themselves, sought the protection of the mighty monarch of the South. That their choice of overlord was the best one possible was proved later on.

Up to this, Harṣa's march of conquest was all sunshine and nowhere had he met with any defeat. Though directly ruling over what was known as Madhyadeśa—he was the acknowledged overlord of almost the whole of Northern India 'par excellence'; and was rightly recognised as the "Sakalottarāpāthanātha," even by his most confirmed antagonist of the South.

Overlord of almost three-fourths of Northern India, Harṣa now dreamt dreams of a Southern conquest and thought of playing the role of a second Samudragupta. We shall now proceed to see how far he was successful in this role.

It had hitherto been the opinion of scholars that Harṣa could not make any advance in the South and his very first attempt was effectively pushed back by Pulakeśin II. But a piece of research made by Pandit S. Srikanta Sastri ("Conquests of Śilāditya in the South" J.R.A.S., 1926, July) has seriously disturbed the hitherto accepted theory which most probably has got to be given up.

Mayūra, as is supposed, was the father-in-law of Bāṇa. To him is attributed the following eulogium in favour of Harṣa Śilāditya.

"Bhūpālāḥ śaśibhāskarānvayabhuvaḥ ke nāma nâsāditāḥ/
Bhartāram punar ekam eva hi bhuvas tvāṃ deva manyāmahe//
Yenâṅgam parimṛṣya *Kuntalam* athâkṛṣya vyudasyâyatam/
Cholam prāpyaca *Madhyadeśam* adhunā *Kāñcyāṃ* karaḥ pātitaḥ//

We can find out here references to some southern conquests of Harśa Śilāditya apart from his surzerainty over the Madhya-deśa. The countries that are here mentioned to have been honoured by the defeat of Harṣa, are Kuntala, Chola and Kāñcī, then ruled over by the Kadambas and Pallavas. It was, so long, generally supposed that this mention of a long list of conquests was an eulogium "in the conventional exsaggerated style of a poet given to punning and without any reference to historical accuracy." But in the Gaddemane Inscription notes in the Mysore Archæological Report for 1923 (p. 83), the following passage is found, and the palæography of the Inscription places it in the 7th century A.D. contemporaneous with the reigning period of Harṣa Śilāditya.

1 Svasti Śrī Śila-ādityan diśām-bharggan ākevaḷan aggaḷa-
kaṇṭakan
2 Pérāḷke vare *Pettaṇi Satyāṅkan* aṭṭuḷabhatam bedare
Mahendran
3 Beḍara-rāyara Malappara Kalegaduḷe viṛidu svarggālaya
4 Khāṛidan beḷeya māḷa kādon kalyāṇam akke aḷivon pañcha-
ma.....(quoted from Mysore Arch. Report, 1923)

Here is recorded the death of one Pettaṇi Satyāṅka while engaged in a fight against some Beda chiefs "when Śilāditya came conquering and Mahendra fled in fear". This Śilāditya could only possibly be Harṣa Śilāditya, the "Sakalottarāpathanātha" and "Mahendra is evidently Mahendravarman, predecessor of Narasiṃhavarman Pallava, constantly at war with Pulakeśin who had defeated him."

It is difficult to ascertain whether this advance of Harṣa into the interior of the South was made before his defeat by Pulakeśin II or after. It might be that Harṣa, like Samudragupta, entered the South first by the Eastern gate and, elated with success in his raid in Eastern Deccan, tried to repeat the same in the West, where he met with an ignominious and disastrous defeat ; or the order was quite the reverse, that is, being first defeated by Pulakeśin II, he tried his luck in the East and met with success.

The earliest reference to the defeat of Harṣa Śilāditya by Pulakeśin II is found in the Aihole Inscription (634 A.D.), wherein Pulakeśin is described as "causing the joy of Harṣa whose feet, which were like water-lilies, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power to melt away through fear." Reference is also made to Harṣa's defeat by Pulakeśin II in the Nirpan as well as in the Karnul and Togurshode grants. In the above mentioned grants and Yuvarāja Śilāditya Śrayāśraya grant Harṣa Śilāditya is invariably and consistently styled "Sakalottarā-pathanātha", the Lord of the whole of the North, thereby expressing a just pride in the glorious achievement of one of their Southern monarchs. And styling Harṣa Śilāditya the "Sakalottarāpathanātha" was not crediting him with more than what he deserved. From what we have read of his position in the contemporary political system of the North, he could certainly lay claim to that significant title. Yuan Chwang, too, describes Harṣa Śilāditya as "a powerful king who sub-dued distant peoples and made the neighbouring nations fear him ; who earned his victorious arm from east to west ; but failed to make his power acknowledged by the people of Mahārāṣṭra which

was the kingdom of Pulakeśin II." Pulakeśin's victory over the "Sakalottarāpathanātha" may be said to be the beginning of the transfer of the political centre of gravity from the North to the South. Hitherto it had been that an Aśoka, or Samudragupta or Harṣavardhana from the North was penetrating to the far South as far as Kāñcī and even beyond. It was for the first time that a North Indian emperor was defeated by a monarch of the South and henceforth Indian History would be presenting illustrations of Southern monarchs penetrating into the farthest corners of the North,—a Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III proceeding as far as the Himālayas, a Rājendracola pushing as far as Baṅgāladeśam.

We have finished our survey and are now in a position to estimate the position and extent of Harṣa's political power. In this connection we must clearly explain our idea about the extension of political power of any particular emperor in ancient India. This has been done by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji in his recently published book on Harṣa (p. 37): "Direct rule is sometimes confused with the power and authority indirectly exercised over a larger area by a paramount sovereign or a king of kings. What adds to the confusion is that these old empires were not organised as centralised administrations or unitary states but were always compatible with, and, indeed largely made up of, any number of local kingdoms acknowledging the suzerainty of a paramount sovereign * * * ." So when Harśa's direct rule included the whole of what was known as Mid-India, his sphere of influence was indirectly exercised over a far larger area and included, as we have already seen, almost the whole of Northern India, extending from Jalandhar in the North-west to the farthest limits of Assam in the East and from the kingdom of Valabhi in the South-west along the valley of the Narmadā and Mahānadī to the Ganjam districts and in the North to Nepāl and probably also to Kāśmīr. He was thus one of those paramount sovereigns who held extensive sway over almost the whole of Northern India as attested by the contemporary political opinion.

But, was Harṣa the last great Hindu emperor of Northern India as Smith, Ettinghausen and others suggest? Dr. R. C. Majumdar denies it and gives good reasons for same. He cites the instances of the Pālas and the Pratīhāras who ruled over extensive parts of Northern India. Another instance may also be cited in

his favour. A "Sakalottarāpathanātha"—Pan-North-Indian Emperor—is mentioned in the inscriptions of Cālukya Vijayāditya Vinayāditya. This "Sakalottarāpathanātha" was in all probability one of those Gupta kings who succeeded Ādityasena of Magadha. But even after that Dr. Majumdar's denial requires, I think, a little modification. As regards this point it is difficult to come to any definite conclusion, for, it seems to me, that none of the Pāla or Pratīhāra kings, nor the "Sakalottarāpathnātha" had, defeated by Vinayāditya, exercised the same amount of political power and prestige as Harṣa. Vatsarāja, the Pratīhāra king, at his best, extended his power from Rajputana to Prayāga and that too for a short time. Bhoja, perhaps the greatest of the Pratīhāra kings, was for some time in possession of the whole land from Rajputana to Magadha, and moreover it was during Mahendrapāla's reign that the Pratīhāra empire, as the most up-to-date information goes, reached its utmost limit to Varendra. Dharmapāla and Devapāla the greatest of the Pāla-soverigns enjoyed an empire extending from the eastern end of Bengal to Kanoj, and once, during the reign of Devapāla, from the Himālayas to Gokarṇa in the Bombay Presidency. But none of these Pāla and Pratīhāra sovereigns had ever enjoyed an unquestioned and undisturbed supremacy over their empires. These empires in no instance could make their influence felt from Valabhi on one side to Kāmarūpa on the other and from Nepāl to the Valley of the Narmadā and the Mahānadī. Such an undisturbed and unquestioned supremacy as Harṣa did enjoy was practically impossible in that period of political whirlpool in India, North and South of the Vindhyas. Nor could these emperors ever venture to penetrate into the South as Harṣa did, rather they were constantly in dread of an attack from that side; and, always henceforward whenever the Southern emperors had penetrated into the North, they did it as conquerors. The "Sakalottarāpathanātha", defeated by Vinayāditya, does not seem to have any considerable influence in Northern India; at least, the available sources at our disposal does not enable us to draw such inference. It may be argued that Harṣa was in a much more favourable political situation and he could therefore carve out a paramount position for himself; and had he been born amidst the serious political disturbance in which Vatsarāja, Dharmapāla, Bhoja, Devapāla and Mahendrapāla had to measure their strength, Harṣa could not have faired better. The argument might have some force but it is idle to enter into such discussion. Harṣa was thus one of the great emperors of ancient India who "have now and then,

though rarely enough, embellished the history of the world and stands out in brilliant relief from the surrounding chequered background."

3 *The fate of his empire immediately after his death*

All scholars agree that Harṣa breathed his last in 646-47 A.D. Harṣa probably left no son—no record helps us in the least on that point. There was none in the family who could succeed to his vast empire. It is certain that the death of Harṣa gave a signal for a revolution in Northern India. The local kings and potentates began to assert their independence and several kingdoms shone out in power and splendour from amidst this chaos. Of this revolution a very charming story is told by the Chinese records which relate with the attractiveness of a romance how Arjuna or Aruṇāśva, a minister of Harṣa just after the emperor's death, insulted and injured the second Chinese mission of Wang-hiuen-tse, how the latter fled to Nepal overnight and returned with a large army supplied by the Tibetan king Srong-btsan-gampo and by the Nepalese king, how the army stormed Tirhut and massacred its people, how Arjuna fled, revolted and was again defeated and carried a prisoner to China by the Chinese envoy, how the envoy was helped with money and other valuables by Kumāra Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. Historians have given too much importance to this story which certainly it does not deserve. Coming as it does from Chinese sources there is a tendency towards exaggeration and the horrible cruelty and rapaciousness with which the Chinese envoy massacred the population of Tirhut reflect little credit on a Buddhist mission. Naturally, the story must have been fabricated in later times. Moreover, no Indian record contains even a slight allusion to any such story. Was the Chinese army so strong and the system of warfare so improved as to defeat and even annihiliate the strong and efficient Indian army just bequeathed by Harṣa? The story of the war and expedition centres round Tirhut—not Kanoj. Is there any reason why the Chinese or Tibetan army should have been satisfied with the siege of Tirhut, and did not even proceed a step towards Kanoj, the imperial capital? All these have got to be answered before we accept the story as it is. What seems to be true is that after the death of Harṣa, Arjuna, a petty governor or king of Tirhut (Behar), asserted independence and perhaps insulted the Chinese mission while passing through his country. This, the mission took to heart, and full of revenge they might have attacked and massacred the people of Tirhut and even carried Arjuna a

prisoner to China. Tirhut, it is possible, was for some time subject to Tibet.

Harṣa died without an heir and left no strong authortiy behind him ; the whole realm naturally plunged into a chaos—each one governor or petty king and princeling tried to be independent and at the same time made attempts to keep the neighbouring countries in subjection. From amidst this chaos, an order was not long to emerge. In Magadha, Ādityasena, son of Mādhavagupta revived the later Gupta empire; at Kanoj, the Maukharis asserted themselves, and Bhogavarman, who had married the daughter of Ādityasena was on the throne; Valabhi became independent and its king Dharasena IV assumed the title of an independent sovereign, viz., "Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja". New kingdoms were also gradually asserting themselves in the North of which the Gurjaras of Rajputana and Punjab and the Karkoṭakas of Kāśmīr were the most important.

NIHARRANJAN RAY

On Metals and Metallurgy in Ancient India

II

Of the three Ṛg-vedic metals, namely, (1) *hiraṇay* (gold), (2) *rajata* (silver), and (3) *ayas* (?), we have not much to say regarding the identification of "hiraṇya" with gold.

A controversial point may, however, be mentioned. Sāyaṇa renders "hiraṇya" in Ṛv., X, 107, 7 as "rajata" (silver), also "hiraṇya" in Ṛv., VIII, 72, 12 as "suvarṇarajatamaya" (made of gold and silver) and "hiraṇya" in Ṛv., 1, 162, 16, as "sauvarṇarājata-kāṃsyāni" (gold, silver and bell-metal). But Sāyaṇa's error is apparent. For, in Ṛv., X, 107, 7, Sāyaṇa renders "candra" as "suvarṇa" (gold) but "hiraṇya" as "rajata" (silver). This, however, cannot be justified. Sāyaṇa himself renders 'candra', an adjective to "hiraṇya" in Ṛv., VIII, 65, 11, and also in Ṛv., IX, 97, 50 as "āhlādaka", i.e., "pleasing", meaning 'gold that gives pleasure'. So in Ṛv., X, 107, 7, the same meaning (pleasing)

of "candra" would be applicable. Thus Sāyaṇa in changing the signification of "candra" at pleasure evidently renders an explanation that cannot be accepted. Again, in Ṛv., VIII, 72, 12 such a rendering of "hiraṇya", as shown above, by Sāyaṇa can hardly be accepted, for the rare use of silver in the Ṛg-veda does not allow us to conjecture the ear-ornaments[1] or the ears themselves to be wrought of silver and gold or an alloy of the two metals. Simply 'made of gold' is quite adequate to explain the meaning of "hiraṇya" here. Lastly, Sāyaṇa supposed the plural "hiraṇyānī" in Ṛv., I, 162, 16, to mean wealth composed of gold, silver, bell-metal etc. This, however, seems to be incorrect, for the idea of bell-metal can hardly be introduced into the Ṛg-veda[2], while a forced guessing of silver every now and then in the Ṛg-veda is not allowable at any rate. Thus "hiraṇyānī" would mean articles of gold only[3].

In Yāska's synonyms for "hiraṇya" we have "ayaḥ"[4]. Such use of the expression cannot, however, be cited from the Ṛg-veda. A commentator of Nirukta[5] quotes a solitary instance in Ṛv., VIII, 101, 3, where the term "Ayaḥ-śīrṣa" occurs. Evidently he derives his authority from Sāyaṇa who explains this "Ayaḥ-śīrṣa" by "hiraṇyālaṃkṛtaśiraskaś ca", i.e., with the head adorned with golden ornaments. But this meaning is quite doubtful, inasmuch as, the meaning "head protected with helmets made of ayas" would also be quite appropriate, Further[6], most of Yāska's synonyms for "hiraṇya" are found not in the Ṛg-veda at all but elsewhere as is the case with "loha," "kanaka" etc.[7] Thus, so far as the Ṛg-veda is concerned,

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1 Ubhā karṇā hiraṇyayā"—Karṇā karṇasthānīyau dvau rukmyau hiraṇyayā hiraṇmayau suvarṇarajatamayāv ity arthaḥ.

2 Ne reference is made to tin in the Ṛg-veda.

3 Sāyaṇa renders—hiraṇyāṇi sauvarṇarajatakāṃsyāni kalpayanti. The proper meaning is "golden articles".

4 Nirukta, Nighaṇṭu, I, 2.

5 "अयःशीर्षा मदेरघुः" Ṛv., VIII, 101, 3. Vide Nirukta with commentaries, edited by the late Ācārya Satyavrata Samāśramī, Bibliotheca Indica.

6 Eisen-köpfig (Grassmann). "Having an iron head"—Monier Williams. Perhaps a head protected with a helmet is meant.

7 There is no example in the Ṛg-veda. "Loham" occurs in Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā.

it would hardly be justifiable to explain "hiraṇya" by anything but gold,—gold that is bright and pure,[1] that goes to its lovers,[2] changes into various shapes[3] as when formed into ornaments (*hema*), that beautifies the persons who wear it (*candra*), glows by itself owing to its brilliance (*rukma*) and is desired by all.

There is one particular point which requires support. This is about the washing of gold. There is, however, no direct mention about it in the Ṛg-veda, but the purification from earthy matter is noticed in Ṛv., I, 117, 5, while a clear evidence of washing gold is to be found in Taittīriya-saṃhitā, VI, 1, 7, 1 and Śatapatha-Brāhamaṇa, II, 1, 1, 5.

For "Ayas," as we have already mentioned, there are numerous terms in the Ṛg-veda.[4] From explanations of these terms it will probably be possible to identify '*Ayas*' with *iron*.

The first important evidence is presented by the fact of the existence in the Ṛg-veda of a distinct guild organisation called "*Kārmāra*" or "*Karmāra*" (Ṛv., IX, 112, 2, and Ṛv., X, 72 2).[5] There it is identified with *the making of arrows or articles for rich persons by means of dried faggots of trees, fans prepared of bird's wings and bright stones* (IX, 112, 2), *also lighting bright fire by blowing air by his bellows or fans* (X, 72. 2). The act or work of this *Kārmāra* is described by the application of the verb *adhamat* (Ṛv., X, 72, 2), which comes from root "धम" meaning "*to blow*".[6] Yāska (N., 2, 14)

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1 Rukmam, √Ruca—to glow. Vide Ṛv., V, 52, 6 and IX, 15, 5.

2 Hema, √Hi—to go or pass and to augment, Vide Ṛv., IX, 97, 1 and IV, 2, 8.

3 *Hema*, vide Nir. Nigh., 1, 2, VIII, 5, 11; 8, 1; VIII, 87, 5.

4 Nearly forty mentions are to be found in different forms. *Vide* Ṛg-vedic Concordance and Maxmüller's Index.

5 "*Karmāra*, the smith is several times mentioned with approval in the Vedic Saṃhitās. * * * *

Little is known of the smith's method of work and of his tools. No doubt he smelted (dhmā) the ore in the fire, hence he is called *dhmātṛ*, the smelter. Mention is also made of his bellows of birds' feathers (Ṛv., IX, 112, 2)", Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 140.

6 "*Dhmātṛ* (lit. blower) occurs twice in one passage of the Ṛg-veda (V. 9, 5) in the two forms *dhmātā*, nom. 'smelter' and "dhmātarī" which according to the Padapāṭha stands for *dhmātari*, a locative

mentions *dhamati* in the list of verbs signifying dynamical action (*gatikarmāṇḥ*) but in another place (N., 2, 19) he explains the same verb as *badhakarma*. Synonyms of the term *badhaḥ* are *pratighātanam*, *parighātanam*, and *saṃghātaḥ*, i.e., the act of striking blows. Pāṇini (vii, 3, 78) connects *dham* with *dhmā* which means sounding and conjunction with fire (*dhmā śabdāgnisaṃyogayoḥ*).

Thus we have from धम[1] the term धमकः[2] meaning a blower, a blacksmith; and as dhama is identified with dhmā, we have *dhmākāraḥ*[3] also meaning a blacksmith. Thus Karmāra and Kārmāra of the Ṛg-veda identified with his work धम signifies one working with bellows and fire and striking and hammering.

Now the most important point of this "Karmāra" is that if the guild of this class of men is once identified with that of "*blacksmith*," the Indian traditions forbid to accept the guild as one occupying any thing beyond the particular profession of forging or preparing *iron* and *iron* alone. For in India a blacksmith cannot be taken to be a

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probably meaning in the smelting furnace—(Macdonell, J.R.A.S., 1893. 446). Geldner (Vedische studien I, 146, n. I). Bertholomæ (Indogermanische Forschüngen, 1, 496, n. 2) and Oldenberg (Sacred Books of the East, 46, 388) regard the latter form as a locative infinitive 'in the smelting'. Ludwig (Infinitiv im Veda, Translation of the Ṛ.v., 4, 334) and Neisser (Bezzenberger's Beiträge 20, 40) think *dhmātari* is a nom. sing. masc. used in the same sense as *dhmātā*. Smelting is also clearly referred to (Ṛv., IV, 2, 17), and the smelter is described as using the wings of birds (*parṇa śakunānām*) to fan the flame (Ṛv., IX, 112, 2). "That the art was widely applied is shown by the fact that reference is made to arrows with points of ayas to kettles which were fashioned of the same metal and could be placed upon a fire (Ṛv., V. 5, 30, 15) and to soma cups of beaten ayas (Ṛv., IX, 1. 2, cf. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, 252; Schrader, Prehistoric Antiquities, 159)"—Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 405.

1 '*Dhama*'—"Pratighātanam" i.e. hammering. The sound echoes the sense. The usual sense of hammering being easily understood by "*dhama-dham*" which is the sound created.

2 Dhamaka—"a blower or Blacksmith"—Monier Williams; "A blacksmith"—Wilson.

3 Dhmākāra—"Grobschmied"—Roth. "A blacksmith"—Wilson.

brazier, or a carpenter, or anything else, since each occupation fixes the guild in regard to its social status by strict discipline of endogamy, and other laws of the caste-system.[1] Thus one may rove round India but he could hardly find a *blacksmith* working as a *brazier* or a *carpenter.* This can never be in India, as the *blacksmith* being in a fixed guild could hardly free itself from the rigours of caste-discipline.[2] Thus *Karmāra* of the Ṛg-veda, identified with the particular guild of *blacksmith*, can never again be associated with that of a brazier or a carpenter as Wilson[3] very erroneously did. Monier Williams very wisely explained it as a guild of a "*mechanic or blacksmith*"[4] only, and Roth by simply '*Smeid*'[5] or 'smith' alone as Macdonell does, which is taken up, though erroneously, by others to denote "smith" in general i.e., *copper-smith*, or *brass-smith*, or *iron-smith.*[6]

Again the ancient Sanskrit term कार्मारः through *Prākṛt* has been converted into the simple 'कामार,' in which form it crept into the Bengali language. And in Bengal we have still this guild 'কামার' purely and simply identified with the forging of iron and iron alone and plying the trade in the same primitive Ṛg-vedic style.[7] Thus the very existence of the कार्मारः

1&2 "Possibly a quasi-caste of smiths was already developing from the guild organisation that existed."—Vedic Index, vol. I, p. 140. "Caste, once created, naturally developed in different directions. Nesfield (Brief View of the Caste System of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Allahabad, 1885) was inclined to see in occupation the one ground of caste. It is hardly necessary seriously to criticise this view considered as an ultimate explanation of caste, but it is perfectly certain that guilds of workers tend to become castes. The carpenters (*Takṣan*), the chariot-makers (*Rathakāra*), the fishermen (*Dhaivara*) and others are clearly of the type of caste and the number extends itself as time goes on".—Ibid., vol. II, p. 269.

3—6 *Karmāra* :—"An artificer, a mechanic, a blacksmith, a brazier, a carpenter."—Wilson. "A mechanic or blacksmith".—Monier Williams. "Schmeid.—Roth. "Smith".—Macdonell.

7 This prevails not only in Bengal, but throughout India it holds good, for an iron-smith, i.e., blacksmith can never be identified with a brass-smith, copper-smith, or gold-smith. Each being a separate guild controlled by the discipline of the caste-system. Any one

in the Ṛg-veda described as working with bellows, exciting fire by means of dried faggots of trees, and hammering and preparing arrows, after whetting them on a stone[1] etc. indicates the existence of iron in the Ṛg-veda and offers the first prominent evidence in support of our identifying *ayas* with iron alone.

The next prominent evidence is afforded by Ṛv., IV, 2, 17 (ayo na devā janimā dhamantaḥ), where *ayaḥ* is directly connected with dhamantaḥ, which clearly proves that the कार्मार of the Ṛg-veda was occupied with the working of the metal ayas. Sāyaṇa has the following : जनिम स्वकीयं मानुषं जन्म धमंतो यागादिलक्षणेन कर्मणा निर्मलीकुर्वंतः। तत्र दृष्टांतः। अयो न। यथा कर्मारा अयो भस्त्रेण धमंति तद्वत्— i. e. *purifying their humanity, as ore is purified by smelting.* Here (*dhamantaḥ*) plainly signifies *purification* through fire, bellows, and hammer. Thus we know very clearly that the metal ayas used to be purified, a fact which is further confirmed by an evidence from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VI, I, 3, 5) [2]. That this fact of *purification* of ayas from ore at once dismisses any idea of identifying it with any kind of *bronze* is plainly evident.[3]

Again from Ṛv., V, 9, 5, we have धमति (dhamati) correlated with

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who has studied the guild organisation of India can easily testify to the accuracy of this statement.

1 "The smith with brushwood on the hearth and in his hand a goose's wing with anvil and a blazing fire awaits a wealthy customer."—Schrader, Pre-historic Antiquities, p. 162.

2 "From the sand he created the pebble : whence sand finally indeed becomes a pebble;—from the pebble the stone : whence the pebble finally indeed becomes a stone ;—from the stone metal ore : whence from stone they smelt ore".—Eggeling's Translation, S. B. E., vol. XLI.

3 For in bronze-making two purified metals (e.g., copper and tin) are melted together to form an alloy. This process is called *melting* which is quite distinct from *smelting*.

There exists in the Ṛv., (VI, 3, 4) the term *Dravi*, *melter* which proves the existence of a particular class of guild of *melters*. Sāyaṇa identifies it with *dravayitā* or *svarṇakāra*. Wilson translates it "as a melter causes to melt." "Hiraṇyakāra denotes a 'worker in gold' mentioned in the list of victims at the Puruṣa-medha (human sacrifice) in the Yajurveda (Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā, XXX, 17 ; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, III, 4, 14, 1.)."—Vedic Index, vol. II, p. 505.

another term dhmātā as well as with dhmātari. Macdonell means by dhmātari "in the smelting furnace." Sāyaṇa[1] identifies dhmātā with Karmāra. So do Ludwig and Neisser. By dhmātari Sāyaṇa means dhmātṛ (smelter) and from dhmātṛ comes (dhmātāraḥ) which Roth explains as *Blaser* (blower), *Schmeltzer* (smelter). Thus we have most clearly a positive evidence in the Ṛg-veda of smelting or of purification of ayas (from ore) by *smelting* operation, as well as of a class of men known as (dhmātāraḥ) very often identified with Kārmārāḥ[2] and these facts, as we believe, led Macdonell and Keith to write—"Smelting is also clearly referred to and the smelter is described as using the wings of birds (parṇaśakunānām) to fan the flame. That the art was widely applied is shown by the fact that reference is made to arrows with points of ayas, to kettles which were fashioned of the same metal and could be placed upon a fire and to Soma-cups of beaten ayas."[3] There is no doubt that this process of melting was not similar to the liquid smelting of modern iron-smelting method, as some scholars have erroneously taken it to be,[4] but was quite akin to the old process of purifying or smelting the metal in lumps while in the semi-molten state, as we shall show presently.

The third and the most important evidence in regard to the identification of 'Ayas' with iron is offered by Ṛv., X, 81, 3 where the *act of welding* has been positively referred to by the term Saṃdhamati which Roth and Grassmann explain by *"Zussammen Scheweissen"* i.e. *to weld together*. Sāyaṇa explains the term संधमति[5] by प्रेरयति

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1 Vide Sāyaṇa's commentary on Ṛv., V, 9, 5.

2 Vide Sāyaṇa's commentary on Ṛv., V, 9, 5.

3 *Gharmaḥ ayasmayaḥ*—Ṛv., V, 30, 15; *ayohatam druṇā*—Ṛv., IX, 1, 2; 80, 2.

4 In modern smelting operations the metal is generally obtained in a liquid condition or molten state. This leads many scholars of the present day to suppose that the ancient process of smelting too was of the same type. Hence it is not surprising if they take *smelting* for *melting* which favours the identification of bronze with ayas, alloy being obtained by simple melting.

5 Saṃdhamati (*Sam* and *dhamati*—pressed together in conjunction with fire, bellows and hammer) clearly meaning "weld-

or *pressing into* i.e. *joining together*. Griffiths translates this Ṛk thus: "He the sole God, producing earth and heaven *weldeth* them, with his arms as wings together." In the footnote on the expressions "weldeth them" etc.", Griffiths refers to the process of smelting in Ṛv., IV, 2, 17 and X, 72,2 and comments on the passage "with his arms as wings" with the remark that wings fan the flames of fire in which the matter is smelted. So clearly the "*welding of metals*"[1] has been referred to in this passage, that the idea of *welding* is purely and simply associated with *iron* and *iron* alone and no other metal was likely to have been so accurately known to scientists, metallurgists, lexicographers and even to lay-men.

This evidence of the act of welding identified with the verb dhama, the act of *Karmāra* or blacksmith working with "ayas", at once confirms the belief of the existence of iron in the Ṛg-veda and affords sound grounds for identifying 'Ayas' with iron.

Thus from the Ṛg-veda itself one can at once gain an insight into the "*metallurgy of Ayas*" in those days of our ancient civilised life. There we find that the "Karmāra" or the '*dhmāṭṛ*', a member of a particular kind of guild of the blacksmith and the iron smelter,[2] with his simple tools, a pair of bellows, a furnace or forge, a hammer, and a whetting stone, used to prepare iron articles of commerce such as arrows etc. by smelting or purifying iron ore by fire made with fuel of dry faggots of trees. His work consisted in heating the ore in the furnace to a high temperature by means of his bellows, and then hammering the metal and even welding pieces together and lastly whetting on sharp clean stone.[3]

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ing." The idea here is to unite together "the earth and heaven" i.e. to unite two things together keeping their respective entities quite distinct.

Saṃdhamati : 'Zusammenschweissen'—(Grassmann) ; 'fuse or melt together'—(Monier Williams).

1 "Weld—To press or beat into intimate contact and permanent union, as two pieces of iron when heated almost to fusion."—Ure.

2 Vide *ante*.

3 "It appears then that the claim of India to a discovery of iron and steel-making which has exercised more influence on the arts conducive to civilisation and manufacturing industry, than any other within the whole range of human inventions, is altogether unquestionable."—

That there are evidences to support this description of the process of traditionary metallurgy in ancient Vedic India could be easily seen. We have ample evidences from the Ṛg-vedic commentary of Sāyaṇa himself that up to the fourteenth century A.C., i.e., during Sāyaṇa's time the same metallurgical process used to be carried on in India.[1] Again this view becomes fully corroborated when we see that even the system of Indian iron-smelting at the end of the 19th century A.C. was and even to this day is of the same simple type as in the Vedic age. H. Warth says in his notes on the manufacture of iron and the future of the charcoal iron industry in India (India Govt. Reports, June, 1881)—"It has been stated that ancient nations derived their iron from the meteoric masses which are occasionally found on the earth's surface, but it seems more likely that the iron was in most cases made by the people from iron ore. We hear that even the Negroes in Central Africa make their own iron, and *the native* Indian process of iron-making is simple enough to make it probable that ancient civilised nations were able to adopt it. At many places in India iron is made from pure ore, but before cheaper iron was imported from England, much more iron and steel used to be made than is made at the present time".[2]

—J. M. Heath, *On Indian iron and steel, in a letter addressed to the Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Nov.*, 1837.

1 Vide his commentary on Ṛv., I, 163, 9 specially in regard to the expression 'ayaḥpiṇḍa' used by him. Clearly in his time iron used to be smelted simply from the ore and then hammered into lumps. Vide also his commentaries on Ṛv., V, 62, 7 and 8.

2 "The antiquity of the Indian process is no less astonishing than its ingenuity. We can hardly doubt that the tools with which the Egyptians covered their obelisks and temples of porphyry and syenite with hieroglyphics were made of Indian steel. There is no evidence to show that any of the nations of antiquity besides the Hindus were acquainted with the art of making steel."—David Mushte, Papers on Iron and Steel (London, 1840), p. 669.

"We know that a maritime intercourse was maintained from the remotest antiquity between the Malabar Coast, the Persian gulf, the country about the mouths of the Indus and the Red Sea: and it an-

That the iron used to be obtained in the form of lumps has been fully indicated by Mr. Warth in his Report. There are still more evidences in support of this. In the same report quoted above Mr. Warth observes—"As the iron does not melt at the temperature of a common charcoal blast, it is impossible to bring the minute particles of iron together into one mass unless the slag is very small."

Thus from the above it is quite clear that the iron smelting or purification of iron ore used to be done in the furnace in the form of semi-molten *lumps* and not in a complete molten state as we now get from the blast furnaces of modern times. This point is of particular importance as many Vedic scholars seem to have a misconception of this form. Sāyaṇa also refers in his commentary on Ṛv., I, 163, 9 to this lump which he calls Ayaḥpiṇḍa. Moreover, the experiments which Mr. Warth performed and which he described in his note are extremely interesting and throws considerable light on the process of iron-smelting then in actual operation in India which from the most simplicity of its nature compares most favourably with that mentioned and described in the Ṛg-veda.

MANINDRA NATH BANERJEE

pears reasonable to conclude that the steel of the south of India found its way by these routes to the country of Porus, to the nations of Europe and to Egypt."—Ibid., p. 670.

Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India

(*Translated from the German version of A. Schiefner*)

III

EVENTS OF THE TIME OF KING SUBĀHU[1]

Thereafter Subāhu, the son of Ajātaśatru, exercised the rulership for ten years and held the teaching of Buddha in respect. When the venerable Śāṇavāsika[2] had held the teachership for a short period,

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1 Tāranātha mentions as the chronological frame-work of this part of his work four successive reigns. These are the reigns of (1) Subāhu, son of Ajātaśatru (10 years); (2) his son Sudhanu (23 years); (3) his son Mahendra (9 years); (4) his son Camasa (22 years). The more authentic accounts of the Sinhalese Mahāvaṃsa and the Brāhmaṇical Purāṇas know nothing of these kings. According to the former the immediate successors of Ajātaśatru were (1) Udayabhadda (16 years), (2 and 3) Anuruddha and Muṇḍa (8 years), (4) Nāgadāsaka (24 years). In the Purāṇas their names are Darśaka (24 years), Udāyin (33 years), Nandivardhana (40 years) and Mahānandin (43 years). See Geiger's English tr. of *Mahāvaṃsa*, Introduction, p. xli, and V. Smith's *Early History of India*, 4th ed., p. 51. Evidently Tāranātha's sources had lost sight of the authentic historical tradition so that there was no other alternative than to insert fictitious names to fill up the gap between Ajātaśatru and Aśoka. Tr.

2 Śāṇavāsika (with variant forms of this name) is well-known in the Northern Buddhist tradition as the third Buddhist patriarch receiving the guardianship of the teaching from Ānanda and in turn transmitting it to Upagupta (cf. besides Tāranātha above cited, Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 161; Rājendralāla Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 10 etc.). Tāranātha's account of his early life as given above (I. H. Q., vol. III, p. 500) occurs in a fuller form in the Tibetan Vinaya (Dulva). See Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 161-167. The term Śāṇavāsika literally means "wearer of the linen" and a legend is told by Hiuen Tsang to account for this strange designation (Watters' Yuan Chwang, vol. I, p. 120). A Sambhūta Śāṇavāsin is known both to the Northern and the Southern tradition as playing a conspicuous part in connexion with the Council at Vaiśālī (see Cullavagga, xii, 1, 8ff. of the Pāli Vinaya Piṭaka; Dīpavaṃsa, v, 16ff.;

the venerable Madhyāntika,[1] who lived at Vārāṇasī,[2] imparted the teaching in an excellent manner to the four groups[3] and he preached the law to the brāhmaṇas and house-holders. At another time many brāhmaṇas and house-holders of Vārāṇasī took offence at the large number of mendicant bhikṣus and reviled them saying, "Was there no other region for alms and was there no city as prosperous as Vārāṇasī? We are obliged to support you, but you do not give us the least in return." As they said so, the venerable Madhyāntika encompassed by a group of 10,000 arhants betook himself, soaring through the air, to the mountain Uśīra that lay in the north. There the householder Aja assembled all the monks of the four regions and maintained them for one year, and thus 44,000 arhants were there together. Through this cause the teaching was spread specially in the north. In this way Madhyāntika delivered the teaching on the Uśīra mountain for three years. At that time Śāṇavāsika lived in Śrāvastī and through his preaching of the law to the four groups nearly 1000 persons became arhants. Formerly there were at the time of Ajātaśatru two men of the brāhmaṇa caste of the name of Pana and Napa[4] who had no knowledge of the law, were

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Mahāvaṃsa, iv, 18ff.; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 176 etc.). He is the reputed author of a few verses occurring in Theragāthā (see Ibid., no. cxcii). Tr.

1 Tāranātha's account of the miraculous conversion of Madhyāntika and his 500 followers by Ānanda at the time of his death (I. H. Q., vol. III, p. 509) agrees substantially with that of the Tibetan Vinaya (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 166-167). Both agree in making Madhyāntika a contemporary of Śāṇavāsika and therefore of Ajātaśatru and his immediate successors. On the other hand the Ceylonese tradition as embodied, e.g., in the Mahāvaṃsa, xii, 3ff. and the historical introduction to the Samantapāsādikā (P. T. S. ed., vol. p. 63) makes him (Pāli Majjhantika = Sans. Madhyāntika) a contemporary of the Thera Tissa, the son of Moggali, and hence of Asoka. Thus the N. tradition antedates Madhyāntika by three centuries. For the Uśīra mountain situated near Mathurā (see Watters, *Yuen Chwang*, vol. I, p. 308). Tr.

2 More properly, Bārāṇasī. Tr.

3 Bhikṣus, Bhikṣuṇīs, Upāsakas and Upāsikās. The corresponding Sanskrit terms are *catasṛṇām pārṣadānām*. Tr.

4 We may compare the account communicated in the Biography of Śākyamuni, p. 68 (298) which occurs also in the Karmaśataka (IX, 9).

wicked and cruel, observed no distinction between pure and impure food and killed different living beings. As these two had committed theft in a house and the king had their hands cut off, they grew very angry, and after giving a midday-meal to many arhants they wished that as a result of this good deed they might become Yakṣas for destroying the king and the inhabitants of Magadha. After some time both were struck by an epidemic, cut off and were reborn as yakṣas. About 7 or 8 years after, when king Subāhu was ruling, both of them acquired the position of Yakṣas in Magadha and sent forth into the land a great infectious disease. When many men and cattle perished there and none could stop the epidemic, and when the astrologers ascertained the real state of things, the inhabitants of Magadha invited the venerable Śāṇavāsika from Śrāvastī and begged him to subdue the two Yakṣas. He on his part came to the mount Gurva where the two Yakṣas lived, and stepped into the Yakṣa-cave. The Yakṣas however had gone at that time to the habitation of another Yakṣa and were called hither by another Yakṣa. When they returned, they got angry and let fall the rocks of the cave; but there came into existence another cave and in the same was seated the venerable Śāṇavāsika. When this happened three times, they let off a flaming fire; but the Arhant let off a still more powerful flaming fire in the ten directions, whereupon the Yakṣas were terrified; as all regions were on fire, they found no place of refuge, and when they gave themselves up to the protection of Śāṇavāsika, the fire was extinguished. Thereafter, as the teaching was preached to them, they became very believing and were initiated into the Seeking of Refuge (Śaraṇāgamana) and the doctrines. Immediately afterwards the epidemic ceased. This piece of magic was witnessed by a thousand brāhmaṇas and householders.

The second section, the events during the time of king Subāhu.

III EVENTS OF THE TIME OF KING SUDHANU

When the king died, his son Sudhanu came to rule simultaneously with the conversion of Kāśmīra by Madhyāntika. This Madhyāntika reached Kāśmīra through his supernatural power and settled down on the banks of a lake inhabited by the Nāgas. Then the Nāga king Auduṣṭa with his retinue got into anger and sent down a heavy shower, but it could not move the fringe of the holy robe; when the rain of different projectiles coming from different directions was changed into a flower-rain, the Nāga appeared and asked what the Venerable desired. When the latter demanded a piece of land and the

Nāga asked "How big a piece?", the Venerable said "A piece of land that I can cover by sitting cross-legged"; and that was granted to him. When by a supernatural crossing of legs he covered the nine regions of Kaṣmīra, the Nāga said "How large is the following of the venerable?" "Five hundred." "If there be one wanting, I shall take back the land?" "This land was chosen before by the Teacher as a place suitable for deep contemplation.[1] Since where there are givers, there are also mendicants, brāhmaṇas and householders must also be settled." After these words, he betook himself to Kāśmīra with the 500 Madhyāntikas from Uśīra and also with many hundred thousand brāhmaṇas and householders believing and devoted to the law from Vārāṇasī. Thereafter many men came gradually to Kāśmīra from different lands and at the time when Madhyāntika lived, this land was adorned with nine great cities, many villages of mountain-dwellers, with a royal residence and twelve Vihāras containing very numerous monks. He, then, through his supernatural power led the groups of men from Kāśmīra to Gandhamādana and subdued the Nāgas by means of a fire-magic. When he had persuaded them to give saffron covering the shadow of the clerical robe, the Arhant magically made the robe large. When he had covered the saffron with this shadow and when all men had taken it up, he came back in the twinkling of an eye to Kāśmīra, filled the land with colonies of saffron, and gave the command that this would increase their wealth by preference. He then converted all the inhabitants of Kāśmīra to the teaching and vanished from existence. He preached the law for 20 years in Kāśmīra.[2] When Madhyāntika came to Kāśmīra, the venerable Śāṇavāsika taught the law to the four groups of men dwelling in the six towns. After a reign of

1 The corresponding Sanskrit term is *Vipaśyanā* which Wassiljew (quoted by Schiefner in the additonal notes at the end of his German text, p. 285) explains as a meditation in which the spirit is sunk in metaphysical thought. The equvalent term in Pāli is *Vipassanā*. See Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 60.

2 The above description of the miraculous conversion of Kāśmīra by Madhyāntika and his introduction of saffron into that country occurs also in the Tibetan Vinaya (See Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 167-170; Feer, Fragments extraits du Kandjour, pp. 83-86). There the Nāga is called Hu-lun-ta. The Ceylonese account is somewhat different (see Mahāvaṃsa, XII, 9-28, Samantapāsādikā, P. T. S. ed. pp. 64-66). It makes out the Nāga king's name to be Aravāla.

23 years king Sudhanu one day passed out of this existence. After him the officials and retinue of this king, one thousand in number, stepped into the priestly office through Śāṇavāsika. With these and very many others he passed the summer at the cemetery of Śītavana; after they had meditated on the cemetery-ground at the conclusion of the Varṣa, all obtained the *aśubha-samādhi*[1] and attained afterwards the completion of the highest form of knowledge (lit. consciousness or conviction), and became Arhants. Thereafter Upagupta, son of a spice-dealer, was ordained as a priest and perceived the truth; after seven days he attained the complete emancipation from two of the Arhant-stages.[2] When Śāṇavāsika had given over the teachership to Upagupta he passed out of existence in the land of Campā. Instructed by this Śāṇavāsika sooner or later in the doctrines, 100,000 became Arhants. In this matter the people of Kāśmīra maintain that Madhyāntika must be counted in the succession-list of teachership, since while Madhyāntika held the teachership for 15 years in Madhyadeśa, the venerable Śāṇavāsika had only a few disciples. When Madhyāntika went to Kāśmīra, Śāṇavāsika held the teachership, so that there were eight 'handings-down' of the teaching. Others maintain that the teacher had prophesied the conversion of Kāśmīra by Madhyāntika, that Ānanda would teach him the word, that Ānanda would hand over the teachership to Śāṇavāsika, and that there would be only seven "handings-down" of the teachership; this opinion the Tibetans also follow.[3]

The third section, the events during the time of king Sudhanu.

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1 The practice of *aśubha* contemplation was known to Buddhism from early times. It consisted in meditation on the basis of some impure object. For an explanation of this term see S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 121, *n.* 6. Tr.

2 The stages of Arhantship in their ascending order are as follows: Srota-āpanna, Sakṛdāgāmin, Anāgāmin, and Arhat. Tr.

3 The sevenfold "handings-down" of the teaching mentioned above as in accordance with the Tibetan tradition is apparently based upon the following succession of Buddhist patriarchs after Śākya Buddha:—

(*a*) Kāśyapa, (*b*) Ānanda, (*c*) Śāṇavāsika, (*d*) Upagupta, (*e*) Dhītika, (*f*) Sudarśana. These early patriarchs are distinguished in the Tibetan Vinaya as 'elephants' i.e. mighty ones (see Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 170 and *n.* Tr.

Age of the Manusaṃhitā

Various theories have been started regarding the age of the Manusaṃhitā. Max Müller wanted to bring it down to the fourth century A.D. Bühler however arrived at a different result and formulated the rather too wide limits for the age of *M.* viz. the second century B.C. and the second century A.D., and there is a general concensus of opinion among the scholars to acquiesce to his theory in this respect. But now, by a careful study of the quotations from *M.* in other works, it is perhaps possible to show that after all the actual date of *M.* lies rather beyond than within these arbitrary barriers of time-limit. From two considerations, each exaggerated to an unreasonable degree, *M.* has been denied his due; firstly,that a large mass of popular parables constituting the 'Spruchweisheit' of Ancient India has been bodily incorporated into the Manusmṛti and therefore many of the verses in the quotations might really have been taken from this source and not necessarily from the Manusaṃhitā. This hypothesis is certainly more or less correct. The other consideration is that our *M.* was formerly composed in sūtras, so that many of the quotations from *M.*, specially those that cannot now be traced in the extant text of the Manusmṛti, may refer to this sūtra-work. Now I may say in this connection that we have as yet no reason to imagine such a Mānava Dharmasūtra. We shall see below that there was indeed a work of the Mānava School written in prose; but in all probability it was later than our metrical *M.* and was rather a Mānava Arthaśāstra than a Mānava Dharmasūtra. Bühler's theory of the Mānava Dharmasūtra is based on a single passage of the Vāsiṣṭha Dharmasūtra. *Vas.* (iv, 5) says that according to the Mānavam (iti mānavam) one may injure animals when sacrificing to the manes and the gods and when entertaining a guest (pitṛdevatātithipūjāyāṃ paśuṃ hiṃsyāt). His next sūtra is identical with *M.* v, 41 (madhuparke ca yajñe ca pitṛdaivatakarmaṇi / atraiva ca paśuṃ hiṃsyān nānyathety abravīn manuḥ //).

It is quite clear that *Vas.* in iv, 5 is but giving a summary of *M.* v, 41. Bühler however sees in it a quotation from the old Mānava Dharmasūtra and concludes that "the lost Mānava Dharmasūtra consisted, like nearly all the other works of this class, partly of prose and partly of verse" (S.B.E. 14, note on *Vas.* iv, 5). Here we are con-

fronted with a stupendous theory built upon the flimsiest of foundations. It is a very common feature of the Smṛtis that before quoting a verse or verses a paraphrase of the verse or verses concerned is given beforehand, expressing thereby also the author's own view. Let us consider for example *Baudh.* II, 1, 15.[1] This sūtra of *Baudh.* is without doubt the paraphrase of the first of the two verses quoted in the following sūtra[2] with the usual introductory remark athâpy udāharanti, which, *en passant*, may easily be recognised to be a verse of *M.* though in the present text of *M.* it has been split up into two—viii, 314 and 315,[3] specially as the other verse quoted in this sūtra is almost identical with *M.* viii, 316. Thus. *Vas.* iv, 5 need not be regarded as a quotation from the Mānava Dharmasūtra whose very existence is hypothetical. The special point in this passage is that the words 'iti mānavam' have been placed before and not after the verse ; but we cannot be sure of these words too, for they are not seen in all the recensions of *Vas.*; for example, *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* as published in the Smṛtisaṃgraha, Calcutta, 1889, omits these two words. It may further be urged that *Vas.* quotes numerous verses of Manu with or without acknowledgment, most of which are again found in our *M.* Now if it is true that *Vas.* had before him only a sūtra work of the Mānava School, how is it possible that these quotations, should be always in verse and never in prose (*Vas.* iv, 5 has already been dealt with)? It may be held therefore that we have as yet no proof of the existence of a Mānava Dharmasūtra which, when versified, became the Mānava Dharmaśāstra.

We can go a step further. It may be proved that a metrical Manusmṛti was in existence before 300 B.C.—at least before *Vas.* and *Baudh.* were composed.

Bühler fully discussed the quotations from *M.* in the Mahābhārata, but he did not take into consideration the important quotation in

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1 stenaḥ prakīrya keśān saidhrakaṃ musalam ādāya skandhena rājānaṃ gacched anena māṃ jahîti tenainaṃ hanyāt.

2 athâpy udāharanti—skandhenâdhāya musalaṃ steno rājānam anviyāt/ anena śādhi māṃ rājan kṣatradharmam anusmaran// śāsane vā visarge vā steno mucyate kilbiṣāt/ aśāsanāt tu tad rājā stenād āpnoti kilbiṣam//

3 rājā stenena gantavyo muktakeśena dhāvatā/ ācakṣāṇena tat steyam evaṃkarmâsmi śādhi mām// skandhenâdāya musalaṃ laguḍaṃ vāpi khādiram/ śaktiñ cobhayatas tīkṣṇam āyasaṃ daṇḍam eva vā//

the Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhyā kāṇḍa, xviii, 30-32.[1] Verse no. 30 refers to Manu by name, verse no. 31 = *M.* viii, 318 and verse no. 32 = *M.* viii, 316. Now, the Kiṣk. kāṇḍa is generally considered to be free from interpolations; but even without this gratuitous assumption it may be shown independently that if these three verses are at all interpolations, they were thrust into the Rāmāyaṇa at a very early date—at the time of the *Baudh.* at the latest. *M.* viii, 316 is found quoted both in the *Rām.*, Kiṣk. kāṇḍa, xviii, 32 and *Baudh.* II, 1, 16; *Rām.* mentions Manu by name and *Baudh.* introduces the verse with the usual athâpy udâharanti—a fact which leaves no doubt that both the authors concerned are in this case directly quoting *M.* independently of each other. But there is a great differnece between the two versions of this verse as found in these two works—so great that it is difficult to detect their connection with each other without at first comparing each of them with the original verse of *M.* The first half of this verse in the *Rām.* is identical with the first half of the verse as found in *M.* while the second half is somewhat different. *Baudh.* on the other hand has the second half of the verse in common with *M.* while the first half is somewhat different. Now, this, I think, can be explained only on the hypothesis that both *Rām.* and *Baudh.* had drawn upon *M.* about the same time and then each wrought minor changes in the verse in its own way. Moreover these verses are seen in all the recensions of the *Rām.* and they in no way disturb the harmony of the chapter. These verses in the *Rām.* therefore cannot be laid aside as interpolations.

Let us consider the first of these three verses in the *Rām.* It is said here that Manu had proclaimed the following two *verses* (not sūtras). This shows that the author of the Kiṣk. kāṇḍa knew no sūtra work of the Mānava school, but rather a metrical work of the same. We should also remember in this connection that the Nāradasmṛti certainly records a very ancient tradition when it lays down that the Manusmṛti *begins with a verse*[2] (which occupies the

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1 śrūyate manunā gītau ślokau cāritravatsalau/
gṛhītau dharmakuśalais tathā tac caritaṃ mayā//
rājabhir dhṛtadaṇḍāś ca kṛtvā pāpāni mānavāḥ/
nirmalāḥ svargam āyānti santaḥ sukṛtino yathā//
śāsanād vâpi mokṣād vā stenaḥ pāpāt pramucyate/
rājā tv aśāsan pāpasya tad avāpnoti kilbiṣam//

2 Prof. Bhagavaddatta, Preface to Bārhaspatya Sūtra.

fourth place in the extant text of *M.*) and as it is highly improbable that a sūtra work should *begin* with a verse, it must be admitted that Nārada here has in view a metrical Manusmṛti. The united evidence of the *Rām.* and *Nār.* therefore goes against the hypothesis that formerly the Manusmṛti was written in Sūtra style.

To return to the main theme. We have seen that the *Rām.* quotes *M.* viii, 316 and 318. Again *M.* viii, 317 and 318 are identical with *Vas.* xix, 44 and 45 introduced with an 'athāpy-udāharanti' and *Baudh.* II, 16, 1, as shown above, contains two verses, one of which is without doubt the original verse of *M.* now split up into two viz. viii. 314 and 315, and the other almost identical with *M.* viii. 316. Here we find consecutive verses of *M.* viz. viii. 314 and 315, 316, 317, and 318, broken up into three pairs and quoted in *Vas.*, *Baudh.* and the *Rām.* respectively. All these works are approximately of the same age. It is a legitimate conclusion therefore that these consecutive verses of *M.* were known to the authors of the *Rām.*, *Vas.* and *Baudh.* Now, this fact may be explained only on two hypotheses. It may be said that these verses were known to the authors concerned only in the shape of an adage; but this is impossible because popular parables never take the form of a series of verses as we have before us—it is only the pith that counts in these adages and not necessarily depth of wisdom. The other and the only possible hypothesis is that these authors had before them a metrical work ascribed to *M.* which contained these verses. This work was much the same as the present *M.* because all these verses are found in the extant text in slightly different forms.

Other quotations from *M.* in works of quite a different nature have an important bearing on this question. As Prof. Bhagavaddatta has pointed out (Introd. to Māṇḍūkī Śikṣā p. 16), a verse of *M.* (II, 218) has been quoted in three works on Śikṣā viz. Māṇḍūkī Ś. (xvi, 7), Yājñavalkya Ś. (II, 73) and Nārada Ś. (II, 8, 27). At first sight it may appear that this verse belongs to the common tradition of Śikṣās and that *M.* has taken it from them; but it may be proved that it is just the opposite and that the Śikṣās have borrowed it from *M.* The second pāda of this verse in *M.* is " naro vary adhigacchati" whereas in the Māṇḍūkī and Nārada Śikṣās it is "bhūtale vāri vindati " which was very probably the original form of the second pāda of this verse for we see that the Yājñavalkya Ś., which from internal evidence may be proved to be of a later date, gives exactly the reading of *M.* and not that of the other Śikṣās, proving thereby that at the time of

its composition *M.*, the primary source of this verse, had undergone a slight change. We may assume therefore that this verse did not belong to the tradition of Śikṣās and that Māṇḍūkī Ś. here actually quotes a Manusmṛti. But we should remember that the Māṇḍūkī Ś. is at least as old as the oldest of the Dharmasūtras.

There is another very curious point about our *M.* Judging by the minor differences in the texts of the commentaries, Prof. Jolly has come to the conclusion that a thousand years ago i.e. about 900 A.D., the Manusmṛti was almost the same as it is at the present day (Recht und Sitte, p. 24). But precisely at this time we find Rājaśekhara quoting a work of the Mānava school which lays down that there are only three sciences and thus cannot be our *M.* (see *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, Gaek. Orient. Series, p. 4). The quotation runs as follows: trayīvārtādaṇḍanītayas tisro vidyāḥ iti mānavāḥ. It is well known that Kauṭilya too in his Arthaśāstra quotes a work of the Mānava school almost in the same words. Thus we see that side by side with our *M.* there was another work of the Mānava Caraṇa. It may also be taken for granted that this work was written in prose, for otherwise we should have to imagine that two authors of widely different ages, writing independently of each other, paraphrased a particular verse in exactly the same words—an idea which on the face of it is absurd. Thus the work of the Mānava school referred to by Kauṭilya was not the hypothetical Mānava Dharmasūtra but quite a different work of the same school—perhaps the Mānava Arthaśāstra, though by anonymously quoting two verses (vii, 105 and xi, 181) of *M.* (see Arthaś. pp. 29 and 215) he betrays his acquaintance with the metrical Manusmṛti. We need not fight shy of this fact and assume that both *M.* and Kauṭilya have borrowed these verses from a common source, for we have seen above that a metrical Manusmṛti was in existence in the fourth century B.C. at the latest. We say at the latest, because even scholars like Kern and Jolly have given their unequivocal acquiescence to a Pre-Buddhistic date for the chief Dharmasūtras, and the date of the *Rām.* established by Jacobi still remains unchallenged as Ludwig's fanciful theories cannot be taken seriously.

The question has often been raised, why of all the Smṛtis the Manusaṃhitā should be most popular and command universal acceptance. No satisfactory answer to this question has yet been given. We are now in a position to say that the Manusmṛti is most popular and universally accepted becasue it is perhaps the most

ancient work of the Smṛti literature and not less because, at a very early date, like the Rāmāyaṇa, it was composed in popular verses, agreeable and accessible to the general public, when the law-books of the other Vedic Caraṇas were still composed in the unusually stiff prose of the sūtras and could therefore hardly interest the general public in them.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Town-planning and House-building in Ancient India according to Śilpaśāstras

In ancient India, Architectoni or the science of architecture was extensively cultivated and it received recognition as one of the sixty-four sciences and arts which the ancient Hindus practised. In the construction of sacred edifices, caityas, vihāras, as also of palaces of emperors and kings, the science must have attained a high development. The Ajanta and Ellora caves show that the description of an underground tunnel given in the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka is not simply an imaginative picture, but that in ancient days such difficult feats of engineering were actually performed by the engineers. The description is very realistic and we give below an excerpt from the same:

"Mahāummaggassa pavisanadvāraṃ nagare ahosi, aṭṭhārasahatthubbedhena yantayuttaāvārena samannāgataṃ hi ekāya āṇiyā akkantāya pithīyanti, mahāummaggassa dvīsu passesu iṭṭhikāhi cinitvā sudhākammaṃ kāresi, matthake padaracchannaṃ kāretvā ullokamattikāya lepetvā setakammaṃ kāresi, sabbāni p' ettha asītimahādvārāni catusaṭṭhicūḷadvārāni ahesuṃ, sabbāni yantayuttān, eva ekāya āṇiyā akkantāya pithīyanti, ekāya akkantāya vivariyyanti, dvīsu passesu anekasatadīpālayā ahesuṃ, te pi yantayuttā va ekasmiṃ vivariyyamāne sabbe vivariyyanti ekasmiṃ pithīyamāne sabbe pithīyanti, dvīsu passesu ekasatānaṃ khattiyānaṃ ekasatasayanagabbhā ahesuṃ, ekekasmiṃ nānāvaṇṇapaccattharaṇatthataṃ, ekekaṃ mahāsayanaṃ samussitasetacchattaṃ, ekekaṃ sīhāsanaṃ mahāsayanaṃ nissāya ṭhitaṃ ekekaṃ mātugāmapotthakarūpakaṃ uttamarūpadharaṃ hatthena anāmasitvā na manussarūpakaṃ ti na sakkā ñātum, api ca

ummaggassa gabbhe dvīsu passesu kusalā cittākārā nānappakāracittakammaṃ kariṃsu: Sakkavilāsasineruparibhaṇḍasāgaramahāsāgaracatumahādīpahimavantaanotattamanosilātalacandasuriyacatumahārājikādichakāmasaggādivibhattiyo sabbā ummagge dassayiṃsu, bhūmiṃ rajatapaṭṭavaṇṇavālukaṃ okiritvā upari ullokapadumāni dassesuṃ, ubhosu passesu nānappakāre āpaṇe pi dassayiṃsu, tesu tesu ṭhānesu gandhadāmapupphadāmāni olaṃbetvā Sudhamma-devasabhaṃ viya ummaggaṃ alaṃkariṃsu" (Jātakatthavaṇṇanā, vol. VI, p. 432), The entrance into the greater tunnel was in the city: It was provided with a door, eighteen hands high, fitted with machinery so that all were closed by pressing a peg. The tunnel was built up, on either side, with bricks and was worked with stucco: planks were put in the top (of the tunnel) and plastered with cement and then white-washed. There were in all eighty great doors and sixty-four small ones; all of which closed by pressing one peg and opened by the pressure applied to another. On either side there were many hundreds of cells for placing lamps, and they also were provided with machinery, so that when one was opened, all were opened and when one was shut all were shut. On both sides were one hundred and one bed-rooms for one hundred and one Kṣatriyas. In each of these was laid a variegated bed, as also a great couch shaded by a white umbrella, a throne placed near the couch and a statue of a woman of such surpassing beauty that without touching it with hand it was not possible to know that it was not human. Also on either side of the tunnel skilful painters made all sorts of paintings; the splendour of Sakka, the belts of Sineru mountain, the sea and the ocean, the four continents, Himavat, Anototta lake, the Vermilion mountain, Sun and Moon, the heaven of the four great kings with the six heavens of sense and their divisions were to be seen in the tunnel. The floor was like a silver plate, being strewn with sand. On the roof were full-blown lotus flowers. On both sides were booths of all kinds: here and there were hung wreaths of flowers and scented festoons. In such wise they adorned the tunnel till it was like the divine hall of Sudhamma.

The rules for the construction of temples were elaborately laid down in works on Pañcarātrāgama and the Purāṇas. Works on Śilpa give detailed rules about construction of houses, palaces, temples, vimānas, spires, turrets, etc. The high art displayed in some of the yet existing remains of beautiful structures reared long ago has won the unstinted praise and admiration of artists, Western and Eastern

alike. The ancient Hindu loved a beautiful house, a well laid out village, and with passionate devotion reared huge temples, perfect in their proportions to the gods whom he worshipped. The devotion and the high art with which these forgotten artists did their work can be seen even now in the architectural remains found all over the country. The elaborate carving which they executed on stone pillars etc. is intricate and beautiful; and even hard stone in the hands of these workmen was like wood. These master craftsmen seem to have disappeared from the land, and with them their art.

From the list of sciences, arts and manufactures given below, we can have a picture of the state of activity as it existed in the Āryāvarta in ancient days. They were not mere dreamers or speculators or idlers who dabbled in words. They led intensely active lives. They traded extensively with lands over-seas, colonised distant lands, opened up forest lands and spread Aryan culture to far off lands. From a list of sixty four arts given by Kṣīrasvāmin, only a few are enumerated below:

(1) Building of chariots, conveyances, boats, ships and other marine craft,
(2) Assaying gold, silver and other metals,
(3) Inlaying with gold, and silver,
(4) Manufacture of porcelain and glass-ware,
(5) Construction of jets, fountains, sprays, water lifts, suction pumps etc.,
(6) Manufacture of engines of war and weapons of offence and defence,
(7) Caligraphy of various scripts and illumination of manuscripts,
(8) Tailoring and embroidery,
(9) Saddlery for horses, elephants and camels,
(10) Spinning and weaving,
(11) Extraction of arrows and other missiles from the body, and healing of wounds,
(12) Distillation and mixture of honey and drinks,
(13) Modelling vessels from clay, wood or stone,
(14) Painting and skilful mixing of colours,
(15) Laying out reservoirs, canals, aqueducts, roads and palaces.

The science of architecture has for long been a neglected study among the Indologists. They confined their attention mostly

to the Vedas and literature dealing with Dharma, Philosophy, Grammar, Drama, etc. Till very recently, Sanskrit works on architecture were rarely published and the manusctipts of such one as are in existence were not within the reach of those who would have otherwise devoted their time to them. Four works on Śilpa have been published within the last few years by the Travancore Government in their Sanskrit Series. Messrs. Anantalwar and Rea have published a good summary of Mānasāra Śilpa with very valuable illustrations in the introductory volume of the "Indian Architecture" series. They characterise the work as "the most perfect one having elaborate and exhaustive details chiefly for temple or sacred architecture and for town-planning according to the Hindu ideals"; and as can be seen from its valuable summary, Mānasāra Śilpa seems to deserve the high praise that has been bestowed upon it.

Works on Āgama-Pāñcarātra and Vaikhānasa deal with architecture. In the Padmasaṃhitā and Tantrasamuccaya, we find elaborate rules about the construction of temples. The Āgamas mostly follow the works on Śilpa and the chapters in books on Āgama dealing with Śilpa read like chapters in some of the works on Śilpa.

In the following pages we confine our attention mostly to Śliparatna, Mayamata, Tantrasamucchaya, Manuṣyālayacandrikā Vāstuvidyā, Padmasaṃhitā and Sanatkumāra-vastuśāstra.

Śilparatna and Mayamata are important works on Śilpa, while Manuṣyālayacandrikā and Vāstuvidyā are fragmentary works on the same subject and they appear almost to be summaries of the larger works like the above.

The author of Mayamata has been said to be Mayamuni, perhaps the divine architect of the Suras and Asuras. In the second verse of Mayamata, it is said :

तैतिलानां मनुष्याणां वस्त्वादीनां सुखोदयम्।
प्राज्ञो सुनिर्मय: कर्ता सर्वेषां वस्तु लक्षणम्॥

This is all that we find about the author of the work. So it is not possible for us to add anything more about the author. It is an ancient work chronologically older than Śilparatna in which frequent references are made to it. In Śilparatna it is mentioned :

ब्राह्मं चावं च तेजोऽप्यहमहमिकया वर्णिते यत्र धीरै
तस्य श्रीदेवनारायणधरणिपतेराज्ञयाज्ञाकरोऽहम्।
मन्दोऽप्यत्यन्तमोहादतिविपुलतरेभ्योऽथ पूर्वागमेभ्य:
संचिन्वं शिल्परत्नं प्रलिखितुमधुना प्रक्रमे तत्क्रमेण॥

Late Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī wrote in the preface to the same work as follows :—

"The King Devanārāyaṇa referred to in the above verse is said to have ruled over a territory with his capital at Ambalappurha now within the state of Travancore. He was a great patron of learning ; and entertained in his court the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, a great poet and Vaiyākaraṇika and author of Prakriyāsarvasva, Nārāyaṇīya and many other works and is known to have flourished in the latter part of the 16th century A.C. It is therefore certain, that the author of Śilparatna, a protégé of his, also lived in the same period."

The last work Sanatkumāra-vāstuśāstra is a manuscript kindly lent out to me by the erudite Vaiṣnavācārya, His Holiness Yadugiri Yatirāja Jiyyar Svāmī of Melcot, Mysore State. It is a manuscript written perhaps a century ago on palm leaves. It is in excellent condition. There is a Telugu commentary which is more extensive than the original. The commentary is not intelligible in some places and confusion about the units of length is very frequent. The commentary is not a very helpful one, for the commentator omits explanation of verses which need explanation. The work contains some diagrams in the margin, drawn without reference to the scale. They are at best rough sketches only.

II

Without correct measurements and a close observation of proportions of the masses, it is not possible to make an artistic structure. In the laying out of a garden or a town or a village, or in the building of a temple or a residence, correct measurements are necessary, and it is said that सर्वेषामपि वास्तूनां मानेनैव विनिश्चयः—(Mayamata, chap. 5, sl. 1). A table of units of length is given below as described in the works on Śilpa. The units of length most commonly used were the Aṅgula and the Hasta i.e. Kara or the cubit. Both these lengths are clearly derived with reference to the parts of a human body and from the very nature of their derivation they seem to be variable. There is an attempt made to standardise these units and we cannot say whether there were standards of length maintained in the courts of kings. Even in Pāli works we find mention of hatti and the surveyor himself was called the rajjuggahaka.

The smallest unit of length, according to all authorities on Śilpa, is a Paramāṇu, the atomic length visible only to the Yogic sight. For it is said परमाणुरिति प्रोक्तो योगिनां दृष्टिगोचरः, and it is 1/8 of an aṅgula, i.e., of an inch approximately. Just as modern physicists are basing their measurements on the length of a light-wave, so the ancients took for the basis of all their measurements an imaginary unit of very small length and the successive units increase eightfold. It is not clear why multiples of eight are chosen.

Rathareṇu = 8 Paramāṇus
Vālāgra = 8 Rathareṇus
Likṣa = 8 Vālāgras
Yūka = 8 Likṣas
Yava = 8 Yūkas
Aṅgula = 8 Yavas
Vitasti = 12 Aṅgulas
Hasta, Kiṣku = 2 Vitastis
Prājāpatya = 25 Aṅgulas
Dhanurmuṣṭi = 26 Aṅgulas
Dhanurgraha = 27 Aṅgulas
Dhanurdaṇḍa, Yaṣṭi = 4 Hastas
Rajju = 8 Daṇḍas
Krośa = 500 Daṇḍas
Arthagavyūtam = 1,000 Daṇḍas
Yojana = 8,000 Daṇḍas

Rajju seems to have been the unit of most general use in the survey of field and the last three in measuring long distances, say, between distant towns. According to the "Indian Architecture," Rajju is equivalent to 48 English feet.

In measuring areas, the unit of area is a square, the length of whose side is a Daṇḍa. A Kākaṇikā (काकणिका) is a square of sixty four square Daṇḍas. A Māṣam is equivalent to four Kākaṇikās and a Vartanaka is a square, the length of whose side is thirty-two Daṇḍas. A Vāṭikā and a Grāmakuṭumbāvani are defined to be equivalent to 1,280 and 2,560 square daṇḍas respectively.

Different units are used in different constructions as the following will show :

यानं च शयने किष्कुः प्राजापत्यं विमानके ।
वास्तूनां तु धनुर्मुष्टिर्ग्रामादीनां धनुर्ग्रहः ।
सर्वेषामपि वास्तूनां किष्कुरेवाथवा मतः ॥
दण्डैर्नाष्टगुणा रज्जुर्दण्डैर्ग्रामं च पत्तनम् ।
नगरं निगमं खेटं वेश्मादीन्यपि मानयेत् ॥
गृहादीनां तु हस्तेन यानं च शयने बुधः ।

Kiṣku measurements are used in the construction of carriages and couches. Prājāpatya measurements are used in the construction of Vimānas etc. Dhanurmuṣṭi measurements are used in measuring building sites etc. Dhanurgraha measurements are used in measuring villages, towns, cities, etc. Also Kiṣku measurements are used for measuring all sites for construction etc. Daṇḍa measurements are used for surveying towns, cities, etc. Hasta measurements are used in measurements of houses, chariots, and couches.

The Hindus commence all undertakings, secular or otherwise, with some religious observance. At the commencement of the building of a house, the Hindu is to perform a religious ceremony viz., the worship of the Vāstu Puruṣa. The myth concerning Vāstu Puruṣa is given in the seventh chapter of Śilparatna. The Vāstu Puruṣa is supposed to have his head in the north-eastern and his feet in the south-western corner of every site chosen for a building. Different gods and goddesses are supposed to be at the different parts of his body. According to the Śilpa Śāstra, each site is to be divided into 64 or 81 squares, and associated with each of these is a god or goddess. The Vāstu Puruṣa in such a case lies along the diagonal running from the north-eastern to the south-western corner of the building site. The divisions of a building site into 64 or 81 squares with their devatās are represented in the figures given at the end. The places themselves are known by the names of the Devatās who are supposed to reside there. A bali is to be offered to these gods and goddesses and the various substances that should be offered in the bali are given in the Mayamata some of which are also given below.

The Brahmasthāna should be worshipped by offerings of scents, garlands, milk, honey, clarified butter, rice cooked in milk, fried rice.

In the Āryakasthāna should be offered fruit and some preparation of kidney beans and other eatables, and sesame seeds.

In the Vivasvatapada should be offered curds.

In the Mitrakapada should be offered panic grass.

In the Mahīdhara milk should be offered.

In the Parjanyapada ghee should be offered.

In the Indrapada butter with flowers should be offered.

In the Bhāskarapada honey and roots should be offered.

In the Satyakapada (Madhuka) sweet limes or panic seed should be offered.

In the Bhṛśapada butter should be offered.
In the Gandharvapada all scents should be offered,
In the Bhṛṅgarājapada sea-fish should be offered.
In the Mṛgapada dried flesh should be offered.
In the Carakīpada mālya and ghee should be offered.
In the Vidārīpada salt should be offered.

III

The first subject that every author on Śilpa Śāstra deals with is the choice of a site for the construction of a building,—be it a temple, a palace or an ordinary house of the householder. In the Mayamata it is said :

अमर्त्याश्चैव मर्त्याश्च यत्र यत्र वसन्ति हि।
तद् वास्तिति मतं तज्ज्ञैस्तद्वै च वदाम्यहम् ॥
भूमिप्रासादयानानि शयनं च चतुर्विधम्।
भूरेव मुख्यवस्तु स्यात् तत्र जातानि यानि हि ॥
प्रासादादीनि वास्तूनि वस्तुत्वाद् वस्तुसंश्रयात्।
वस्तुन्येव हि तान्येव प्रोक्तान्यस्मिन् पुरातनैः ॥

"The places where gods and men live are called by the general name of vāstu, which is of four kinds : land, house, carriage and couch. Amongst these the land itself is the most important and those connected with it were called vāstu by the ancients."

In all the books on vāstu, we find elaborate descriptions about the site to be chosen for building a house or a temple. Details concerning the colour of the soil, its taste, smell and fertility, the direction in which it slopes, are as important as the location of the site. In the Mayamata it is said :

श्वेतासृक्पीतकृष्णा हयगजनिनदा षड्रसा चैकवर्णा
गोधान्यास्मोजगन्धोपलतुषरहिताबाक्प्रतीच्युन्नता या।
पूर्वोदग्वारिसारा वरसुरभिसमा शूलहीनास्थिवर्ज्या
सा भूमिः सर्वयोग्या कणदरर हिता सम्मतार्यैर्मुनीन्द्रैः ॥

"The land which has one colour, white, red, yellow or black, which has the six tastes, which produces (when beaten) sounds resembling the trumpeting of elephants or neighing of horses, which slopes from

south and west to north and east, which does not smell like cows, or corn, or lotus, which does not contain stones or chaff, which resembles a good cow (with regard to fertility ?), which is devoid of bones or stakes and which does not contain small holes is the land best suited for all purposes and accepted by all ancient sages."

दध्याज्यमधुगन्धा च तैलासृग्गन्धिका च या।
श्ववमीनपक्षिगन्धा सा धरा निन्दिता वरैः।
सभाचैत्यसमीपस्था कण्टकिद्रुमसंयुता।
वृत्तविकोणविषमा वज्राभा कच्छपोन्नता।
चण्डालावासगच्छाया चर्मकारालयाश्रिता।
एकद्विचतुर्मार्गा तरिताव्यक्तमार्गका।
निम्नं यत् पणवाकारं पद्मीव मुरवोपमम्।
मत्स्याभं तु चतुष्कोणे महावृक्षसमायुतम्।

The land should not smell like curd, ghee, honey, oil, blood, corpse, fish or birds ; the land having such smells is condemned by the good. It should not be near a temple or a public hall or a king's palace or in the proximity of a Caṇḍāla settlement or near the house where workers in leather ply their trade. It should not have thorny bushes and trees. It should not be triangular or like a gem or resemble a tortoise in being elevated in the middle and depressed all round. It should not be hollow and it should not be like a drum or a fish in shape and it should not have in the four corners big trees.

From the quotation given above, it is clear that the choice of a site was no easy matter, and the builder had to make a very close and minute examination of the soil. The fertility of the soil, the strength of it, and the ease with which water could be procured by sinking wells in it were also to be determined by the prospective builder. In ancient India, there were people who qualified themselves for testing sites for house-building, and land-tester's business must have been a lucrative one. In the Gāmaṇicaṇḍa Jātaka, we find the ministers of a young prince testing his capacity to bear the sceptre, his father being dead, by dressing a monkey as a man and introducing the disguised monkey to the prince as a site-tester who served under his royal father during his life time. In the Majjhimanikāya, we find a reference to those who were making a living by site-testing.

As I have said, the slope on which the land lies is, according to the 'Vāstuvidyā', also a very important thing for consideration. In the same work, distinct names are given to the land according to the direction of its slopes.

भुवः प्लवं प्रवक्ष्यामि नराणां च शुभाशुभम्।
पूर्वप्लवा ह्यृद्धिकरी इतरा धनदा स्मृता।
अर्थक्षयकरी विद्यात् पश्चिमप्लवनां ततः।
दक्षिणप्लवना पृथ्वी नराणां मृतिदा भवेत्।
वारुणोच्चसमायुक्ता नीचमाहेन्द्रसंयुता।
गोवीथिरिति सा ज्ञेया ऐन्द्रोच्चा नीचवारुणा।
जलवीथिरिति प्रोक्ता वास्तुज्ञानविशारदैः।
सोमोच्चा यमनीथा च यमवीथीति कथ्यते।
यमीच्चसोमनीचा च गजवीथीति कथ्यते।
ईशोच्चं निर्ऋतिनीचं भूतलं भूतवीथिकम्।
आग्नेयोच्चं वायुनीचं नागवीथी प्रशस्यते।
वायूच्चमग्निनीचं यद् वीथीं वैश्वानरीं विदुः।
निर्ऋत्युच्चमीशनीचं धनवीथीत्युदाहृतम्।
इन्द्राग्न्यन्तरमुच्चं स्यान्नीचं वरुणवायवीः।
वास्तुपैतामहं विद्यान्नराणां कुरुते शुभम्।
याम्याग्न्यन्तरमुच्चं स्यान्नीचं मारुतसोमयोः।
सुपथं नाम तद्वास्तु प्रशस्तं सर्वकर्मणाम्।
सोमेशानन्तरं नीचमुच्चं निर्ऋतिकालयोः।
दीर्घायुर्नाम तद्वास्तु प्रशस्तं कुलवर्धनम्॥

That land which slopes towards the east brings prosperity and that which slopes towards the north gives wealth. If the land slopes towards the west, it destroys wealth; and if it slopes towards the south, it brings death.

If the land is elevated in the Varuṇasthāna and low in the Mahendrasthāna it is known as Govīthi.

If the land is elevated in the Indrasthāna and low in the Varuṇasthāna it is called Jalavīthi.

If the land is elevated towards the Somasthāna and depressed *about* the Yamasthāna it is called Yamavīthi.

If the land is elevated towards the Yamasthāna and depressed towards the Somasthāna it is called Gajavīthi.

If the land is elevated towards the Īśasthāna and depressed towards the Nirṛitisthāna it is known as Bhūtavīthikam.

If the land is elevated towards the Agnisthāna and depressed towards the Vāyusthāna it is called Nāgavīthi and the land which is elevated towards the Vāyupada and depressed towards the Agni is known as Vaiśvānarī.

The author then describes the lands suitable for building houses to the members of the various castes. It is not easy for us to see on what rests the suitability.

द्विजेन्द्राणां तु सुस्थानमवनी समुदाहृता।
नीचमिन्द्रे भवेदुच्चं निर्ऋत्यां पश्चिमानिले।
सुलभं नाम तद्वास्तु राजराष्ट्रविवर्धनम्।
सौम्येशपवनेषूच्चनीचं भवति चेद्यमे।
नास्ना वास्तु चरं नाम वैश्यानां तदभीष्टदम्।
नीचं वारुणमुच्चं चेदीशानेन्द्राग्निषु क्रमात्।
शूसुखं नाम तद्वास्तु शूद्राणां तदभीष्टदम्।

The land of the Brāhmaṇas which is depressed in the Indrasthāna and elevated in the Nirṛiti, West and Vāyupada, is called Susthāna.

The land which is elevated in the Saumya, Īśa and Pavana padas and depressed in the Yamapada is called Sulabha and it brings about the prosperity of the king and kingdom. The land elevated towards the Īśāna, Indra and Agni padas and depressed towards the Varuṇpada is the most propitious to the Vaiśyas and is known by the name Cara.

The land, which slopes towards the Somapada and is made beautiful by Kuśa and Darbha grass growing on it, is the site most propitious to the Śūdras to build houses upon and it is known by the name Śvamukha.

There are also given in works on Vāstu the names of trees which are supposed to be propitious to the different parts of the compound in which these trees should be situated in order that the house-owner might derive the greatest benefit.

अश्वत्थः पूर्वतो धन्यो दक्षिणे च उदुम्बरः।
न्यग्रोधः पश्चिमे श्रेष्ठः प्लक्षोऽप्युत्तरतः शुभः।
न्यग्रोधः पूर्वतो वर्ज्यो दक्षिणे प्लक्ष एव च।
अश्वत्थः पश्चिमे भागे उत्तरे चाप्युदुम्बरः।
अश्वत्थोऽग्निभयं कुर्यात् प्लक्षः कुर्यात् प्रमादकम्।

The holy fig tree (Ficus religiosa) is most propitious when situated in the eastern part of the site and in the southern part the glomerous fig tree (Ficus glomerata). The Indian fig tree (Ficus Indica) is most propitious when situated in the western part of the site and Plakṣa (Hibiscus populneoids or Ficus infectoria or waved-leaf fig tree)

when situated in the northern part of the site is most propitious. Ficus Indica is to be avoided in the eastern part of the site and Plakṣa in the southern part. Ficus religiosa is to be avoided in the western part of the site and Ficus glomerata in the northern part.

IV

It is only within recent years that problems concerning town-planning have begun to engage the attention of both the Government and the public, and experts have been appointed to study the problem in all its various aspects. Prof. Geddes delivered in some of the Universities instructive lectures on this problem and his illuminating addresses have shed a good deal of light on this important subject.

The prevalent view regarding town-planning in ancient India is that the towns or cities grew in a most disorderly way, houses, temples and streets being constructed in a way devoid of order or method. Such a view is but natural, because the Śilpa Śāstras have not been studied and their contents are not known. The descriptions found in literature, of big towns and cities, do not help us, for these seem to be mostly based on imagination. But one thing is certain. There were very big cities, fortified with ramparts, moats, strong gates and battlements, containing well laid out streets, parks, tanks, theatres and colleges. Bazaars were well placed and the drainage does not seem to have been neglected. The water supply of the town was also looked after, and in those ancient days the besiegers of a town tried to overcome the besieged by cutting off its water supply. In the Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka there is a very realistic description of how king Cūḷani-Brahmadatta besieged the capital of king Videha and tried to capture the city by cutting off its water supply.

The places where people made their permanent residences have been called by different names corresponding to villages, towns and their suburbs, forts and fortified places. We shall first give a classification of the villages or towns as given in works on Śilpa. According to Mayamata there are fourteen kinds of villages, towns, forts, etc., and they are said to be :

ग्रामस्य खेटकर्वौ व खर्वटं दुर्गमेव च ।
नगरं राजधानी च पत्तनं द्रोणिकामुखम् ।
शिविरं स्कन्धवारस्य स्थानीयं च विडम्बकम् ।
निगमस्याथ निर्दिष्टः स्याच्छाखानगरं ततः ।
एषां चतुर्दशानां च लक्षणं पृथगुच्यते ।
[शिल्परत्नम् । पञ्चमोऽध्यायः]

(1) Grāma (2) Kheṭaka (3) Kharvaṭa (4) Durga (5) Nagara (6) Rājadhānī (7) Pattana (8) Droṇikāmukha (9) Śivira (10) Skandhavāra (11) Sthānīya (12) Viḍambaka (13) Nigama (14) Śākhānagara.

The classification is sometimes based on the number of Brāhmaṇa or Dvija inhabitants of the place, sometimes on its area and at other times on the perimeter of the site on which the village stands. The following are the details on which the classification is based.

There are many kinds of villages classified according to the extent of their areas. The smallest amongst them is sixty-four square daṇḍas in extent and it is called the smallest Grāma (अधमाधमः ग्रामः). The next in order is one 128 square daṇḍas in area and the largest amongst this class of small villages is 192 square daṇḍas in area.

The second kind of villages called by the name of Kheṭa (खेट) is again divided into three classes: the smallest, the middle and the largest and their areas measure 256, 320, 384 sq. daṇḍas respectively.

The third kind of villages mentioned is the Kharvaṭa (खर्वट). The smallest amongst them is 448 sq. daṇḍas in area and the two better classes amongst the Kharvaṭas are 512 and 576 square daṇḍas in area respectively.

The fourth kind referred to is the durga, and the durgas are divided into three classes— the smallest, the middle and the largest— according as their areas are 640, 704, or 768 square daṇḍas respectively.

The fifth kind described is the Nagara. There are three classes of Nagaras,—the smallest, the middle and the largest, having areas of 832, 896, 960 square daṇḍas respectively.

The sixth variety mentioned is divided into three classes, the smallest amongst them having an area of 1,000 square daṇḍas, the middle ones 1500 square daṇḍas and the largest 2,000 square daṇḍas.

The seventh kind comprises three classes whose areas are 3,000, 4,000 and 5,000 square daṇḍas respectively.

The eighth variety consists of three classes again, their areas being 6,000, 7,000, and 8,000 square daṇḍas respectively.

The second method of classification followed in works on Śilpa is that based on the perimeters of the sites on which the villages stand. According to this classification there are twenty-four different kinds of villages. The first five kinds are villages, the perimeters of the sites on which they stand being one lakh, eighty thousand, sixty thousand, forty thousand and twenty thousand daṇḍas respectively ; the primeters of the remaining vary from nineteen thousand and five hundred daṇḍas to five hundred daṇḍas, decreasing at the rate of five hundred daṇḍas in gradation.

The third and last method of classification is based on the number of inhabitants belonging to the Dvija castes. In Mayamata it is said that the largest, the middle and the smallest amongst the best grāmas contain twelve thousand, ten thousand and eight thousand inhabitants of the twice-born castes. It is evident that such villages must be big towns, because in a place containing such large numbers of Dvija inhabitants there should be thousands of residents belonging to other castes.

The largest, the middle and the smallest amongst the villages of the next order should contain seven thousand, six thousand and five thousand inhabitants of the twice-born castes respectively.

The third in order amongst grāmas, according to this classification, is divided into three classes according as they have four thousand, three tbousand or two thousand inhabitants of the twice-born castes.

The fourth in order amongst grāmas is again divided into three kinds according as they contain one thousand, seven hundred or five hundred Dvija inhabitants respectively.

The fifth kind comprises, eleven kinds of grāmas, the number of their Dvija inhabitants being four hundred, three hundred, two hundred, one hundred, eighty-four, sixty four, fifty, thirty-two, sixteen, twelve and eight respectively.

The last class mentioned in this classification comprises ten kinds, the number of Brahmin inhabitants varying from one to ten. These are called Ekabhoga villages. An Ekabhoga grāma according to the Mānasāra is :

विप्रै र्यथान्यै र्यैर्वा भोग्यो ग्राम उदाहृतः ।
एको ग्रामणिको यत्र सप्तत्यपरिचारकः ॥

कुटिकं तद्विजानीयादेकभोगः स एव तु ।
जनैः परिवृतं द्रव्यक्रयविक्रयकारिभिः ॥

It is a village under the sway of a Zemindar. Under his control a large number of servants and lease-holders live in the village. The Zemindar is answerable to the Superior Government, for the revenues due from it. As is common in such cases the Zemindar would be the capitalist of the place, the agricultural population being under his sway.

Grāma :

According to Bharata the place where many members of the Brahmin and other castes reside and which is not protected by ramparts or a moat is a grāma (विप्रादिवर्णप्राया प्राकारपरिखादिरहिता बहुजनवसतिः) ।

In the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa it is said :

तथा शूद्रजनप्राया सुसस्यङ्गक्षणीवला ।
चेवोपयोगभूमध्ये वसति ग्रामसंज्ञिका ॥

The place where Śūdras reside in great numbers and where agriculturists reside in large numbers and which is situated in the midst of agricultural lands is called a grāma.

It is interesting to note that the definition of a grāma according to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa differs from the definition according to Bharata.

The Mayamata says :

नद्यादीनां दक्षिणादौ तीरे ग्रामान् निवेशयेत् ।
ग्रामयोः खेटकं मध्ये राष्ट्रमध्ये तु खर्वटम् ॥

The Grāmas should be built on the southern bank etc. of rivers ; in the midst of villages the Kheṭaka and in the centre of the kingdom the Kharvaṭa should be built. It is also stated "That which is situated amongst four hundred villages" (चतुःशतग्राममध्यस्थलम्) is a Kharvaṭa. According to Śrīdharasvāmin a village is situated near a mountain or perhaps near a mountain range (पर्वतप्रान्तः ग्रामः). From Mayamata it is clear that a Kharvaṭa is a pretty important town in the kingdom while perhaps the Kheṭaka was something like the divisional head-quarters of a revenue official who looked after the revenues of a group of villages. We may suppose that such a group formed a higher administrative unit in the kingdom.

There are seven kinds of durgas some of which correspond to big fortified towns of modern days. The Śilparatna (5, 8) says :

दुर्गं तु पार्वतं वन्यमौदकं चैरणं तथा।
दैवकं धावनं चैव कृतकं चेति सप्तधा ॥

The mountain fort, the forest fort, the fort situated in water, the Airaṇa durga, the Daivaka, the Dhāvana and the Kṛtaka are the seven kinds of durgas :

नृपभवनसमोपेतं हस्त्यश्वरथपदातिबहुलसुख्यम्।
धान्यक्षेहचारलवणभैषज्यगन्धविषयुक्तम् ॥
लोहाङ्गारज्यायुविषाणवेखिन्धनादिसर्वयुक्तम् ॥
तृणचर्मशाकयुक्तम् वल्लूरकसारदारुसंयुक्तम् ॥
दुर्गं दुर्गमसुक्तं दुर्लङ्घ्यं दुरवगाहमतिमात्रम् ॥
रक्षार्थं च जयार्थं त्वरिभिरभेद्यं च दुर्गमिष्टं स्यात् ॥

Possessing the palace of the king and having large numbers of elephant corps, cavalry, charioteers, and foot soldiers, containing food grains, oil and ghee, salt, medicines, scents, poisons, metals, charcoal, bow strings, horns, bamboo, fuel, grass, skins, vegetables and strong wood of the forest, and that which cannot be reached, overcome and conquered by foes and useful both for offensive and defensive purposes is the durga.

It is clear from the description of a durga given above, that it refers to a big fortified town, and not to a small fort. It appears from the description that it should not only be well stored with foodgrains and implements of war, but it should be situated in such a place that fodder for the animals and vegetables for consumption by the inhabitants should be available in abundance. It is curious that poisons are mentioned as articles that should be stored and perhaps they are intended to be used against enemies. Gandhas or scents are mentioned as articles that should be stored and it is not surprising particularly when we find such frequent references to the use of scents in the Jātaka tales even in times of war. Prominent mention is made of the king's palace in such a fortified town.

Mountain fort:

गिरिमध्यं गिरिपार्श्वं गिरिशिखरं पार्वतं दुर्गम् ॥

The fort situated on the centre part, or by the side of, or on the top of, a mountain is a mountain fort.

Forest fort :

निर्जलतरुवनगहनं वनदुर्गं तदुभयमिश्रं स्यात्

That fort which is not accessible on account of its being situated in a waterless tract or in a forest tract or in a place waterless as well as woody is the forest-fort.

Water fort :

तदेव सहजजलं चेज्जलदुर्गं पङ्कयुक्तं वा।
नद्यब्ध्याद्यावृतकं यज्जलदुर्गं निगदितं पूर्वैः॥

In the same manner a fort, situated in a place full of natural water sources or in a morass or is surrounded by a river or ocean, is known as a water-fort according to the ancients.

Airaṇa fort :

अचयजलतरुविपुलैरगगहनसालसैरणं प्रोक्तम्।

A fort situated on an extensive saline tract or a land full of water and trees and surrounded by inaccessible walls is called an *Airaṇa fort*. It is not clear why special mention is made of a fort situated on a saline tract. Could it be for the protection of such tracts? Or were such saline tracts used in any way for the manufacture of salt?

Divyadurga :

इन्द्रश्च वासुदेवगुहौ जयन्तश्च वैश्रवणः।
अश्विन्यौ श्रीमन्दिरशिवौ च दुर्गा सरस्वती चेति।
प्राकारस्थास्वेते यस्मिंस्तद्दिव्यदुर्गं स्यात्॥

"The fort, within the protecting walls of which the following deities reside—Indra, Vāsudeva, Guha, Jayanta, Vaiśravaṇa, Aśvinīdevatās, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Durgā, Sarasvatī—is called a Divyadurga.

Perhaps the ten deities were worshipped in the temples built into the walls of the fort, and at these temples there were gates. A large number of gates is not conducive to a strong defence of a fortified place, unless it is a very extensive one defended by big armies. Perhaps such forts were large military cantonments.

धावनकृतकौ दुर्गौ विज्ञेयौ स्वनामसदृशगतरौ॥

The forts which are called Dhāvana and Kṛtaka are to be known by the characteristics indicated by their names. We cannot say whether the Dhāvana fort was one which could be easily moved from place to place.

It is clear that it was not a permanently fixed fortified land but an encampment or a military column which was moved from place to place and which could be defended like a fort.

Kṛtakafort :

No details are given about the Kṛtaka fort and it is not possible to say what kind of durga it was. But from the use of the word Kṛtaka it may be inferred that it represents some kind of fort intended for the purposes of deceiving the enemy.

There is a general description of forts given in the Śilparatna :

अचयजलान्नभक्षमतिविपुलोऽ र्थगहनसालम् (?)
सर्वं हि दुर्गजातं सप्राकारं च सुखरक्षम् ।
बहिरुदकरहितवनच्छन्नपथं दुष्प्रवेशं च
गोपुरमण्डपयुक्तं सोपानं छन्नमच्छन्नम् ।
द्विकवाटचतुष्कुटिकद्वार्गलकं करमानहिकीलम् ।
सस्थूणमध्यमालं लिष्टकसहितं च सुदृढसोपानम् ।
द्वाराणि मण्डपसभाशालागाराणि कार्याणि ।
पर्यन्ते यन्त्रयुतं परितः परिखैश्चैव संयुक्तम् ।
पांसुचययुक्तमार्गं विधिवत् कार्यं हि सर्वत्र ।
परितः शिबिरोपेतं नानाजनवाससङ्कीर्णम् ।
द्वादशसालाद्युक्तं चतुरं दत्तं तदायतं वापि ।
नन्द्यावर्तं कौक्कुटमिभकुम्भनागदत्तं च ।
नेमिघ्नं च विकोणं षट्कोणाष्टाश्रनेमिखण्डं च ।
प्राकारं चेष्टकया द्वादशहस्तोच्छ्रयाङ्गीनम् ।
उत्सेधार्धमविशालं कार्यं स्यात् सर्वदुर्गेषु ।
पांसुचययुक्तमार्गं मूलाभित्तिः ससञ्चारा ॥

The fortified places should have undrying sources of water and should be filled with never-ending stores of foodstuffs. All the forts should be protected by walls. The paths leading to them should be through waterless tracts or forest lands and they should be inaccessible. They should have towers and maṇḍapas (raised platforms) and the slight of steps leading to them should be hidden or open. Each fortified place should have two doors, four supports (for the two doors), and two cross-bars to close the doors when necessary and two pegs each one cubit in length. There should be moats running round them as well as a central raised platform

protected by stakes. Doorways, raised platforms, audience halls and halls of assemblies should be built in them. Machinery (guns etc., should be placed all round and there should be dusty roads all round. All round there should be tents for men of all classes to reside in.

The sites of forts should be triangular, square, circular, rectangular in shape or they should resemble a segment or a sector. In all forts protecting walls should be built of bricks less than twelve hastas in height and the thickness of the walls should be half their height. A dusty road should be made and the main wall should have a road.

Nagara :

राष्ट्रस्य मध्ये नद्या वा समीपे नगरं स्मृतम् ।
तदेव शङ्कुपङ्कादैः प्राकाराट्टालगोपुरैः ।
शतघ्न्यादैश्च परितः परिक्षीर्णोक्तिताट्टका ॥

A town situated in the middle of a kingdom or near a river is called a nagara. It should be protected by stakes, mud, etc., surrounding walls, towers, battlements and guns (?) placed all round.

Rājadhānī :

एकद्वित्रिचतुर्द्वारा राजाधानीति कथ्यते ।

A town having one, two, three or four gateways is called a Rājadhānī. A Rājadhānī as commonly understood is the capital city of a Kingdom.

Pattana :

नानापण्यधनाकीर्णं सागरानूपसंश्रितम् ।
सांयात्रिकवणिग्जुष्टं पत्तनं परिचक्षते ॥

The city abounding in various articles of merchandise and treasures situated near the waters of the ocean (sea-coast town) and containing seafaring merchants, is known by the name of Pattana.

Droṇīmukha :

तदेवाब्धेश्च नद्याश्च सङ्गमागतपोतकम् ।
द्वीपान्तरवणिग्जुष्टं विदुर्द्रोणीमुखं बुधाः ॥

Similarly the city at the mouth of rivers falling into the sea, to which ships resort and where merchants from lands overseas live in large numbers, is called a Droṇīmukha by the learned.

Śivira :

परराष्ट्रे स्वदेशे वा चतुर्व्विधबलान्वितम् ।
विजिगीषोः सन्निवेशं शिविरं तत् प्रचक्षते ॥

In a foreign country or in his own, the military camp of a man desirous of conquests and having the four-fold army, is called Śivira.

Skandhāvāra :

नातिदूरे तदैव स्यान्नृपयोर्युध्यतोर्मिथः ।
सैनानिवेशं तु पृथक् स्कन्धावार उदीरितः ॥

The military camp in the vicinity of the kings who are fighting with each other is called Skandhāvāra.

Sthānīya :

पर्वतस्याथवा नद्याः पार्श्वे राजबलान्वितम् ।
राष्ट्रस्यान्तकपालाय तत् स्थानीयं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

The place of the warden of the marches situated by the side of a mountain or a river and containing the king's forces, is called Sthānīya by the learned.

Viḍambaka :

कृषीबलादिकावासो ग्रामोपान्ते विडम्बकम् ।

The place on the outskirts of a village where the agriculturists reside, is called Viḍambaka.

Nigama :

चातुर्वर्ण्यैः कर्मकारैर्नानाकर्मोपजीविभिः ।
पण्यैश्च धनधान्याद्यैर्युक्तं तु निगमं स्मृतम् ॥

The place where members of the four castes, artisans and workmen live by various industries, and which abounds in articles of trade, treasures and food grains, is known as Nigama.

Śākhānagara :

वने वा नगरोपान्ते नागरैस्तु जनैर्वृतम् ।
चैत्यारामाकरोपेतं शाखानगरमिष्यते ॥

A place on the outskirts of a forest or a nagara and where townsmen

reside and which has agricultural lands, gardens and mines is called Śākhānagara.

There are eight different ways in which a city or a town should be planned according to Śilpa Śāstras. In the Śilparatna we find :

The laying out of a grāma is eight-fold and the villages are known by the names Daṇḍaka, Svastika, Prastara, Prakīrṇaka, Nandyāvarta, Parāga, Padmaka, and Śrīpratiṣṭhita. The following are the details concerning the planning of these different villages :

Daṇḍaka :

According to Mayamata (10, 54ff.) there are four kinds of Daṇḍaka villages. It is stated that the village in which there is one street like a stave is called Daṇḍaka.

If in the middle of it there is a street running towards the north, it is called Kartaridaṇḍaka.

That which has four gates in four directions (north, south, east and west) is known as Bahudaṇḍaka.

The village is known as Kuṭikāmukhadaṇḍaka which is laid out as in the previous case, with many pavements on either side of the middle street.

That village which has three streets running east and north is known as Kalakābandhadaṇḍaka.

There may be either two or four gateways in a Daṇḍaka village. No rules are given for fixing the bazar sites. So the markets may be located in such parts of the village as would suit the convenience of the inhabitants. As for the location of the temples pertaining to the different gods and goddesses and the parts of the village site that should be allocated for the residences of the members of various castes, reference should be made to the general instructions given with regard to town-planning in works on Śilpa. These details are given in a subsequent part of this essay.

Vedībhadraka :

The Mayamata says, There are three streets running towards east and three towards the north in a town known by the name of Vedibhadraka. Between these there may be many paved roads.

Svastika :

According to the Mayamata, in a town laid out according to the Svastika plan, there are six streets facing north and east and six others are designed outside.

The Śilparatna says : There is a mention only of an eastern street facing south, a southern street facing west, a western street facing north and a northern street facing east.

There might be any number of small streets running between the main streets.

Bhadraka :

There are four streets running east and north and there is a Brahmāvṛtapatha. Also there are three paved roads on the eastern side. The Brahmāvṛtapatha is defined thus in the Mayamata.

The street in the middle (part of the town) is called Brahma and it should be the navel (the central part) of the city.

Bhadramukha :

There are five streets facing east and five facing north. Such a town is called Bhadramukha.

Bhadrakalyāṇa :

There are six streets facing north in a town known by the name of Bhadrakalyāṇa.

Mahābhadra :

There are seven streets facing east, seven facing north and seven west and the rest is as before. Such a town is called Mahābhadra.

Vastusubhadra :

There are eight streets facing east and eight facing north. There are twelve streets with pavements and argalas. Such a town is called Vastusubhadra.

Jayāṅga :

The town where there are nine streets facing east, nine facing north, and which has main gateways and smaller gateways as also pavements and argalas and where there is a King's palace is known by the name of Jayāṅga.

Vijaya :

In the town where there are ten streets facing north and ten facing east, which has a king's palace and where argalas are placed in proper manner and which has many pavements is known by the name of Vijaya.

Sarvatobhadra :

In the town known by the name of Sarvatobhadra there should be eleven streets facing north and eleven facing east. On the Western part of Brahmasthāna the king's palace should be located. Before it there should be an extensive courtyard where the apartments for ladies

should also be located. The street running towards the east from it is known as the Rājapatha or the king's high-way. On either side of it there should be situated the palatial buildings of the very rich and near them should be the residence of weavers and to the north of it the potters. The residences of inhabitants belonging to different castes should be built according to the their castes' status in the hierarchy of castes.

We have given above some details about town-planning. According to the Mayamata there are sixteen different ways of planning a town. According to Śilparatna there are only eight ways of town-planning and the Padmasaṃhitā agrees with the Śilparatna.

There is frequent reference to Kuṭṭimas and Argalas in the Mayamata in connection with town-planning. Kuṭṭimas so far as can be gathered mean pavements. Pavements are perhaps the places where the inhabitants gather in groups to spend their idle moments or they might be the places where vendors of fruits, flowers and sweetmeats sell their articles. Why such prominence is given to these Kuṭṭimas by the author of the Mayamata is not clear. As for Argalas they seem to be some sort of obstructions like turn-pikes on the roads and such impediments might be ordinarily removed from the paths and placed there again when needed. To control unruly mobs and prevent them from moving all over the town, these impediments will be very helpful to (if the meaning of Argalas be such) the police authorities. In the absence of any detailed information concerning them, it is not possible for us to say what these Argalas are. In the description of cities I have read, I do not find any mention of such Argalas. Curiously enough these Argalas do not find any mention in the Śilparatna even though the book closely follows the Mayamata.

Separate portions of the town are allotted for the residences of members of various castes and the particular parts of the town where different kinds of articles should be sold are mentioned generally in works on Śilpa. The Śilparatna states :

In the part indicated by Parjanya, moving towards the place of Indra or in the place between the directions indicated by Īśa and Argala sloping towards the north-east there should be the waterways. Wells could be dug everywhere and no particular places are prescribed for digging them.

The puṣpavātikā or the *flower garden* or the public park should be located in the northern portion of the town. All the Vāstu Śastras mention parks for public use in all villages and towns. Such

parks seem to have been very common in every town and village in ancient India, for the Jātaka tales mention frequently public parks where people spend their time happily on festive occasions. These parks were the camping grounds of wandering sages and mendicants. Some of these ancient parks were widely known e.g. the Migadāya Park of Benares and some of them perhaps were very extensive for in the Jātakas we find that some of them provided sports for kings.

Sometimes the kings had their own separate parks. They used to betake themselves with their councillors to their parks for holding conclaves with them on very important state affairs, as they considered such places to be free from eavesdroppers.

The nautch girls should have their residences in the southern part of the town and it is clear that they were not premitted to reside anywhere and everywhere in the city.

All round the city the Śūdras should have their houses. The Śūdras perhaps are agriculturists and members of the fourth caste who served members of higher castes for wages.

The merchants who are of the Vaiśya caste should have their residences in the eastern part of the town. Merchants of the Vaiśya caste are separately mentioned because there were foreign merchants and merchants belonging to other castes and they should have theie residences in different parts of the city or town. The houses of the potters and barbers should be built in the northern and eastern portions of the town.

(To be continued)

K. RANGACHARI

MISCELLANY

Sir Edward Gait's History of Assam

When this History of Assam appeared for the first time, the present writer published a ctitical study thereof in the Hindustan Review, 1908 (January and February). I am glad to see that the distinguisted author has revised his book and brought out a second edition wherein he has made many ememdations in the light of my humble criticism, although in a few cases he has not been pleased to accept my suggestions. I shall not however reopen those cases here, but confine my observations to such points as I could not touch in my former critique as I was not then equipped with adequate information on those points.

In this article therefore I wish to deal mainly with the second chapter of the book relating to the history of the ancient kings of Kāmarūpa, and make some observations on chapters X, XI and XIII that deal with the History of Cachar, Jaintia and Sylhet.[1]

II

The period from the seventh to the twelfth century

The author might have put "fifth" in lieu of "seventh" as he has in "Appendix A" of the book given a list of the kings of Kāmarūpa from Puṣyavarman—whose date has been put down as 430 A.C. (of course approximately). Puṣyavarman must have been, however, a contemporary of the great Gupta Emperor Samudragupta, the founder of the Gupta Era that dates from 319-20 A.C. He named his son Samudravarman after that Emperor; and not only this, his daughter-in-law's name was "Dattadevī" which was also the name of the wife of Samudragupta. That shows Puṣyavarman's admiration for the contemporary Gupta Emperor whose sphere of influence extended up to

1 Two publications—one *Śrīhaṭṭer Itivṛtta*, by Mr. Achyuta Charan Chaudhuri Tattvanidhi and the other, *Heḍambarājyer Daṇḍavidhi*, edited by the present writer, containing a good deal of new information on the history of Sylhet, Jaintia and Cachar, seem to have escaped Sir Edward's notice.

Kāmarūpa as is clearly seen from the Pillar Inscriptions[1] discovered at Allahabad where the name Kāmarūpa occurs among the feudatory (?) states. So Sir Edward might have pushed Puṣyavarman a hundred years back so as to date him circa. 330 A.C. Bhāskaravarman reigned for about half a century and his ancestors might be allowed a quarter of a century each instead of 16 years' average; so he might have written "fourth" instead of 'seventh' in the heading of this chapter.

If Sir Edward consulted the Gupta Inscriptions he might have found the name of Susthitavarman, father of Bhāskara in the Aphsad Inscriptions of Āditya Sena.[2] But it should be stated here that Dr. Fleet styled this Susthitavarman as one of the Maukhari kings of Madhyadeśa though the mention of Lauhitya (i.e., Brahmaputra) in the verse that spoke of Susthitavarman ought to have been deemed sufficient to consider Susthitavarman as belonging to Kāmarūpa.

Then again, Sir Edward apparently did not know that a Copper-plate grant of Dharmapāla[3] was discovered about 16 years ago, wherein the donor's panegyrics show that the descendants of Brahmapāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty in Kāmarūpa, did not end in Indrapāla (as is shewn in Appendix A) but continued much longer, up to at least Dharmapāla (the donor), son of Harṣamāla (-pāla ?) and grandson of Gopāla who, by the way, might not have been the immediate successor of Indrapāla.

Instead of seven sets of Copper-plates as enumerated by Sir Edward Gait at pp. 22-23, there are now ten sets : the grant of Dharmapāla has already been mentioned above. Two new ones have been recently discovered—one, a stray plate of Harjara, father of Vanamāla the donor of grant no. ii in Sir Edward's list ; the other, a second Copper-plate grant of Indrapāla the donor of grant no. vi in that list. Both these grants have not yet been subjected to discussion in any journal. The plate of Harjara (which is a middle one) is very much obliterated,—so much so that only a few words and sentences could be deciphered here and there on both the sides of the plates ; yet

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1 Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III (Gupta Inscriptions), p. 8.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 203.

3 An article on this was published by me in the Rangpur Parişat Patrikā, 1322 B.S., no. 2. This was also referred to in the "Prācina Kāmarūpa Rājāvalī" published in the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parişat Patrikā, 1320, no. 3, p. 189.

we get from it names of some kings—predecessors of the donor—not mentioned in Vanamāla's grant or in that of Balavarman (grant iii in the list). The second grant of Indrapāla is in a fair condition except the part dealing with the boundary, but it does not supply any very important information of historical nature in addition to what we get from the first grant of Indrapāla (no. vi in the list).

We should now proceed with these grants serially. The first is a grant by Bhāskaravarman discovered at Nidhanpur in Pargana Pañcakhaṇḍa, Sylhet. Sir Edward names it as the "Pañcakhaṇḍa grant" but it now goes by the name of "Nidhanpur" since the publication of its first instalment in the Epigraphia Indica, vol. XII (1914). This first instalment consisted of the 1st, 2nd and the last plates and Sir Edward is quite in the dark as regards the subsequent discovery of several other plates—the 3rd, the middle (which may be either the 4th or the 5th) and the penultimate plates. The set is still incomplete as on recent personal enquiry held by this writer at Nidhanpur it has become known that the grant consisted of as many as seven plates of which one (which may be either the 4th or the 5th) has still remained undiscovered.

But the discovery of the third and the penultimate plates has led to serious alterations of the observations made mostly by guess on all matters of the grant other than the genealogy of the royal donor: it is now found (1) that Bhāskaravarman renewed the grant which was not made by him, but by his great-great-grand-father Bhātivarman (alias Mahābhūtavarman); (2) that the grant did not relate to a plot of land in the Province of Karṇa-Suvarṇa—but apparently in the king's own dominion of Kāmarūpa (though not expressly stated anywhere in the inscription); (3) that the grant was not made to a single individual, but the plot was allotted to more than 200 Brāhmaṇas of different gotras (clans) in unequal shares; and (4) that the grant was not made towards the end of the reign of Bhāskaravarman, but by the beginning of his reign when he was helping his friend Harṣavardhana in conquering Karṇa-Suvarṇa.[1]

That the land granted did not belong to Sylhet, where the plates have been discoverd, was a surmise made in my article in the Hindu-

1 A second article containing these emendations as well as new facts brought to light by the 3rd and the penultimate plates will soon be out in the Epigraphia Indica. A third article dealing with the middle plate has recently been sent to that Journal.

stan Review with arguments in support thereof; and this has now been confirmed by the discovery of the third plate where it is stated that the land lay in the village Mayūraśālmala in Viṣaya (i.e. district or rather pargana) of Candrapurī. This Candrapurī is most probably the same as 'Candraparī'[1] mentioned in the inscription of Vanamāla Deva (no. ii in Sir Edward's list) as the south eastern boundary of the land granted lying west of Triśrotā (modern Teesta-river) i.e., somewhere in Northern Bengal—evidently in the Rangpur District.[2]

These inscriptions of Bhāskaravarman have a special value as throwing a flood of light on the history of the Brāhmaṇas in the eastern part of India. When Yuan Chwang visited these parts, he found all other places full of Buddhistic temples and monasteries; but Kāmarūpa had not a single one of these things. It seems that Brāhmaṇas from those neighbouring kingdoms affected by Buddhism found ready shelter in Kāmarūpa and here we find in a single village of Mayūraśālmala more than 200 families of Brāhmaṇas of about 40 different gotras (or clans)[3] representing almost all the existing gotras that are found at present in Bengal and Assam. With the abatement in the tide of Buddhism in Bengal, Brāhmaṇa families spread themselves by migration from this seedling ground of the Brāhmaṇas to different parts of Bengal—especially the eastern and the northern parts that lay close to Kāmarūpa. The Sāmpradāyika Brāhmaṇas of Sylhet, who so long avowed that they had come from Mithilā or Mid-India, are evidently the descendants of the Brāhmaṇas who went to Sylhet with these Copper-plates that have therefore been found in that locality.[4] Who knows that those of the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal who allege that their ancestors came from Kanauj or such other place

1 'Candraparī' has no meaning: and as Sir Edward rightly says, 'the record is unsatisfactory'; the original plates are untraceable and the article published in the *JASB.*, 1840, does not contain any facsimile of the inscriptions to verify the correctness of the reading.

2 The river Karatoyā was the western boundary of the Old Kāmarūpa all along: and an area between the Karatoyā and the Teesta must have been in the locality now in the Rangpur District.

3 The plate yet supposed to be undiscovered is expected to contain about 75 names of the Brāhmaṇas and probably some more gotras not mentioned in other plates.

4 See 'Chap. XIII, Sylhet'.

are not descendants of the Brāhmaṇas who migrated from the ancient Kāmarūpa?

Next in chronological order has been mentioned the grant of Vanamāla Deva, but as already stated, a stray Copper-plate has recently been discovered bearing very illegible inscriptions of king Harjara, father of Vanamāla, whose name is borne with a date (510 Gupta Era) in the inscriptions on a boulder on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra down Tezpur. Three new names viz., Kumāra, Vajradeva and Harṣavarman[1] of the dynasty of Śālastambha are known from this stray plate among the predecessors of Harjara.

The grant no. iv is of Balavarman which Sir Edward says was brought to light by him. If by 'bringing to light' is meant 'sending to the Asiatic Society for publication in its Journal', then Sir Edward's statement is all right: or else, long before the plates were sent to the Society, they had been not only read but discussed critically by the late Mahāmahopādhya Paṇḍit Dhīreśvara Kaviratna of Kāmarūpa in a local vernacular weekly named *Āsām*. The Paṇḍit showed that in not less than seven places the writer of the inscriptions plagiarised passages from Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa, and Dr. Hœrnle mentioned this in his article (*JASB.*, vol. LXVI, 1897 pp. 285 et seq).

The next two (nos. iv+v) are the grants of Ratnapāla, whereof the translation by Dr. Hœrnle of the first one has been appended to the book (App. C). A facsimile of the first plate of this grant has also been inserted along with the picture of the seal, as Sir Edward considers this as "typical of the whole series." Unfortunately the inscriptions are full of errors and Dr. Hœrnle could not correct all of them. For instance, the first half of the opening verse has been read after emendation by him as follows :[2]—

निर्दुष्टैर्वपुविश्वकैर्नखगतैः स्वैर्दृत्यसम्पद्विधेः
सो सम्यक्तगतिं शुभां प्रकटयन् दक्षोनिशल्लाखवीम्।

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1 This is perhaps the king whose name is mentioned as "Hariṣa" in Vanamāla's grant and as 'Harṣadeva' in the inscription of Jayadeva of Nepal whose father-in-law (and not father, as stated at p. 30 of the book under review) he was. [There may be other new names discovered when this plate of Harjara is fully deciphered.]

2 *JASB.*, vol. LXVII, part I, 1898, p. 106.

while the correct reading seems to be this : [1]

द्रष्टेव प्रतिविम्बकैर्नखगतैः.....
शौवश्वीव गतिं शुभां.....

The translation, therefore, is not wholly correct.

Then come the two grants of Indrapāla whereof only one is mentioned by Sir Edward as serial no. vi.

The grant of Dharmapāla should have come next in order: but its existence, as already stated, was not known to Sir Edward.

The last mentioned grant, viz. no. xii in the list, is of Vaidyadeva. A rather exaggerated value is given to this grant whence it is inferred that the kingdom of Kāmarūpa became feudatory to the Pāla kings of Gauḍa. I should think that if this was the case, then a very triumphant mention of the conquest of Kāmarūpa (or Prāgjyotiṣa) would have been made in the inscriptions. In fact, no mention whatever of that kingdom appears in the panegyrics. Only this much is mentioned that a piece of land belonging to "Prāgjyotiṣabhukti and Kāmarūpa maṇḍala," was given to a Brāhmaṇa of Varendra: From this I infer that a portion of the great kingdom of Kāmarūpa bordering Gauḍa was acquired by conquest—to be converted into a vassal state wherein Tiṅgya (not Tiṣya as Sir Edward writes) Deva was installed as ruler, as perhaps a reward for his services ; but he afterwards became a rebel and was suppressed by Vaidyadeva who therefore was appointed ruler thereof in his stead The verse runs thus :—

एताहृग्रे हरिहरिद्भुवि सत्कृतस्य
श्रीतिंग्य देवनृपते र्विकृतिं निशम्य।
गौडेश्वरेण भुवि तस्य नरेश्वरत्वे
श्रीवैद्यदेव उरुकीर्त्तिरयं नियक्तः॥

Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 131.

"Hariharidbhuvi" means "in a region to the east (of Gauḍa)" and certainly, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa—which was the biggest in area of all the Eastern Provinces—did not deserve to be mentioned slightingly. This was apparently a newly acquired tract and so retained its usual localisation (as of Kāmarūpamaṇḍala) and not then absorbed into the kingdom of Gauḍa.

I do not know if the "Assam Plates" of Vallabhadeva (Śaka 1107= 1185 A.C.) published by Dr. Kielhorn in the Epigraphia Indica, vol. v,

1 Vide my article in Bengali on these grants of Ratnapāla in the Rangpur Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, 1322 B. S., no. 1.

pp. 181-188 were brought to Sir Edward's notice or not : and if he knew of these plates and yet omitted to mention them here, then I should think that he must have considered them as not pertaining to Old Assam(i.e., Kāmarūpa). In fact, though named "Assam Plates" on account of their having been sent from Tezpur by a European Assistant Engineer, the grant and the donor seem to have belonged to Eastern Bengal very close to Kāmarūpa.

Besides the copper-plate inscriptions, Sir Edward has mentioned the rock inscription of Harjara dated Gupta 510 (829 A.C.) found at a place on the Brahmaputra near Tezpur. It may not be out of place to mention here another rock inscription discovered some years ago at a place near the Kanaibarashi Rock about a mile from the north bank of the Brahmaputra near Gauhati. This is dated Śaka 1127[1] and though only a verse of 32 syllables, the record is very important, as it fixes the date of the first invasion of Assam by the Muhammadans (evidently under Bukhatiyar Khilji) as 13th Caitra 1127 Śaka—about 27th March, 1206 A.D. The whole army was extirpated, and this proved an evil augury for the Musalmans who could never get a permanent footing in Assam though they attacked the province several times during about 500 years after that date. This inscription proves also the independence of Kāmarūpa at that time.

Before concluding my review of this chapter, I would touch on some points that appear to be discrepant.[2]

The Capital of the kingdom of Kāmarūpa in Bhāskara's time has been surmised to have been "somewhere further west" than Gauhati i.e. Prāgjyotiṣapura "either in the Goalpara district or the Koch Behar State or in the North-east of Rangpur" (p. 25). This is based upon the supposition that according to Yuan Chwang "it lay 150 miles east of Pauṇḍravardhana" (p. 24). But Yuan Chwang did not say that the Capital lay 150 miles east of Pauṇḍravardhana; what he said is only this—"Going east 900 li or so (about 150 miles) crossing the great river Kalotu, we come to the Country of Kāmarūpa" (p. 24).

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1 शाके तुरगयुग्मे शे मधुमासवयोदशे ।
कामरूपं समागत्य तुरुष्काः क्षयमाययुः ॥

2 There are apparently some slips, e.g. (p. 26, l. 36) "Pauṇḍravardhana to the *east*" where "east" should be "west," and (p. 27, l. 32) "God Śukra" should be "God Śakra" may be a printing mistake.

So it was the *Country* and not the *Capital* which the Chinese traveller reached after crossing 'Kalotu' (which is 'Karatoyā') that formed the western boundary of Kāmarūpa from Naraka's days up to even recent times (*vide* Yoginī Tantra).

Sir Edward Gait mentions the names of Pālaka and Vijaya, with "Stambha" put after them (p. 24), probably because their ancestors were Śāla-'stambha' and Vigraha-'stambha'. Names of Pālaka and Vijaya occur in Balavarman's copper-plate inscriptions (*JASB.*, 1897, part I) without 'Stambha'.[1]

Sir Edward makes Pralambha the founder of a new line on the extinction of Śālastambha's dynasty (p. 30). But this is not supported by copper-plate inscriptions. The Ratnapāla's inscriptions evidently show that all the 21 kings starting from Śālastambha belonged to his line (vide Dr. Hœrnle's translation, p. 370, verses 9 and 10). In Balavarman's inscriptions referred to above the verses 9 and 10 show clearly that Harjara (Pralambha's son) belonged to the *Vaṃśa* (line) of Śālastambha. In Vanamāla's copper-plate inscriptions, Pralambha's predecessors began from Śālastambha and ended in Śrī Hariṣa who was probably his brother as can be inferred from verse no. 9.[2]

I do not know whence Sir Edward has got information that "Pralambha killed or banished all the members of the former ruling family" (p. 32), which could not be a fact inasmuch as he himself was one of that family as I have shown above. Nor do I find anything in the Copper-plates in proof of Sir Edward's assertion that Vanamāla "enjoyed an unusually long reign" (p. 32) as his grant bears only "19" as the regnal year. It was, rather, Harjara, who must have reigned very long as we learn from the stray plate, already mentioned, that the grant was ordered by Yuvarāja (heir-apparent) Vanamāla,—an unusual fact that was probably due to Harjara's decrepit state.

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1 In the stray plate of Harjara (not yet published) Pālaka and Vijaya are mentioned without 'stambha' in the reversed order (but the reading is only tentative as 'Vijaya' is merely a guess as yet).

2 *JASB.*, 1840, part II. The reading of the inscriptions, however, as published there, is full of mistakes which the present writer tried to rectify when he published an article on these plates in the Rangur Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, 1321 B. S.

The sovereigns of old Kāmarūpa, whose copper-plates have come down to us, declared themselves as descendants of Naraka and Bhagadatta. In Ratnapāla's inscriptions, however, Śālastambha was styled "Mlecchādhināthа", i.e., ruler over the Mlechhas and not merely "a great chief of the Mlecchas" as Sir Edward following Dr. Hœrnle understands by the term (p. 29). But Śālastambha's descendants—Harjara, Vanamāla, Balavarman—all traced their origin up to Naraka—as did Ratnapāla, Indrapāla, and Dharmapāla, the descendants of Brahmapāla who was elected king by the people as they required a scion of the race of Naraka to be their ruler (*vide* Dr. Hœrnle's translation of verses 9 and 10 of Ratnapāla's plate, p. 370). Sir Edward, however, has condemned both the lines as of "aboriginal origin" (p. 31). I should rather say that both the dynasties were equally right in claiming descent from Naraka and Bhagadatta. Whether there were actually personages as Naraka and Bhagadatta may be a questionable point, though we entertain no doubt about it. Now, Bhagadatta and his son Vajradatta were contemporaries of the heroes of the Mahābhārata who flourished 5000 years ago or about 4000 years before Ratnapāla or 3000 years before Puṣyavarman, the 12th king anterior to Bhāskara-varman. In the Mahābhārata, Bhagadatta is described as having Cīnas and Kirātas (i.e., Mlecchas) in his army. So he was also a "Mlecchādhināthа" in a manner. Now the main line of the kings of Kāmarūpa from Bhagadatta up to Bhāskaravarman ruled over the country without any interruption for several millenia as in no Purāṇa or any other book there is any mention of subversion of the dynasty. A dynasty that had existed for more than 3000 years must have had collateral lines that ruled over smaller principalities often located in the regions inhabited by aborigines feudatory to the main line; to such a one, I dare say, belonged Śālastambha[1] who subverted the scions of the house of Bhāskaravarman and to such another belonged Brahmapāla who got the throne of Kāmarūpa as a genuine descendant of Naraka. The same thing

1 Harṣadeva who was a descendant of Śālastambha gave his daughter in marriage to a king of Nepal in whose inscriptions (not on copper-plates as stated at p. 30, but on a "slab of black slate" by the door of a temple (*vide* Indian Antiquary, vol. IX, p. 178) the princess is styled as "Bhagadattarājakulajā" i.e. of Bhagadatta's royal race. This is a proof in favour of Śālastambha's descent from Naraka and Bhagadatta from an authoritative quarter.

of course cannot be said of modern claimants, viz. Rajas of Rani and Dimarua, non-genuineness of whose claim is proved by the fact that they also avow descent from Arimatta (p. 19) who was of a different line (pp. 17-18).

A king of Kāmarūpa—without the name—is found mentioned in the copper-plate grant of a Pāla king of Bengal; with reference thereto Sir Edward writes (p. 32) "A passage in a Copperplate of the Bengal king Deb Pal * * * * has been interpreted as meaning that that monarch assisted the king of Kāmarūpa in an expedition against the king of Orissa," and he quotes Indian Antiquary, vol. XV, p. 308. The Copper-plate grant is of Nārāyaṇapāla and not of "Deb Pal" as stated above. Therein a mention of king Devapāla, an elder cousin brother of the donor's grandfather Jayapāla, has been made. This Jayapāla, at the command of Devapāla, set out to conquer the neighbouring kings and the verse (no. 6) is as follows :—

यस्मिन् भ्रातुर्निदेशाद् वलवति परितः प्रस्थिते जेतुमाशाः
सीदन्नार्त्त्यैव दूरान्निजपुरमजहादुत्कलानामधीशः।
आसाञ्चक्रे चिराय प्रणयिपरिवृतो विश्वदुश्वेन मुर्द्ध्ना
राजा प्राग्ज्योतिषाणामुपशमितसमित्संकथां यस्य चाज्ञाम्॥

Dr. Hultzsch, whose reading of the grant was published in the Indian Antiquary, wrote with reference to the above śloka: "The sense of the above stanza seems to be that Jayapāla supported the king of Prāgjyotiṣa successfully against the king of Utkala."[1] Evidently Sir Edward has followed this interpretation. But the real meaning of this verse is this: "When at the command of his brother Devapāla, Jayapāla marched out with army for conquest of quarters, the king of Utkala (Orissa) quitted his capital distressed at the (very mention of his) name; and the king of Prāgjyotiṣa (Kāmarūpa) sat in comfort for long surrounded by his friends, only when he bore on his exalted head the command (of Jayapāla) that set at rest all talk of warfare." This king of Kāmarūpa was either Harjara or Vanamāla, the contemporary of Devapāla who reigned from 825 to 865 A.D. (*vide* Bāngālar Itihas by R D. Banerji, part I, p. 119).

Sir Edward says about the Brāhmaṇas who received these grants that they were all "Yajurvedi Brāhmaṇas." He would not have said so if he could see the long list of the donees of the grant of Bhāskaravarman where there are plenty of Ṛgvedi and Sāmavedi Brāhmaṇas mentioned as sharers of the land granted. It is no doubt remarkable

1 *Vide* Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 66, footnote.

that not a single Ṛgvedi or Sāmavedi Brāhmaṇa is found mentioned in the subsequent plates. This may either be due to their migration in large numbers to other provinces or change of the Veda into Yajus during the period of about 200 years that elapsed from Bhāskara's time to that of Vanamāla.

X

The Cacharis

Much has been made of a novel named 'Raṇacaṇḍī' (p. 253) that gives an account of Śatrumardana, a Kachari king, who is the hero of it: but it is a fictitious work adapted from Sir Walter Scott's 'Anne of Gierstein' with Indian names of princes and places—and not really "based on tradition current in Cachar."

As regards Hinduization of the Cacharis, Sir Edward says, it "had probably already commenced at Mibang." But the very names of the kings indicate that they had already been 'Hindus'. King Meghanārāyaṇa in July 1576 had a palace gate (Siṃhadvāra) built with stone, as is stated in inscriptions on slabs of stone lately discovered at Maibang.[1] The coin of Yaśonārāyaṇa (mentioned at pp. 251f.) of 1583 A.C. shows that the king was a worshipper of Hara-Gaurī. The act of entering into the body of a copper effigy of Cow and coming out of it might have been performed by Kṛṣṇacandra who was a very pious king only to purge himself of sins of this and the previous life, but it was not a "formal act of conversion" as Sir Edward puts it (p. 257) probably on wrong information.[2]

Sir Edward has made mention of the rock-cut temple at Maibang but he has given a wrong date. It was carved out in Śaka 1683 (1761

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1 *Vide* the Introduction of "Heḍambarājyer Daṇḍavidhi" (Penal Code of the kingdom of Cachar), p. 12 and photo facing that page edited by the present writer. The inscriptions are dated 26th Āṣāḍha, 1498 Śakābda. In the History of Assam there is no mention of this Meghanārāyaṇa nor of the 'Daṇḍavidhi' promulgated by Govindacandra, the last king of Cachar in 1817.

2 The gift of an effigy of cow made of Copper (or of gold) is found in the list of mahādānas (great gifts). That the king and his brother entered into the figure and came out of it was pobably indicative of the colossal nature of the gift ensuring a very great amount of merit to the royal donor.

A.C.) and not in "1633[1] (1721 A.C.)" (p. 257). Sir Edward could not have made this mistake if he was aware of another stone inscription of the same king found in Khaspur and preserved in the Deputy Commissioner's Office, which bears the date as 1693 नेवाङ्करसचन्द्रमिते शाके [2]

Sir Edward concludes this chapter with the mention of an undated coin of Govindacandra, the last king of Cachar which is in possession of a descendant of his Prime Minister. This coin was shown to by the same personage[3] and I incorporated a facsimile thereof in the Introduction to my Heḍambarājyar Daṇḍavidhi, which book was published at the expense of this gentleman. On one side of the coin, the Śaka year is mentioned as 1736 (अङ्कवाद्रिकौ शाके) i.e. 1814 A.C.

XI

The Jaintia Kings

The fact that the kingdom of Jayantīyā—called and written 'Jaintia' now a days—had an existence in ancient times (when it was known as Nārīrājya mentioned in Jaimini's Mahābhārata) or even in the mediæval period, Sir Edward has ignored totally. But in the 'Śrīhaṭṭer Itivṛtta' (History of Sylhet), part I, section IV, chapter I, the author, Mr. Achyutacharan Chaudhuri has stated a very important fact about a mediæval king of Jaintia and his Court poet. The Rāghava-Pāṇḍavīya kāvya, a very dexterous composition—where each of the verses conveys a double meaning, one referring to the heroes of the Rāmāyaṇa and the other to those of the Mahābhārata—was written in the 11th Century[4] by Kavirāja who has eulogized in his work (canto I, verse 25) his patron,

1 1633 Śakas=1711 A.C. Probably Sir Edward read 1643, and 1633 is a misprint. [For the copy of the inscription *vide* footnote of the Introduction of the Heḍambarājyer Daṇḍavidhi, p. 16.]

2 *Vide* footnote of the Introduction to the Heḍambarājyer Daṇḍavidhi, p. 17.

3 Rai Bipin Chandra Dev Laskar Bahadur of Barkhola, Cachar.

4 Dr. Macdonell in his 'History of Sanskrit Literature' says that this Kāvya was written about 800 A.C. (i.e. obout 3 centuries earlier). Mr. Rice in his Karnat Authors (JRAS., 1883, p. 298.) gives the date as 1170 A. C. *vide* Max Müller's Letter in Takakusu's I-Tsing, Introduction, p. xiii. But Mr. Pathak in the Indian Antiquary, 1883, p. 20 tries to ascribe the poem to Ārya Śrutakīrtti (Śaka 1045, i. e. 1123 A.C.)

king Kāmadeva of Jayantīpura. This king Kāmadeva is described as a devotee of Mahādeva (the presiding deity) of Jayantīpura who imported Brāhmaṇas—probably including the poet himself—from Madhyadeśa learned (modern U.P.).[1] This throws a side light on the history of Jaintia during a period, whereof no other information can be had. 'Jayantīpura' is evidently the same city which was the capital of the last king of Jaintia—and is the place where his descendants have still been residing amidst its ruins.

XIII

Sylhet

"A document purporting to be a copy of two copper-plates (no longer available)" (p. 274) so long alleged to have been granted by two Tipperah kings, Ādidharmaphā and Sudharmaphā has now been rendered spurious by the discovery of the Copper-plate grant of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. Those Brāhmaṇas who so long traced their genealogy to the donees of the aforesaid Tipperah grants i.e. the Sāmpradāyika Brāhmaṇas of Sylhet, are really descendants of the Brāhmaṇas who migrated from Kāmarūpa to Sylhet.[2] All the ten gotras of the Sāmpradāyikas are found mentioned in the inscriptions, of course along with many others. The story about the ancestors of these Brāhmaṇas having been invited to perform some sacrifice might be true. The fact that these copper-plates came to Sylhet with those Brāhmaṇas proves that they had been of the foremost rank in their original society.

There is a slight error in the 1st name in the list (p. 275) of predecessors of the kings whose copper-plate grants were discovered at Bhāterā, Sylhet. The word is not "Navagīrvāṇa" but 'Naragīrvāṇa' which means 'king,' and the real name of this king is evidently "Kharavāṇa" whereof 'Naragīrvāṇa' is an adjective. The donors who were related

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1 आनेता मध्यदेशात् प्रवचनविदुषां सीमपां ब्राह्मणानां

* * *

जेता भूमेर्जयन्तीपुरपुरमथनश्रीपदाम्भोजभृङ्गः ।

(first and third lines of the verse)

2 This has been stated in details in my second article which is to be published in the Ep. Indica.

as father and son claimed descent from the Moon. In this connection Sir Edward writes (pp. 275-276)—"Rajendralal Mitra suggests[1] that these kings were sovereigns of Cachar because they professed to be of the dynasty of Ghaṭotkaca * * * * ". Nowhere in the inscriptions contained in these plates is found anything said of the donors belonging to the dynasty of Ghaṭotkaca, the ancestor of the sovereigns of Cachar. In both the plates,[2] the second verse is a salutation to the moon and the third begins an account of the ancestors of the donor, who sprang from his (i.e. the Moon's) race. This is all that is stated of the 'dynasty.' If these kings had an affinity with any of the kings in this part of the country who claim to be of the lunar race, it could only be with the neighbouring and contemporary kings of Tipperah. The Kachari kings, according to SirEdward himself (pp. 249-251), styled themselves "Lord of Hiḍimba" when they established themselves at Maibang after the destruction of Dimapur (in 1536). It was long before that time that the donors of the Bhāterā grants ceased to exist as it was apparently occupied by the Mussulmans by the end of the fourteenth century.[3]

PADMANATH BHATTACHARYYA

1 Dr. Rajendralal Mitra wrote—"These rājās were sovereigns of Kachar and professed to be of the dynasty of Ghaṭotkacha" (*vide* Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, August, 1880, p. 144). Some errors and discrepancies in Dr. Mitra's notes and readings have been noticed and corrected in my article "Śrihaṭṭa Bhāterār Tāmra-śāsana" published in the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, 1328 B.S., pp. 175-183.

2 *Vide* Dr. Mitra's translation of inscriptions, p. 144 and the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, August, 1880, p. 151.

3 Though the grants do not bear any clear date, yet from palæographical reasons, the inscriptions seem to be of a period not later than the fourteenth century A.C.

Further Kaniṣka Notes

In the second volume of the Indian Historical Quarterly (p. 177ff.) I wrote a note about the Kaniṣka question, which it now seems possible to supplement. In the meantime Dr. W.E. van Wijk has shown that two of the inscriptions dated in the Kaniṣka era point to an epoch in A. D. 128-9. His paper has been published in the Acta Orientalia, v, 168ff. and should be carefully studied by everybody who takes an interest in ancient Indian history.

I may also mention two other recent publications, which are apt to throw light on the question.

The first is Professor Lüders' edition of the Sanskrit fragments of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, the original of the work which we know from Chinese translation under the wrong title Sūtrālaṃkāra. Professor Lüders has shown that its author was not Aśvaghoṣa, but the Taxila monk Kumāralāta, whose time is slightly later.[1] It is therefore an almost contemporary source, and we become inclined to take special notice of its narrative about Kaniṣka, according to which he set out to conquer Eastern India, apparently from the Khotan country, and later on started to return to his country.

The second is the second part of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan.

When the first part of this important publication appeared in 1920, I examined the dated records in the second volume of the Acta Orientalia, pp. 113ff. and tried to show that at least one of the Khotan rulers mentioned in them, the Mahārāja Aṃkvaga, can be identified, viz. with the Khotan king An-kuo (old pronunciation Ankwak), who ascended the throne in A.D. 152, after his father Kien (old pronunciation Kian) had been murdered, and who was still reigning in A. D. 175. I came to the conclusion that the individual rulers mentioned in connection with dates in these documents, all dated their records in regnal years, and that the various documents can be assigned to the period about A.D. 130-220.

The second part shows that I was probably wrong in thinking of different regnal eras, and that all the dates should probably be referred to one and the same recokning. We find that there was quite a series of rulers and chiefs styled Mahārāja, but that there was also

1 Cf. Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā des Kumāralāta, Leipzig 1926.

a mahārājātirāja, whose suzerainty they all acknowledged, apparently themselves exercising certain administrative functions by rotation. This 'King of Kings' is only named once, in no. 661, where he is called Avijitasiṃha, evidently a biruda. And it is tempting to identify this Avijitasiṃha with Vijayasiṃha, the predecessor of Vijayakīrti, the Khotan king who, according to the Tibetan tradition mentioned in my former paper, went with king Kanika, i.e. Kaniṣka, and the Guzan king to India and took Śāketa. In that case we may perhaps draw the conclusion that the era used in the Turkestan documents was started during his reign, for no. 661 is dated in the year 10, and probably on the occasion of the consolidation of Scythian power in India and Central Asia preceding the Indian expedition under Kaniṣka.

As a working hypothesis I therefore explain the statement in the Tibetan texts about the joint expedition to India in the following way.

Some time in the first half of the second century A.D. there was a gathering of Scythian forces under three chiefs, king Kanika i.e. the famous king Kaniṣka, the Mahārāja Vijayakīrti, son of the ruling king of Khotan, and the Guzan king, i.e., the head of the Indian Kuṣāṇa empire. The last mentioned chief was in all likelihood the successor or one of the successors of Wima Kadphises. Wima Kadphises, who suceeded an octogenarian father in 78-9 A.D. and who was still ruling in the year 187 of the old Śaka era,[1] i.e. in A.D. 103, may have died about A.D. 110, and his death would mean a weakening of the Kuṣāṇa power in India, wherefore it was natural to look for reinforcements in Turkestan, the old home of the Yue-chi and the Kuṣāṇas.

The head of this coalition was apparently Kaniṣka, who is characterized in the Chinese version of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā as Chen-t'an Kia-ni-ch'a, i.e. according to M. Lévi,[2] Kaniṣka, king of Khotan, though it is, as we shall see, probable that he did not ascend the Khotan throne before a somewhat later time. On this occasion a new Scythian era was established, which has become known as the Kaniṣka era and which was used in India, by Kaniṣka and his successors, and in Eastern Turkestan, by the rulers of Khotan.

Vijayasiṃha or Avijitasiṃha, as he is called in the Turkestan document, held sway as King of Kings in Khotan, while his son Vijayakīrti accompanied Kaniṣka to India, to conquer Eastern India, as the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā states.

1 Cf. my remarks in the Acta Orientalia, v, pp. 31f.

2 See Ind. Ant., xxxii, 1903, pp. 384f.

The coalition also led to an expansion of the Khotan power. The Hou Han-shu contains the information that, in the fourth year of Yung-kian, i.e., A.D. 129, Fang-ts'ian, king of Khotan, killed the king of Kiu-mi (between Chīra and Keriya) and installed his own son as king of that place. The prefect of Tun-huang demanded that he should be punished. The emperor, however, 'pardoned' the Khotan king, at the same time requesting him to give up Kiu-mi, to which, however, Fang-ts'ian did not consent. In the first year Yang-kia, i.e. A.D. 132, the prefect of Tun-huang induced the king of Kashgar to attack Khotan, and he is stated to have defeated Fang-ts'ian and installed a scion of the old dynasty in Kiu-mi. According to a subsequent notice Fang-ts'ian had already in the preceding year sent one of his sons with present and tribute to the imperial court.[1]

We do not know anything about the identity of Fang-ts'ian. He may or may not be the ruler whose biruda was Vijayasiṃha or Avijitasiṃha ; it is evident from the Hou Han-shu that he was a powerful king, whom the Chinese did not succeed in 'punishing.' The Khotan rulers had clearly become powerful about the year 129, and it is likely that this was the result of their joining hands with their Indian cousins.

Let us now try to follow the expedition towards India, i.e., according to the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā to Eastern India.

In the very first year of the Kaniṣka era, i.e., according to Dr. van Wijk in A. D. 128 or 129, or practically at the same time when Fang-ts'ian attacked Kiu-mi, we find the first dated record in the Kaniṣka era. For the famous casket found in the Kaniṣka stūpa at Peshawar, is evidently dated *Saṃ 1 ma[harajasa] Kaniṣkasa*, a fact which shows that the Tibetan tradition according to which Kaniṣka was not from the beginning a friend of Buddhism is not reliable.

The fact that the very first year of the Kaniṣka era is mentioned in a record found so far west as Peshawar adds strength to the theory that Kaniṣka entered India from outside, presumably from Turkestan, and thus confirms the Tibetan tradition and the account in the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā.

The statement that Kaniṣka's expedition was directed towards Eastern India is further supported by Indian inscriptions. For in the

1 Cf. Chavannes, T'oung pao, ii, viii, pp. 170ff, and my summary in Acta Orientalia, ii, pp. 136f.

year 3 of the Kaniṣka era we find inscriptions so far east as Sārnāth, where also a satrap and a great satrap are mentioned, in full accordance with the notice in the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā: 'he conquered Tung T'ien-chu (Eastern India) and pacified the country, i.e., he arranged for a proper administration through satraps and great satraps.

The Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā goes on to say: 'His power spread fear; his good fortune was complete. He set out to return to his kingdom. The route passed through a broad, flat land. At that time the king's heart was pleased only with the religion of the Buddha; he made it his necklace. Now, in the place where he stopped, he saw from far off a stūpa which he took for a stūpa of the Buddha.' It however proved to be a Jain stūpa.

We are, I think, justified in inferring from this old, almost contemporaneous, source that Kaniṣka actually left Eastern India in order to return to his home country, i.e., as we have seen probably Khotan. His way led through a place with a Jain stūpa, and we are involuntarily reminded of the Mathurā inscriptions from the Kaṅkālī Ṭilā of Kaniṣka's time, with the references to Jain sanctuaries.

Kaniṣka probably spent some time in Mathurā, which was, as is well known, formerly a Śaka province. From Mathurā and North-Western India we have a series of records of his time, the latest known date being of the year 23, in the first month of the summer season.[1] If we accept Dr. van Wijk's results, that the first year of the Kaniṣka era began in the autumn A.D. 128, this date would correspond to the summer A.D. 151. Now we have a record of the 30th day of the fourth summer-month of the year 20, i. e. one year later, dated during the reign of Kaniṣka's successor Vāsiṣka.[2] The only possible inference is that Kaniṣka had ceased to reign in the summer 152 A.D, because he had died or left the country as indicated in the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā. It may be worth while examining the known records about Khotan to see whether there is any trace of him there about this time. For if he started on his career from Khotan and if he set out for his own country after having completed his Indian conquests, Khotan must have been the place to which he eventually may have returned.

The passage in the Hou Han-shu quoted above contains some

1 Cf. Annual Report of the Director-General of Archæology in India, 1920-21, p. 35.

2 Lüders, List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, no. 149*a*.

further notes about Khotan. In the first year Yuan-kia (A.D. 152) the Chinese governor Chao-p'ing died at Khotan, and his son set out to bring his body home. On his way out he stopped in Kiu-mi, where the king told him that his father had been poisoned by order of Kien, king of Khotan. When he returned, he reported the matter in Tun-huang. In A.D. 152 Wang-king was sent out to succeed Chao-p 'ing, and he was commissioned to make secret investigation of the whole matter. After his arrival in Khotan he made a banquet, to which he invited Kien, and on this occasion a Kiu-mi official killed the Khotan king. Wang-king and his followers were then attacked and killed by the Khotanese, who placed Kien's son An-kuo on the throne. The prefect of Tun-huang wanted to march against Khotan in order to avenge the affront. The emperor, however, did not allow it. On the contrary, he recalled the prefect and appointed a new one in his place. After these events, we hear, Khotan became arrogant.

Of An-kuo we again hear in the fourth year Hi-p'ing (A.D. 175) when he is stated to have attacked and killed the Kiu-mi king.

Now I have already stated that An-kuo, which name was still in the T'ang period pronouned An-kwak, seems to be identical with the mahārāja devaputra Aṃkvaga of whom we have several dates in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Turkestan, ranging between the years 5 (no. 187) and 46 (no. 418). If we assume that his 46th year was A.D. 175, we should arrive at an epoch for the era used by him in ca. A.D. 128-9, i.e. the same epoch which Dr. van Wijk has calculated for the Kaniṣka era. But we cannot, of course, tell whether the 46th was his last year, or A.D. 175 was the corresponding Christian one. We can only say that this coincidence strengthens our belief that it was the Kaniṣka era whith was used in Chinese Turkestan by Aṃkvaga and other mahārājas.

Another question may be raised. Is Kien, An-kuo's father, in reality, the great Kaniṣka? I believe that such is actually the case.

I have already mentioned that the word Kien was pronounced Kian in the T'ang period. If we now compare the T'ang pronunciation of K'iu-tsiu-k'io, i.e. Kujūla Kadphises, viz. Kiəu-dz'iəu Kiap, we will see that Kiap renders an Indian Kapa, and in the same way Kian can well be a transliteration of an original Kana.

Now it is evident from a comparison of the names of the dynasty, viz., Kaniṣka, Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka, that *iṣka* is a derivative termination. The form *Kaniṣka* mentioned above may therefore well be a genuine doublet, formed from a simplex *Kana*. On the other hand,

it is also possible that the Chinese simply shortened the name in their rendering, as they frequently did in similar cases.

At all events Kien can very well be the same name as we know in the forms Kaniṣka, Kanika, and the striking chronological coincidence makes me inclined to identify them.

We should then understand why the summer of the Kaniṣka year 24, i.e., A. D. 152 belonged to the reign of Kaniṣka's successor. Kaniṣka had then not only left India, but he had already been killed in Khotan, the old home of his dynasty, and been succeeded there by his son An-kuo, Aṃkvaga.

The latter never uses the imperial title, and we must, I think, infer that the Khotan rulers acknowledged the suzerainty of Kaniṣka's Indian successors. Vāsiṣka would, moreover, if I am right, be an elder brother of Aṃkvaga, and the imperial power passed from him to his son Kaniṣka II and subsequently to Huviṣka, whose latest date in the year 60 is fourteen years later than Aṃkvaga's last epigraph.

The document no. 661 which mentions the Khotana mahārājātirāja Avijitasiṃha in the year 10, on the other hand, seems to show that the Khotan rulers did not think themselves inferior to the Indian Kuṣāṇas in the first years after the coalition. It seems natural to infer that it was Kaniṣka's return from India, with increased power and prestige, which brought about a change.

And it is *a priori* also likely that it was the relations to the inheritors of Brahmin learning brought about through the conquest of Eastern India in the beginning of Kaniṣka's reign which paved the way for the introduction of the Brāhmī alphabet and of Mahāyāna in Central Asia as in North-Western India.

STEN KONOW

The Pustakapāṭhopāya

The Pustaka pāṭhopāya, called in Tibetan Gleg s bam bklag paḥi thabs, gives a short description as to how one should begin to read a book. The Sanskrit original of this small work has not as yet been found, and it seems it is lost. Its author is Paṇḍita Dānaśīla of Kāśmīra, and he himself translated the work into Tibetan.

Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusana in his History of Indian Logic, Calcutta University, 1921, pp.

340-341, mentions that the work deals with logic. But it is an obvious mistake, as there is nothing of logic in the work. The mistake may be due to the fact that the work is catalogued in the Tanjur along with logical treatises.

We give below the Tibetan text[1] of the work together with a conjectural restoration of the Sanskrit original and an English translation. The xylograph used belongs to the Viśvabhāratī Library and is of the Narthang edition.

THE TIBETAN TEXT

Rgya gar skad du / P u s t a k a p ā ṭ h o p ā y a / Bod skad du / G l e g s b a m b k l a g p a ḥ i t h a b s //

Dkon mchog gsum la phyag ḥtshal lo //

Daṅ po raṅ ñid rnam par snaṅ mdzad sku mdog dkar po sna tshogs pa dma zla ba la gnas pa bsams te / Deḥi mdun du raṅ gi ḥam gz´an gyi ched gaṅ yin yaṅ ruṅ ste / zla ba la gnas paḥi bsgrub bya bsams par byaḥo / De nas raṅ gi sñiṅ gar zla ba la gnas paḥi bhru las lha mo saṅs rgyas spyan ma mer[2] mo maṅ po spros te / Rin po cheḥi bum pa ye śes kyi bdud rtsiṣ gaṅ bas bsgrub bya la dbaṅ bskur bar bsam la / De nas glegs bam bklag par byaḥo //

Glegs bam bklag paḥi thabs P a ṇ ḍ i t a D ā n a ś ī l a s raṅ ḥgyur du mdzad pa rdzogs so /

THE RECONSTRUCTED TEXT IN SANSKRIT

Bhāratabhāṣāyāṃ P u s t a k a p ā ṭ h o p ā y a ḥ / Bhoṭabhāṣāyāṃ G l e g s b a m b k l a g p a ḥ i t h a b s //

Namo ratnatrayāya /

Prathamam ātmānaṃ Vairocanaṃ dhavalavarṇāṅgaṃ viśvapadmacandrasthitaṃ cintayitvā tasya puratah svasyānyasya vā nimittam anyataraṃ candrāsīnaṃ sādhyaṃ dhyāyet / Tataḥ svahṛdaya-

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1 Tanjur, Mdo, Ze, 267[a], 7-268[b], 2 ; Cordier, vol. iii, p. 452.

2 The first letter of it is indistinct in the xylograph (Viśvabhāratī Library) : should we read *mar me* meaning 'a lamp' ? In that case Devī Buddhalocanā is regarded as a lamp throwing light on all obscure points of the book to be read. The reading of the xylograph of the Asiatic Society of Bengal is *ser mo* "*kapilā*" (tawny).

candrasthāta bhrūkārād devī Buddhalocanā[1] mātā(?) bhūyasā sphurati / Ratnaghaṭena jñānapīyuṣapūrṇena sādhyasyābhiṣekaṃ bhāvayet / Tataḥ pustakaṃ paṭhet / Paṇḍita-Dānaśīlena svaparivartanena kṛtaḥ Pustaka pāṭhopāyaḥ sampūrṇaḥ /

English Translation

In the Indian language Pustakapāṭhopāya; (the means of reading a book); in the Tibetan language Glegs blam bklag paḥi thabs.

Obeisance to the Jewel-traid.

At the outset thinking oneself (to be) Vairocana of white body, seated on the moon on a double lotus, one should, in front of him, meditate upon the deity to be propitiated (*sādhya*), who is seated on the moon, (to be propitiated) either for one's own sake or for other's sake. Then the mother goddess Buddhalocanā greatly flashes from the mystic syllable (*bīja-mantra*), *bhrū*, located in the moon of one's own heart. One should imagine the ablution of the deity to be propitiated from a vase of gems, full of the nectar of knowledge. Then one should read a book.

Here ends the Pustaka pāṭhopāya of Paṇḍita Dānaśīla in his own translation (into Tibetan).

Durgacharan Chattopadhyaya

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1 Or Buddhanetrī. See *Mahāvyutpatti*, Bibliotheca Buddhica, 1911, 197, 44, 244, 63; A. Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1914, p. 122.

REVIEW

[THE] NĀṬYA-ŚĀSTRA, WITH THE COMMENTARY OF ABHINAVAGUPTA.—Edited with a preface, appendix and index by Manavalli Ramakrishna Kavi. Vol. I, (chs. 1-7). Central Library, Baroda (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. xxxvi), 1926.

The Gaekwad's Oriental Series has already established for itself a reputation for the high level of quality maintained in its publication of Sanskrit texts. The announcement of an edition of the difficult text of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* with its erudite commentary by the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta was therefore eagerly welcomed by all Sanskrit scholars interested in the subject. The importance of the work was recognised as early as 1865 when Fitz-Edward Hall in the Preface to his edition of the *Daśarūpa* in the Bibliotheca Indica Series drew attention to its value and interest, and edited for the first time chapters 18, 19, 20 and 24. Later on, the labours of Grosset and Regnaud made chapters 1-14, 15-17 and 28 available to Sanskrit scholars. Grosset's first systematic edition of the text, published in 1898, with a preface by Regnaud, contained chs. 1-14, but his materials were rather scanty and not fully adequate for a final edition. The other chapters were separately published by himself and Regnaud in the latter's *Rhétorique Sanskrite,* in the *Annales du Musée Guimet* (1-11), and in the *Bibl. de la Faculté de Lettres de Lyon* between 1880-88. But the text was presented in Roman transliteration. Partly for this reason and partly because European publications are not widely known in India, these editions of the text found little currency in this country. In the meantime, however, the entire text was published in Devanāgari character in 1894 in the Kāvyamālā Series (No. 42) from Bombay. But the editors of the Kāvyamālā Series worked with very imperfect materials, perhaps much more imperfect than those available to Grosset. The need for a scholarly and critical edition of the entire text, along with the unpublished commentary of Abhinavagupta, has therefore been always felt, especially as the *Nāṭya-śāstra,* attributed to Bharata-muni, is certainly the oldest available work on dramaturgy, music, histrionic art and kindred subjects, and its importance can never be exaggerated. But there were difficulties about undertaking such an edition. Besides the enormous cost of printing involved in publishing the voluminous com-

mentary of Abhinavagupta, along with the text of 36 or 37 chapters, the work itself presented textual difficulties, and manuscript material was by no means easy of access or adequate. The *Nāṭya-śāstra* is encyclopædic in its comprehensive scope, but it is also in a sense chaotic or diffuse (partly on occount of considerable rehandlings and interpolations) and without that orderly arrangement to which we are accustomed to in such manuals. A work like this, therefore, demands almost encyclopædic knowledge in the editor in many of the arts, and it was not possible for a single scholar to do justice to its multifarious content.

The commentary also presents unusual difficulties. It presupposes in the editor an extensive erudition like that of the author. It has also all the peculiarities of Abhinavagupta's cryptic, learned and allusive style, and the available manuscript material is sometimes hopeless in matter of deciding the correct readings. No one had yet ventured to edit this commentary in its entirety. It is the only commentary available on the difficult text of Bharata, but manuscripts of it are indeed not so plentiful as they are even of the original text. Through the kind offices of Dr. Ganganath Jha, the present writer was fortunate in obtaining a transcript of this bulky commentary from a Ms. in Dr. Jha's possession; and with the help of this very incorrect copy of a single Ms. a part of the commentary on ch. vi (relating to Bharata's well-known dictum on *rasa*) was imperfectly and tentatively edited by the present writer as an appendix to his article on the theory of *rasa* in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volumes* (Orientalia, pt. ii, pp. 240-53). Subsequently in 1926, Dr. Subodh Chandra Mukerjee presented the entire commentary on ch. vi (along with the original text) as a part of his thesis for the Doctorate of the University of Paris. In the text portion, for which he was fortunate in having access to some good Mss. and texts, his edition is indeed commendable; but for the commentary, Dr. Mukerjee had to rely chiefly on a transcript of a copy of the commentary existing in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, which Ms. is perhaps equally defective as the Ms. used by the present writer.

This short history of the attempts at editing the text of Bharata and its commentary will make clear the necessity of a critical edition. The Kāvyamālā edition has been so far the only complete edition of the *Nāṭya-śāstra*, but both this and Grosset's edition has been long out of print, and the text is practically unavailable at the present time.

Of Abhinavagupta's commentary not much has yet been published. The generni editor of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series is therefore to be congratulated in undertaking to supply this desideratum.

The volume, so far published, of this edition contains the text and the commentary up to the end of ch. vii, and three more volumes are promised to complete it. The commentry contains numerous lacunae and is entirely wanting in ch. vii (and ch. viii). There is a short preface which raises some textual and general problems, without however furnishing any definite solution.

In the preface, the editor claims that the edition has been based upon 40 copies of Bharata's text, as against only four independent Mss. available to Grosset, two to the editors of the Kāvyamālā edition, two to Dr. S. C. Mukerjee and one to F. E. Hall. He does not mention how many copies of Abhinava's commentary were utilised by him, but speaks rather vaguely of "two sets" of Mss. of the commentary. It is somewhat exciting news that such ample material was at his disposal; but when one considers the edition itself, one cannot but feel disappointed that the editor could not manage to make up something better and more critical out of the enormous mass of material he claims to have collected. His edition of the text has not dispensed with the necessity of consulting at every step the earlier editions of Grosset and of the Kāvyamālā Series, nor can it in any sense be said to have maintained the high standard of oriental scholarship of the Series to which it belongs.

The questions raised in the preface require some detailed consideration. It would be perhaps fair to suspend our judgment on this very meagre and unsatisfying preface, for the editor has promised a more extensive introduction at the end of the work. But one feels that this preliminary preface raises some important questions relating to textual matters, which challenge criticism and which should therefore have been dealt with more fully and critically. The editor raises two important issues: (1) that there are two recensions of Bharata's text, styled by him respectively A (Northern) and B (Southern), and (2) that the B recension is of earlier and A of later origin. His statements about the recensions and their relative priority may be right, but the proof is lacking.

Mr. Kavi has given us certain very brief indications of the differences between the two recensions, viz., insertion of certain verses in B, which are not found in A, at the end of ch. v; the splitting up of ch. ix in B into two chapters; placing of the

subject-matter of ch. xxvi in B to ch. xxxv; differences of terminology in the chapter on Prosody, A adopting Piṅgala's terminology but B accepting the measure of *guru* and *laghu*; and so forth. The value which Mr. Kavi attaches to these differences as marking two different recensions is perhaps too generous, and these indications are hardly sufficient for a definite conclusion of such importance. For it is possible to argue that while some of the differences are of a trivial character, others might occur in different Mss. of the same recension. Mr. Kavi himself admits two Mss. from Malabar follow what he calls A or Northern recension, while the Nepal Ms. represents B and the Almorah Ms. "stands midway between these two recensions." It is not very clear what Mr. Kavi means by the phrase which is quoted just now, and it is to be regretted that he has not given us any indication as to the agreements and differences of each of his many Mss. with regard to his so-called recensions. The *apparatus criticus* furnished for the text and the commentary is of the most meagre character and, as a rule, do not exceed more than two or three printed lines; these do not help us in deciding the question. Any one who cousults Grosset's edition can easily find out that this is not the measure of genuine variant readings, although Grosset only used four Mss. while our editor claims to have utilised forty. If Mr. Kavi would have us believe in his theory of recensions, he should have given us from his ample material a full critical apparatus, and marked all genuine variants. We are aware that this would have enlarged the bulk of an already extensive publication and involved infinite labour and care in collation; but without such data the editor's uncorroborated statement alone is not conclusive.

Even assuming the existence of two different recensions, one finds it difficult to discover the grounds on which Mr. Kavi regards the Southern or B recension to be of earlier origin. He states that the earlier commentators, Śaṅkuka, Lollaṭa, Udbhaṭa and others commented upon the B version. If this is a ground of presuming that the B version is earlier, all that can be said is that it is not proved; for the commentaries of these early commentators are no longer available, and Abhinavagupta's scanty and occasional quotations from them do not justify such conclusion. It is indeed difficult to imagine that a Northern writer like Udbhaṭa (and possibly Lollaṭa and Śaṅkuka were also Northerners) should have taken the Southern version as genuine. On the editor's own admission, Dhanañjaya used the A text instead of B, and this is certainly significant. Bhoja's following of B recension in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* (if it is actually so) is a fact which is not of

equal importance, for Bhoja was more or less a compiler and was not always very critical in his compilation. Some of the differences between the two recensions mentioned above would rather speak in favour of the priority of A to B. It is possible to argue, for instance, that inasmuch as B text includes verses (e.g. in ch. v) which are not to be found in A and which are characterised by the editor himself as spurious (p. 10), B is a later version which admits interpolation of these verses. The adopting of Piṅgala's prosodic terminology by A text and its rejection by B for the later criterion of *guru* and *laghu* is also significant. It is not to be supposed that we are arguing the point; we cannot do it without sufficient data; but what we want to point out is that on these important problems more light should have been thrown, and that questionable statements unsupported by wealth of facts do not carry any conviction to a critical mind.

Again, in one place, Mr. Kavi states that "in this edition we have to give the A recension, because the commentator (i.e. Abhinavagupta) follows it," implying that it is a matter of regret to him that Abhinava had not the good sense in seeing the matter eye to eye with the learned editor and did not adopt the B text which Mr. Kavi would consider as earlier and genuine. But immediately afterwards, Mr. Kavi makes the confession that "great difficulty was felt in fixing the recension used by the commentator" for no single Ms. of the text, in his opinion, follows the commentator throughout; and it is not clear from Mr. Kavi's statement on this point that Abhinavagupta actually follows throughout what he calls the A recension. Where we expect to find knowledge, we are confronted with *obiter dicta* or mere guess-work.

In the preface, again, Mr. Kavi speaks of the Dvādaśa-sāhasrī version of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* and states vaguely that "it is now only in part available," confidently assuring us that this version was called the Ādi-bharata. We are also informed that "we have fragments both of Brahma-bharata and Sadāśiva-bharata." One would be tempted at once to ask "where?" and "what are they?". One wishes that Mr. Kavi would vouchsafe to us further and more precise informations on these interesting versions and discuss in detail the interrelation between them, as well as their relation to the existing version of Bharata's work. But these questions do not seem to worry him.

Turning from the preface to the text itself, one sadly feels that enough pains have not been taken about constituting a thoroughly

critical or even a reliable text. There is no evidence to show that care has been taken in the collation of the different Mss. for the genuine variant readings (and not merely obvious scribal mistakes which he rightly excludes), both of the text and of the commentary; nor is there anything to show that the readings of other printed editions have been carefully weighed, considered or noted down. As we have already pointed out, the *apparatus criticus* is of the slightest character and most disappointing, especially as the readings adopted are in hundreds of places still doubtful or unintelligible. We have already alluded to the difficulties of the work itself, which, to some extent, would disarm criticism; but in the interest of scholarship it is most regrettable that the editor should plead "limitation of time, purse and space." On the other hand, the editor seems to proceed with perfect complacency and self-assurance and hardly ever gives an indication of unsloved difficulties where the readings are frankly unsatisfactory, plausibly doubtful or suspiciously corrupt. To his own satisfaction perhaps he has constituted the text, and therefore does not feel that there could be any difficulty left unsloved; at least he does not very often give any indication of an uneasy feeling anywhere. And yet a less gifted critic must confess to a heretical belief that the difficulties of the text are not all solved; that there are still many places where the readings require consideration and invite criticism; that they are not dealt with ably or with accurate knowledge or with that critical instinct which never fails of what is required of it.

A scrutiny of the text gives one the impression that it is often uncritically copied from the Mss. and (in the absence of full variant readings) frankly eclectic. Of the alterations and emendations which the editor has thought fit to mark, some are happy, but some are not sound, while others are sometimes quite needless, or too daring to be probable. But what is more serious is that there are considerable "paddings" and unacknowledged alterations and emendations of the text especially in the commentary portion. The present writer does not possess the ample Ms.-material as the editor does but he is deliberately of this opinion after comparing Mr. Kavi's text with the Ms. of the commentary in his possession. He has also collated very carefully that part of ch. vi of the commentary which has already been published independently from two different Mss. by himself (marked hereafter as D) and by Dr. Mukerjee (marked hereafter as M) respectivsly; and this scrutiny has thrown interesting

light on this point. The *saeva necessitas* which limits the space of a reviewer forbids us in dwelling long on the point, and as all the texts are before the reader he can satisfy himself by a comparison ; but a few examples taken from this part of the commentary will, we hope, justify the somewhat severe criticism made above.

It should be pointed out at the outset that Hemacandra in his *Kāvyânuśāsana* (pp. 57-66) has appropriated this portion of Abhinavagupta's text in his own commentary ; but he has, at the same time, sometimes altered, paraphrased, condensed or expanded Abhinava's remarks. Mr. Kavi, while purporting to give us Abhinava's text, has exploited Hemacandra considerably without marking or acknowledging these additions or alterations as such. A few examples will suffice :

P. 274, ll. 11-13. Both D and M read : *sa côbhayo' pyanukāryè-nukartaryapi cânusandhāna-balād* [D reading *(vi)cārânusandhāna-balād*] *iti*. Mr. Kavi reads: *sa côbhayor api mukhyayā vṛttyā rāmâdāvanukāryè'nukartari ca naṭe ramâdi-rūpatânusandhāna-balād iti*, which is copied literally without indication from Hemacandra, who simply amplifies and clears up Abhinava's cryptic sentence.

P. 275. Of the verses quoted, D and M give the second and first lines respectively of *vivṛddhātmāpyagādho'pi* and *śokena kṛtaḥ*. Mr. Kavi supplies the missing lines from Hemacandra without indicating it. Of the third verse, D and M give only *bhāti patito likhantyāḥ*. The rest of the verse is similarly supplied in his text by Mr. Kavi from Hemacandra.

On the same page, lines 20-22, Mr. Kavi supplies the sentences *nâpi rāmaḥ syād vā na vâyam iti* and *samyaṅ-mithyā-saṃśaya-sādṛśya-pratītibhyo vilakṣaṇā citra-turagâdi-nyāyena* from Hemacandra's amplification without indicating the fact.

P. 279. D and M give only one of the four lines of the verses, cited on lines 13-16, viz., *bhāvanā-bhāvya eṣo'pi śṛṅgārâdi-gaṇo hi yat*. So does Hemacandra in this context. Mr. Kavi supplies the other three lines from Hemcandra who quotes it (p. 61) in another context.

P. 282, lines 16-17. The words *kāryo nâti-prasaṅgo'tra* is a quotation which should be marked as such. After this, Mr. Kavi supplies *pūrva-raṅga-vidhiṃ pratīti* and *naṭī vidūṣako vâpi* from Hemacandra without mentioning the fact; for these words are wanting in both D and M.

P. 283, lines 4-5. D and M read *kiṃ ca, pratītyupāyānām abhāve katham pratītiṃ sphuṭayatîti tatkāri-śabdaliṅga-sambhave'pi na pra-*

rītir viśrāmyati. Mr. Kavi alters the reading without indicating the fact, in accordance with Hemacandra, thus: *kiṃ ca pratītyupāyānām abhāve kathaṃ pratīti-bhāvaḥ, asphuṭapratīti-kāri-śabdaliṅga-sambhave'pi, etc.*

P. 285, lines 22-23. D and M read: *nanu śaṅkukâdibhir abhyadhāyata—sthāyyeva vibhāvâdi-pratyayārabhyamāṇatvād rasa ucyate.* Mr. Kavi alters the reading in accordance with Hemacandra without any indication thus: *sthāyyeva vibhāvâdi-pratyāyyo rasyamānatvād rasa ucyate.*

In some cases, Mr. Kavi has inserted a word or two from Hemacandra or altered the reading slightly but no mention of the fact has been made, e.g. the word *laukikebhyo* in line 25, p. 286; *muninā* in line 7, p. 285; *bibheti* in line 1, p. 284; *niviśamānam* in line 26, p. 280 (where both D and M read *nidhīyamānam*) etc. In some cases, unacknowledged alterations are made from Hemacandra, where such alteration is not necessary, e.g. in line 18, p. 276, where the reading *atatkāraṇâtatkāryâtatsahacararūpa* is needlessly changed into *anantakāraṇânantakāryânantasahacararūpa* in deference to Hemacandra's reading. In the same way, the reading *hṛdi* adopted without acknowledgment from Hemacandra on p. 279, line 1, is clearly wrong: it should be *druti.* Every student of Sanskrit Alaṃkāra knows that *druti, vistāra* and *vikāsa* are associated with the three *guṇas* (*mādhurya, ojas* and *prasāda*), and this nomenclature is here adopted by Bhaṭṭanāyaka.

Examples like this can be easily multiplied; but we hope that these instances which are taken at random from only ten or eleven pages of the edition of the commentary will be enough to indicate the extent to which the Ms.-text has been altered or emended without the slightest indication. These are certainly not the ways of scientific scholarship! The liberties taken with the text may not always be serious: but in the mass they are enough to render the book utterly unreliable, especially as they are delivered with the air of authority in a well-known Series. Mr. Kavi may reply that some of his Mss. do read as Hemacandra does; in that case he ought to have noted the alternative readings or given us an indication of the fact. Even if it is conceded that Hemacandra's paraphrase or alteration gives us better readings of the passages in question, there is still the duty of the editor to establish the text of his author as best as he can, and whenever an alteration or emendation is made from other sources that fact should have been clearly indicated along with the original reading of the author as found in the Ms. A rigid conservatism with regard to the text should be given precedence over

electicism, interpretation over emendation. On this point we should like to draw the attention of the editor to the procedure adopted by the editors of the Bhandarkar Institute edition of the *Mahābhārata* and request him to attend to the remarks made in their Foreward to Fasc. 1 of the Ādiparvan at pp. vi f.

Within the limits of our space we cannot advert to the inaccuracies and doubtful readings which abound in this work. The wrong division of words or sentences—an error which occurs with surprising frequency—sometimes indicate that the sense of the passages in question has not been properly considered but that they are merely copied as found in the Mss. The punctuation is nót always consistent, and sometimes positively misleading. We give here one or two examples. On p. 285, lines 4-6, there should be no full stop after *apradhānatva-nirāsaḥ*, but this phrase should be construed with the next sentence ending in *muninā kṛtaḥ*; for clearly *kṛtaḥ* requires an object, and the sense requires that the *muni* (Bharata), while defining the nature of *sthāyi-bhāva*, repudiated its *apradhānatva*, or in other words, established its *pradhānatva*. On p. 278, lines 22-24, the division of the sentences do appear to be correct as they stand. The full stop should be after *prayuktā*, and not after *pratyakṣād iva*, which should be construed with the next sentence. In the same way, there should be a full stop after *syāt*, and *tan na* should go with *pratītir anubhāva-smṛtyādi-rūpa-rasasya yuktā*. The punctuation on p. 280, the prose portion, is throughout careless. There should be full stops after *°āliṅgitam* (line 24), *evam aparo'pi* (line 28), *vitatam* (line 1, p. 281), *vā* (same line, same page), *naṭādi-sāmagrī* (line 2, p. 281) etc. The reading of lines 14-18, page 280 is doubtful, and the sense is not clear; some emendations are made without acknowledgment here by the editor (for the Mss. D and M are both corrupt here), but his emendations have hardly given a good sense to the passage.

On p. 87, ll. 23-26, Abhinavagupta speaks of the use of *bhinna-liṅga* words like *Amṛta-mathanam* and *samavakāraḥ* in apposition to each other and cites usages like *Vikramôrvaśī nāṭakam* and *svapna-vāsavadattā nāṭakam*. The passage is given thus by the editor: *amṛtamathanaṃ samavakāra iti bhinnaliṅga-sāmānâdhikaraṇya-dvāreṇa.....tata eva vikramorvaśīya-svapnavāsavadatte nāṭakam iti vyavaharanti*. The reading should be *vikramôrvaśī°* and not *vikramorvaśīya°*; for otherwise the point regarding *sāmānādhikaraṇya* of *bhinnaliṅga* words is lost. It is also remarkable that the *Vikramôrvaśī* was known as a *nāṭaka* (and not *troṭaka*) to Abhinavaguptâ.

Such mistakes are inevitable in a difficult text, and one need not be unnecesssarily fault-finding. But the honesty of a conscientious editor requires that he should acknowledge frankly where a passage is difficult or unintelligible. Some of these lapses from accuracy are not serious, but taken in the mass they are enough to impair the value of the work and give it the appearance of being amateurish,

The editor has proposed to add a commentary of his own in the chapters vii and viii where Abhinavagupta's commentary cannot be procured. We are not sure how far this would be a desireable procedure.

In the printing of the book, allowance must be made for the limitation of the Indian compositor, and some of the misprints with which the work abounds from cover to cover are due, no doubt, to the unfavourable circumstances in which the proofs were corrected by the editor from a distance. But there is some evidence that the sheets have been passed through the Press without proper care, and some signs that the Press copy of the work was not revised adequately before printing. The corrigenda to the work cover three pages, but they are by no means exhaustive. On p. 2, for instance, one finds at the very beginning of the commentary three serious misprints not marked in the Errata, two of which (*namaskāryau* for *namaskāryo* on line 9, and *pitāmahvâdi* for *pitāmahâdi* on line 10) can be easily corrected by the reader but it is difficult to guess that *tadūgrantha* on line 26 is to be read as *tadgrantha*. On some pages (e.g. p. 10), one can mark some five or six misprints which have not been corrected in the Errata. In a difficult text like that of Abhinavagupta, where sometimes the readings themselves are doubtful, such misprints are not only irritating but often misleading. We may be accused of being meticulous and microscopic in our review; but the number of misprints is indeed disproportionately large, and they are sometimes of a character to make them somewhat puzzling even to the advanced student. We have not yet been able to make out what *kampa-pulakôllukasanâdir vikāraḥ* (p. 281, line 6) means; is it *kampa-pulakô-llasanâdir vikāraḥ*? On p. 2, line 10, the phrase *nāṭye'lokavad upajīvita iti* is equally unintelligible.

The woodcuts prepared from the Naṭarāja temple of Cidambaram for the purpose of illustrating the gestures are happy additions and are helpful, but they are rather clumsily executed and have an appearance of hideousness which cannot surely be associated with Oriental art.

S. K. De

THE CONCEPTION OF BUDDHIST NIRVĀṆA. By Th. Stcherbatsky, PH. D., vi+246 pp. Academy of Science of the USSR., Leningrad, 1927.

It is very interesting and at the same time highly instructive to read controversies between two scholars like Profs. Stcherbatsky and Vallée Poussin. The subject of the controversy viz., the interpretation of Nirvāṇa is, indeed, a stumbling block in Buddhist philosophy. The conception of Nirvāṇa is of such a nature that language fails to give an adequate idea of same. It can only be realised and not described. Though this has been repeatedly pointed out in the oldest Buddhist texts, the philosophers could not abstain from the temptation of giving an expression to their conceptions in guarded language. The definition of Nirvāṇa, which the philosopher-disciples of Buddha had given, led to many controversies; ultimatly bringing in their train the various sects of Buddhism. Prof. Stcherbatsky, in the present work, attempts to show the gradual evolution of the conception of Nirvāṇa from a materialistic pluralism of the Vaibhāṣikas to an out-and-out monism of the Mādhyamikas. There would have been very little to say against his scheme of evolution, had it not been for his two statements with an important bearing on the subject. The first is that "the Vaibhāṣikas may be here treated as the representatives of Early Buddhism (i.e. Hīnayāna)" (pp. 17, 27), and the second is that the Mādhyamika "system of philosophy and dialectics is the foundation of Mahāyāna religion" (p. 35).

Though much is yet unknown of each of the Hīnayānic schools, enough of the doctrines of the Sthaviravāda and Sarvāstivāda are known to enable us to distinguish between the two. To take the Vaibhāṣikas as the type, and the Abhidharmakoṣavyākhyā as the sole literature of Hīnayāna is to shut one's eyes to the Pāli and early Sanskrit works of the Hīnayāna. The Sarvāstivādins have been severely handled in the Kathāvatthu (I. 6, 7) on account of their materialistic views and their secession from the Sthaviravādins proves that the doctrines of the latter were not supported by the Sarvāstivādins. Hence to take the early Buddhists as subscribing to a materialistic view, and their *Nirvāṇa* as a 'lifeless' Nirvāṇa like that of the Vaiśeṣikas is wide of the mark. The author may be right in taking the Sarvāstivādins as such as he has carfully studied the whole of the original Abhidharmakoṣavyākhyā, though of course we would have been better satisfied on this point if the whole text had been before us. As for the monistic interpretation of Nirvāṇa, he relies on chap. XXV of the Mūla-

madhyamakārikā which he has translated along with the commentary in the Appendix. Let us see if we can find out passages in the Hīnayāna works conveying a sense similar to that of the passages in the said work. The stanza XVII of Ch. XXV has, I think, an exact parallel in Pāli works in the frequently repeated passage—"Hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā iti pi, na hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā iti pi, n'eva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato parammaraṇā iti pi" (Majjh. Nik., I, p. 157). Then, as against his opinion that the early Hīnayānic conception of Nirvāṇa was 'life-less,' 'quiescent,' etc., the following passages are worth consideration : *Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ* (M. N., I, p. 508); *Yogakkhemaṃ nibbānaṃ pariyesati* (M. N., I, p. 163); *ajaraṃ amaraṃ khemaṃ Pariyessāmi nibbutiṃ* (J., 1, 3). His interpretation of Amatapadam (vide p. 20) cannot be passed over without a remark. The Pāli simile of the 'extinction of the flame of a lamp' has misled many writers to assume Nibbāna as extinction, 'quiescence'. Nibbāna in Pāli literature has more or less been indentified with *vijjā* (knowledge) as opposed to *avijjā*, e.g., bhikkhu *sammā* panihitena cittena *avijjaṃ* bhecchati *vijjaṃ* uppādessati nibbānaṃ sacchikarissati (A., 1, 8). It is the upasama or *nibbāna* (extinction) of rāga, doṣa, moha etc. that leads one to that Nibbāna which is difficult to realise (duddasaṃ), and which is quietude of all saṃskāras (which are not material elements), giving up of all upādhis (hindrances) and end of cravings (tanhā)—yadidaṃ sabbasankhārasamatho sabbupādhipatinissaggo tanhākkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ. It is rather peculiar that he bases his thesis on Candrakīrtī, but as a remark of his does not fit in with the Professor's theory, he says (p. 42 f. n.) : "The germ of the idea that the elements of existence, because interdependent, are not real can be found in some passages of the Pāli Canon. This Candrakīrti himself admits. (Madhy. avat., p. 22·15ff. B. B. IX). But it does not in the least interfere with the fact that the Hīnayāna is a system of radical pluralism, all *dharmas*, even Nirvāṇa, are *Vastu*" (*according to the Sarvāstivādins and not Sthaviravādins*). He has not probably cared to take proper note of the Pāli passage which he rejects on the ground that the Mādhyamika idea of Śūnyatā can only be found in Mahāyāna works, and not in any earlier text. I am quoting here a passage in extenso from the sūtra referred to by him to show that Nibbāna is not a Vastu and that the Śūnyavāda can be traced in M. N. also: An arahat "nibbānaṃ nibbānato abhijānāti, nibbānaṃ nibbānato abhiññāya nibbānaṃ na

1 Cf. M. M. K., p. 351.

maññati, nibbānasmiṃ na maññati, nibbānaṃ me te na maññati, nibbānaṃ nābhinandati" (M. N., I, p. 5).

Let us now take up his second statement that Mādhyamika is the basis of Mahāyāna. Prof. Stcherbatsky is 'at a loss to explain' the conflicting statements found in Prof. Keith's 'Buddhist Philosphy'. But Prof.Stcherbatsky has himself taken the Mādhyamika school to be identical with Mahāyāna, which it is not. In fact, Mahāyānism had its beginning long before the Śūnyavāda of Mādhyamika came into existence and this is admitted by the author himself (see p. 67). The *Trikāya* doctrine is much older and found in Hīnayānic Sanskrit works. Hence, Mādhyamika may be Mahāyānic, but Mahāyānism is not Mādhyamika. Besides, the equivocal expressions found in the Pāli works or in *Mādhyamakakārikā* have led most scholars (including Prof. Keith) to favour the view of *Nihilism*, and we are glad to find today an advocate of 'monism' in Prof. Stcherbatsky. The Vedānta conception appeals to the Indians and we believe that the Mahāyānic conception was nothing but Vedāntic in crude form and that Śūnyavāda can best be explained through a Vedāntic conception. Prof. Stcherbatsky, however, with his view in favour of 'Monism', says (p. 39) that "the Japanese scholars Suzuki, Anasaki, Y. Sogen and others, who have a direct knowledge of what Mahāyāna is, have never committed the mistake of regarding its philosophy as nihilism or pure negativism." From this remark it seems that he has not made the enquiry as to which form of Mahāyānism is popular in China and Japan, or how the Mādhyamika philosophy was received by the Chinese. I shall simply quote here a few remarks of Mr. T. Suzuki (J. B. T. S., VI, pt. III, pp. 19, 20): "The Mādhyamika school is known in China as the 'Three Śāstra sect' which was *first* introduced by Kumārajīva in 401 A.D. In China and Japan many Buddhist sects are comprised under the general name Mahāyāna. The Mādhyamika is by no means identical with it. The most important Mahāyāna sects in Japan and China are: (1) The Avatamsaka Sect, (2) The Dharmalakṣaṇa Sect or Vidyāmātra or Yogācāra Sect, (3) The Mantra Sect, and (4) The Dhyāna Sect."

We agree with Prof. Stcherbatsky in holding that some of the theories which Prof. Vallée Poussin entertains are wrong, such as "There was in the beginning (i.e. in pre-Canonic Buddhism) a simple faith in soul and immortality, etc." (pp. 23 and 25). "Niravāṇa meant a simple faith in soul's immortality, its blissful survival in a paradise, a faith emerging from practices of obscure magic" (p. 2); "Yoga is

nothing but vulgar magic and thaumaturgy coupled with hypnotic practices" (p. 5); "Buddha did not know what to answer" in regard to the indeterminable problems (p. 21). We do appreciate his exposition of the Indian *Yoga* as a mental process inconceivable by the majority of the Europeans, but when he carries this exposition to the farthest limit to fit it into his theory, we have to disagree. "Concentrated meditation (*does*) induce a condition of Quiescence" (p. 8) but not "the final quiescence and extinction" (p. 8) which has been supposed to be indentical with the Hīnayānic Niravāṇa. The description of the end of Buddha in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* may mislead an unguarded reader into this conclusion, but the Hīnayānic conception of Nirvāṇa is far from it. The *Yoga* of the Indian ascetics is only a means to an end. It is a sort of disciplinary training of the mind (citta) just as the observance of precepts (silas) is a disciplinary training of the physical body. A *Yogin* who has attained the highest stage may gain superhuman powers but not *mukti*.

Prof. Stcherbatsky also makes some statements which jar on the ears of students of Buddhism, e.g. "Buddha, seems to have been guided by the idea that manual work is the curse of humanity" (p. 12); that "the separate elements combining in a personality may even be such as normally belong to different planes of existence" (p. 13); that '*Amatapadaṃ*' simply means "changeless, lifeless and deathless (but not eternal life) condition" (p. 20 and fn. 2).

Though we may not agree with Prof. Stcherbatsky on one or two points, the book, I think, is really a mine of information and shows a width of knowledge combined with a keen insight into the Indian philosophy. His inference as to the evolution of the conception of Nirvāṇa on pp. 60-62 is admirable, and thought-provoking, and, I believe, is worth working out in extenso.

The value of the book has been much enhanced by the translation of two chapters of the abstruse philosophical treatise of Nāgārajuna, and its commentary by Candrakīrti. The translation of works like this requires an erudite scholar like Prof. Stcherbatsky who has studied deeply not only the Buddhist philosophical works but also the Brāhmaṇic. He will render a distinct service to the study of Buddhism if he can give us a translation of the whole of the work of Nāgārjuna. All that we have got to say regarding the translation is that the English words which he uses may bear the philosophical sense but they may not be literal renderings (as he says on p. 68), and do not make the meaning clear e.g. the use of the word 'Rela-

tivity' for Śūnyatā is not at all happy. The word 'void', of course, does not convey the proper meaning here. For '*Pratītya-samutpāda*', we would prefer 'principle of interdependence' to 'principle of relativity' (p. 91). Translations of certain passages do not also appeal to us. The second line of the first stanza of ch. XXV of the original runs thus :—

Prahāṇād vā nirodhād vā kasya nirvāṇam iṣyate: Prof. Stcherbatsky translates it thus :

How is Nirvāṇa conceived ? Through what deliverance (prahāṇa), through what annihilation (nirodha) ?

Here 'prahāṇa' is clearly explained by Candrakīrti as 'getting rid' or 'giving up' of *rāgādi kleśagaṇa* and we think the synonym 'deliverance' is confusing. We would translate it thus: If everything is (absolutely) non-exsitent, (there is) no (real) origination, no (real) annihilation. (Then) either by giving up (of kleśas), or by extinction (of skandhas), nirvāṇa of *what* is sought for ? The translation of '*dharmānudharmapratipattiyuktānām*' into "who have acquired a knowledge of (ontology) of the elements of existence as taught in that religion" (p. 183) may also be pointed out in this connection. 'Dharma' refers neither to 'religion' nor to the '75 elements'. It is simply 'the major and minor duties' prescribed by Buddha for observance by his disciples. It is a common word in the Pāli Nikāyas, e.g. Dhammānudhammapatipanno (see M. N., III, p. 37). Besides, the Tibetan rendering also does not support Prof. Stcherbatsky's interpretation. The Tibetan '*non-tan*' means '*anuṣṭhāna*' 'practising' (of the dharmas and anudharmas), and, has nothing to do with 'religion' or 'ontology'.

In any case, the translation, on the whole, reflects credit on the translator, and is really valuable to the students of Buddhism, and we hope he will translate the other chapters of so important a treatise on Buddhism.

KACCĀYANA

PRINCIPLES OF INDIAN ŚILPAŚĀSTRA. By Phanindra Nath Bose, M.A. Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Lahore.

This is a treatise on the canons of Indian art and the æsthetic principles on which they were founded. It deals with the principles of Indian Śilpaśāstra as expounded by Indian ācāryas. The several chapters in which the book is divided are : (1) Origin of Śilpa, (2)

Indian Śilpaśāstra, (3) Principles of Indian art and sculpture, (4) Pratimā-lakṣaṇa, (5) Beginning of Hindu Images, (6) Traditional convention, (7) Vāstu-lakṣaṇa, (8) Citra-lakṣaṇa and (9) Contributions of Indian Art. To it is appended the text of the Maya-śāstra in Devanāgarī character.

In the opinion of the author the idea of Beauty and of Truth is not only the inspiration to art and sculpture, but also the fundamental cause to which art and sculpture owe their origin. For this reason, he says, the art and sculpture of India, the history of which is traced down to the Asokan period, came into existence as the expression of the idea of Beauty and Truth (सुन्दरम् and शान्तम्) of the artists, imbued with the Buddhist ideals. But the Śilpaśāstra, according to the writer, came into existence at a much later period. The canonical rules of śilpa were compiled in the age which witnessed the decline of Indian art. After the Sāranāth School, there was an appreciable fall in the high standard of Indian Art, due to the absence of any talented artist in the succeeding ages. Hence some rules were found necessary to guide the common artists and therefore the Śilpa literature in India grew up in the post-Gupta period and in a period which extends from the sixth century A.C. to the eleventh or twelfth century.

The writer then divides the literature of Indian art and sculpture under three heads,—(1) Vāstu-śāstra or the science of architecture, (2) Śilpa-śāstra or the science of sculpture and (3) Citra-śāstra or the science of painting. He gives an account of the different books in which the principles of Śilpaśāstra are discussed.

The writer then proceeds to trace the various principles underlying the vast domain of Indian art and sculpture extending over more than two thousand years. He says that the Indian artists and sculptors were moved mainly by religious enthusiasm and their services were requisitioned by merchants and monks wanting to gain puṇya merit) by making a gift of a pillar or a statue in the name of Lord Buddha, as is evident in the remains of the Barhut sculptures. Even in Modern India the erection of new temples and images may be traced to the same enthusiasm for religion. Hence religion in India gave an impetus to art and sculpture.

The writer then proceeds to consider the theory of image-making (Pratimā-lakṣaṇa) and traces the beginning of the Hindu images. It is admitted by scholars that divine images were made from B. C. 500. Pāṇini and Patañjali were familiar with the images of gods; but

unfortunately there no longer exist any remains of the images of purely Hindu gods of such an early age. All the remains of Indian sculpture of remote antiquity belong to the Buddhist group—the pillars of Barhut, Sanchi and Amarāvatī or even the Gandhāra images are specimens of the Buddhist art and sculpture. Hence the history of Indian art and sculpture begins with images and sculptures of Buddhist origin. The first Indian image which was made by an Indian sculptor, according to the writer, was the image of Lord Buddha modelled by a Gandhāra artist. In the opinion of Prof. Bose, the actual image-making of the Hindu gods and goddesses began with the revival of Hinduism under the patronage of the Gupta emperors. Before the Gupta period, Hindu gods were sculptured in coins, but images of Hindu gods began to be made in the Gupta period. From ancient times, says Prof. Bose, Indian śilpa has handed down āsanas, and many other traditional conventions, which can still be found in the images of the present age ; they have been so closely associated with Indian images that they now form part and parcel of the images and they are necessary to give expression to the idea of the sculptors. Prof. Bose describes at a great length the different āsanas which are mainly taken from the Indian *yogaśāstras*.

The writer next proceeds to discuss the second branch of the Indian śilpaśāstra, viz., the science of architecture (Vāstu-śāstra). The Vāstu-śāstra represents the Indian science of building not only houses for ordinary people, but also palaces, halls, stables, forts, treasury-rooms, council-rooms for kings, as well as the laying out of the villages and cities. The Indian Śilpaśāstra lays down the following order on which the Śilpin should proceed in building a house :—

(1) The investigation of the suitable time for building the houses,
(2) The fixing of suitable sites,
(3) The examinations of soils,
(4) The performance of sacrificial rites,
(5) The choice of places for different rooms in buildings,
(6) The levelling up of the sites,
(7) The placing of Śaṃku,
(8) The laying of foundations,
(9) The laying out of works,
(10) The making of sacrifice to gods,
(11) The allocation of verandas and open spaces in the building,
(12) The performance of the foundation-stone laying ceremony.

The Vāstu-śāstra also deals with the laying out of villages and towns.

Prof. Bose next proceeds to deal with Citra-lakṣaṇa or the science of painting. The earliest instance of Indian painting, he says, is found on the fresco in the Jogimara cave of the Ramgarh hill within the confines of the Surguja State which has been ascribed to the third century B. C. on the basis of a short inscription in Brāhmī character, which is said to be contemporary with the fresco. According to the Indian Śilpaśāstra there are four classes of painting, namely :—

(1) Satyam or true to life, in an oblong frame.
(2) Vainikam or picture with less grandeur in a square frame.
(3) Nāgaram or of the citizen, in a round frame.
(4) Miśram or mixed.

The writer then describes the defects of a painting according to the Indian ācāryas and also the good qualities of a painting from the Indian point of view. He then refers to the six main canons or ṣaḍaṅgas of Indian Painting.

The work on Śilpaśāstra which Prof. Bose has brought to light will, I hope, stimulate further research on the subject. We may conclude this review with the introductory words of Dr. James H. Consins that "To artists and lovers of art it opens doors to an understanding of impulses and ideas which have moved vaguely within them; and brings a realisation of the truth that the artists of to-day are heirs to a cultural estate that was established in a distant golden age."

S. Das

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIÆVAL INDIA. By Nundo Lal Dey, M.A., B.L. (second edition). Luzac & Co., London, 1927. (The Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 21, E. 13).—X + 262 pp. and a map.

The present edition shows a very large number of additions to the names of places noted in the first edition which has been made in the light of later researches, and also mistakes and blemishes proved to be so have been removed. The identification and exact location of places mentioned in ancient texts and epigraphs is an important branch of the study of Ancient Indian History. The sources of our information of the geography of Ancient India have largely increased (and are increasing) since

Cunningham's pioneer days ; they consist mainly of foreign writers, and indigenous literature, besides archæological and epigraphical material. Vivien de St.-Martin, who is regarded as the father of the geography of Ancient India, wrote a masterly work on Vedic geography in 1860. Eleven years later, Alexander Cunningham, the father of Indian archæology, produced his *Ancient Geography of India*, "bringing to a focus the then accumulated knowledge into a single English volume." It has been a most difficult task for these geographers to find out the proper Indian names from the Greek, Latin, Chinese and Arabic renderings as given in their books of travels and notices. The later Archæological Survey Reports of Cunningham, besides the numerous papers of the late Mr. Pargiter on the Paurāṇic geography, the identifications of names and places by scholars like McCrindle, Yule and others, have all been used by Mr. Dey in the making of his *Dictionary*. He has also utilised the main Sanskrit and Pāli sources of information. He has given us under each name the source or sources from which he takes the information, but has not at times given the grounds of identification. Of course he has enriched the notes in a number of instances with an account of the location and a sketch of the salient points in the history.

Part II consisting of the identification of modern names, is, as a matter of course, smaller in bulk than the first part, but forms very interesting and useful material, giving as it does the original full name and the historical peculiarities of places. The author has taken care to point out in the preface how the changes or mutilations of original names into their present shape have not taken place haphazardly, but appear "in most cases to be governed by rules of Prākṛt grammars, except where the peculiar brogue of a particular place has checked or modified the application of the rules." He has illustrated these changes with elaborate tables showing mutations of affixes, elisions of non-initial and non-compounded consonants, change of consonants, change of nasals and semi-vowels, transpositions of letters (as in the well-known case of Benares for Bārāṇasī) etc. But he takes care to point out that these general rules applicable in many cases can only remain tentative so long as they are not confirmed by a fuller induction. These rules are however of great help in tracing original names through stages of mutations to their modern forms, in their passage through time and regions. His remark on the usefulness of such labour may be kept in mind by all scholars: "A

complete set of established rules considered along with the testimony of authoritative records, traditions, events and superstitions is calculated to be the criterion of both past and future identifications of the names of places, and the labour devoted to this subject can never be labour spent in vain."

We wish that the notes had been fuller especially with reference to places in South India and in the frontier country. The map of Ancient India specially prepared by the author fixes or attempts to fix approximately correctly many of the important places and is bound to be very useful to the reader of the book. An attempt like this involves a vast amount of unostentatious and concientious labour carried on for years in order to produce a reference-book of this scope and size. Mr. Dey, though no longer among us, has conferred a real service on historical scholarship in our country, and the book is bound to be a reference-book of great value to the student. This book is the most valuable of the several works of the talented author.

C. S. S.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Asia Major, vol. III, fasc. 3 & 4.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Pañcatantra Studies.* The writer makes a study of the story of *Mother Śaṇḍilīs Barter of Sesame* in the older versions of the Pañcatantra and suggests some explanations for the divergences in the stories given by the various versions in elucidation of the stanza 'nākasmāc Chāṇḍilī mātā,' etc.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. IV, pt. iii

E. DENISON ROSS.—*'Omar Khayyam.* Dr. Ross has come across a unique ms. dated 741 (A.D. 1340-1) bearing the title Mu'nis ul-Aḥrás. "This ms. contains an anthology of the works of famous Persian poets from the earliest time down to the compiler's day". The writer thinks this ms. will be of great help in having a definite edition of the *Ruba'iyy'at* of Omar Khayyam, and will throw a flood of light on the history of early Persian literature.

E. DENISON ROSS.—*An Arabic and Persian Metrical Version of Burzoe's Autobiography from 'Kalila and Dimna'.*

JARL CHARPENTIER.—*Remarks on the Identification of Some Jātaka Pictures.* The writer suggests improvements in some of the identifications made by Prof. Grünwedel in his *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkistan* (1912) of the Jātaka or Avadāna scenes. The writer has identified a few of the scenes left unidentified by Prof. Grünwedel.

W. DODERET.—*The Grammar of the Jñāneśvarī.* This is a grammar of the Mārāṭhi language, dated by the poet Ekanāth, who corrected the copyist's error, in the Śaka year 1506 (1584 A.D.). It was deposited in the poet's *maṭha* at Paiṭhāna. The writer reviews this grammar in the present article and his chief purpose is to assemble the principal archaism of the Jñāneśvarī, and to illustrate them by references to the actual text.

J. KATS.—*The Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia.* The writer on the basis of the findings of Dr. Dines Chandra Sen tries to find out the relationship between the chief characters in the Rāmāyaṇa as current in Java and Sumatra.

S. K. DE.—*Some Readings of Jānakīharaṇa, XVI.*

Indian Antiquary, December, 1927

R. R. HALDAR.—*Inscription of the Time of Mahārāja Surapāladeva, Dated [Vikrama] Saṃvat, 1212.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1927

DAYA RAM SAHNI.—*Kauśāmbī.* Mr. Sahni came across in the course of his excavations at Kosam two inscriptions and a few archæological finds which enable him to express the view that the famous city Kauśāmbi should be identified with modern Kosam. He rejects Smith's identification and supports that of Cunningham.

K. CHAṬṬOPĀDHYĀYA.—*A Peculiar Meaning of 'Yoga'.* Vātsyāyana in his *bhāṣya* on the *Nyāyasūtra*, I, 1, 29 and Uddyotakara in his *Vārtika* thereon enumerate some *siddhāntas* as belonging to the Yoga school (*iti Yogānām*), but the tenets contained in them are antagonistic to the Yoga theories as they are so far known. On the other hand, they are the characteristic *siddhāntas* of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas. Some Jain writers also use the term 'Yoga' evidently to mean some *ārambhavādin* school like the Nyāya or the Vaiśeṣika. From this the writer, following some commentators and living Pandits of India, comes to the conclusion that by the expression *Yogānām*, Vātsyāyana refers to the Naiyāyikas and not "to the Yoga system of Patañjali, as Prof. Keith seems to believe."

Zeitschrift Für Indologie und Iranistik, Band 5, Heft 3

STEN KONOW.—*The Skārah Dheri Image Inscription.* Revised reading and translation of a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on an image of the goddess Hārśti which was discovered in 1901. It will appear in the author's forthcoming Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

J. NOBEL.—*Die Avantisundarīkathā.* Notice of two newly published Sanskrit works, the Avantisundarīkathā and the Avantisundarīkathāsāra, both attributed by their editor M. Ramakrishna Kavi to Daṇḍin, the famous author of the Kāvyādarśa. The value of these works for Indology lies in the discovery that Bhāravi who lived at the time of the Pallava kings Siṃhaviṣṇu and Durvinīta (about 580 A.C.) was the great-grand-father of Daṇḍin who therefore must be supposed to have flourished at the end of the 7th century, and that both Bhāravi and Daṇḍin were natives of Southern India

with Kāñcī as their special home. Daṇḍin's polemic against Bhāmaha becomes intelligible when it is remembered that the father was evidently a Buddhist and a native of Kāśmīr while the former was a Brāhmaṇa and a native of Southern India.

JULIUS JOLLY.—*Kauṭilya oder Kauṭalya.* The writer suggests by numerous references that the *i*-form was original and the *a*-form was a new interpretation given to the same.

THEODOR ZACHARIAE.—*Einen Scheidenden bis an ein Wasser begleiten.* An exhaustive comment upon the ancient Indian custom of accompanying a departing friend to a sheet of water (referred to in Act. VIII of Śakuntalā), also that of accompanying as far as a juicy tree. (U. N. G.)

Ibid., Band 5, Heft 3

WILHELM PRINTZ.—*Rāma und Śambūka.* The writer of this article opposes the theory of Weber that the Śambūka episode of the Rāmāyaṇa refers to the settlement of the Christian Missionaries on the coast of Coromandel and traces the development of this episode in the Padmapurāṇa, Mahābhārata, Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa, Bhavabhūti's Uttara-rāmacarita, and the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṃa.

F. SPECHT.—*Tum Lokativ Singularis der Ū-stamme.* The author here opposes the view of Schmidt, Roth, Grassmann, Oldenberg and Delbrück and proves conclusively that the word *purū* in Ṛv., 5,73, is in the locative as explained by Sāyaṇa and Ludwig.

HEINRICH LÜDERS.—*Zu den Aśoka-Inschriften.* The author has here suggested new interpretations for two passages in the Aśoka inscriptions, based on the hypothesis that *mina, mana* or, *mano* in these two passages is equivalent to Pāli *pana* and Sanskrit *punar.*

WALTER PORZIG.—*Kleinasiatisch-Indische Beziehungen.* The author here endeavours to trace the influence of the Mitanni civilisation of Asia-Minor on the Sanskrit language and does it mainly through the medium of Greek words. He further suggests that Śiva might have been originally a Mitanni god and avers that the Brāhmī script is derived from the cuneiform script of the Mitannis. The author concludes with the hypotheses that *all* Aryans including those who later had their seat in India were influenced

by the Mitannis, that the separation between the Indians and Iranians took place *after* the Mitanni period and that the Aryans arrived in India only a long time after the catastrophe of the Mitannis (middle of the fourteenth century B.C.).

WALTER NEISSER.—*Vedica.* The writer here opposes the view of Geldner who takes the word *vikhayāvamahai* of Ṛv., vii, 88,3 in his "Siebenzig Lieder des Ṛv." to be preterital and affirms that it should be potential past and cites several cases in support of his view. He then writes on the words *dhāman, brahman, satas, sam-idh* and *suvṛkti* with a critical survey of what has been said by way of interpretation of these words by various authors, ancient and modern, and traces the development of their forms and meanings.

H. JACOBI.—*Über das Alter der Maṇimekhalai.* After a penetrating investigation of the treatment of Indian philosophy in the Tamil work, Maṇimekhalai, the writer arrives at the conclusion that the author of the Maṇimekhalai must have been acquainted with Dignāga's logic and therefore the *terminus a quo* for this work would be the fifth century of the Christian era ; but from other considerations he is inclined to draw the upper limit one century still lower.

A valuable chronology of the famous philosophical writers has been appended here and it has been affirmed that the composition or redaction of the Nyāya Darśana took place not far in point of time from the beginnings of Vijñānavāda and hence about 300 A.D. and that Vātsyāyana was preceded by Vasubandhu, and the former himself preceding Dignāga must have lived about 400 A.D.

R. FICK.—*Kurze Liste der Kielhorn'schen Inschriften-Abklatsche.* The author gives a short list of the impressions of inscriptions of the late Dr. Kielhorn. (B. K. G.)

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CORRECTION SLIP

(INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, VOL. III)

P. 376, fn. 1. *read* लाटदेश्या: *for* दाक्षिणात्या:

P. 377, l. 6 *read* It would be as much gratuitous to infer from this *for* It seems from this

P. 385, ll. 28ff. *read* The commentators *for* The Gauḍa commentators

P. 386, fn. ll. 1 ; 6 *read* Kuntaka *for* Kuntala

P. 387, l. 13 *read* past in the 7th century A. D. *for* past (7th century A. D.)

P. 389, l. 14 *read* Bengal *for* Bengali

P. 628, l. 25 *delete* hyphen